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FOREWORD BY PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD

INTRODUCTION BY MR. HORACE ALEXANDER

This book contains the reports of the World Pacifist Meeting held at Santiniketan and Sevagram in December 1949. Its contents include a remarkable speech, on Facing Realities, by Jawaharlal Nehru and also thoughtful speeches of Vinoba Bhave, Kailashnath Katju, Amrit Kaur, J. B. Kripalani, Michael Scott, Manilal Gandhi and others. Also included are resolutions of the Meeting on problems such as World Government, Disarmament, Soviet-American Relations.

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By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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NOTES

The New Year

We are on the eve not only of the New Year but also of the end of the Elections, for the first time under the democratic rules. So the coming year is a momentous one in the annals of our land.

We wish all our readers, who are our friends, not only a Happy New Year but also fulfilment of their dreams of the Four Freedoms. We know they belong to many different political persuasions, but we believe that almost all of them have cherished hopes of freedom, not only of the nation, but of all individuals, in the fullest sense of the term.

Today we are masters of our own destinies, if only but we knew how to put to use the weapons and tools of democracy. Let us hope that we shall succeed in shaping our future sufficiently in the terms of purity, stability and self-sufficiency.

The Elections

Now that the country is in the throes of election, come across queries either writ large on the face of the newspapers or shouted aloud by the partisans of this party or that, or may be even that of an independent. The questions asked are either "how you vote" or "who will you vote for." It may be the form is different and that the query is not so terse as we have put. But stripped of all disguise and shorn of all slogans, jibes and cheers, it boils down to those two.

It is rather late in the day to answer those questions, indeed in some parts of the country the questions have already been answered. And the answer, so far, has been in favour of the Congress, where results are concerned, though in a great many places, the Congress victory is not at all indicative of the opinion of the people. There are cases where Congress candidates have won although they secured less than 50 per cent of the total votes polled, the major part of the votes cast being split into fragments by the

numerous candidates, either set up by different parties or factions or standing on their own.

The strength of the Congress lies in reality in the myriad factions that have divided and sub-divided its opponents. Otherwise it would have been very hard going indeed for the Congress, despite the millions put in its party-chest by Big Finance and its satellites. The fight is on, but it is evident that illiteracy and ignorance of the issues involved are the greatest factors in favour of Pandit Nehru's party. Where there is a high degree of literacy and political consciousness, as in Travancore-Cochin, Congress has won merely because of the many divisions in the ranks of its opponents. Indeed judged so far, by those criteria, the Congress may win the elections yet lose the country. The price paid then will be in stability and staunchness of those who really count.

Pandit Nehru is conducting a whirlwind campaign all over the country. We are unable to reproduce even a fraction of what he has said, because there are so many repetitions, redundancies and absurdities in his statements and allegations. But we shall present our readers with extracts from his speeches at Muzaffarpur and Patna.

He said that he did not care for the fate of individuals in the least. What he cared for was the organization which had been built up in the course of 70 years as a weapon for fighting the battle of freedom. It had become rusted and many undesirable elements had infiltrated into it in the lure of *laddu* and *puri* (sweets) of office. Nevertheless, it still remained the only organization in India which could deliver the goods.

He admitted that after the Congress came to power many Congressmen had become lazy and ease-loving and the organization had suffered as a result. "I derive my strength and power from you—the masses—and I want your support to clear away the rusts and to make the organization strong once again so that it can serve you effectively," he said.

Addressing a gathering of over 200,000 at the Gandhi Maidan in Patna, he referred to the large number of Independents who were contesting the elections and said that most of these people were rebel Congressmen about whom the voters should have no illusions. These people said that they believed in the Congress creed and had pledged while applying for nominations that they would not seek election if they did not get the party ticket. Yet the moment they failed to secure the nominations they turned against the organization. What guarantee was there that men, who valued pledges so lightly, would keep their promise to the electorate?

As to other Independents, he said, he did not deny the right of every citizen to seek the confidence of the electorate. He did not also deny that there might be good men among the Independents; but the point was not that. For running the administration an organized body was required. Independents, who by their very nature were disorganized, could not be relied upon for undertaking any big task.

Referring to the Socialists, Sri Nehru said that he had believed that the difference in ideology of the Congress and the Socialists was not much. He believed, as a matter of fact, that the Socialists were a few steps ahead of the Congress. But the manner in which they were fighting the elections had shattered his hopes about them. They had stooped so low as to align themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's reactionary party and he felt very sorry for them.

Readers who can analyse the statements made will realize that Pandit Nehru is under no illusions as regards the ranks of his party. He has stated that the "laddu and puri (sweets) of office" has brought in undesirable in the ranks of the Congress, and that Congressmen had become lazy and indolent. This in effect is a half-hearted attempt to white-wash the festering mass of corruption that now covers Congress in office. There is the same old condemnation of the Socialists because they have allied themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's party. We ourselves are rather chary of Dr. Ambedkar, but we do say that this alliance is in no way worse than those made by the Congress party bosses with minor groups and a whole host of shady individuals, who collectively would outnumber by far the candidates of Dr. Ambedkar. Indeed some of the Congress candidates are lower in the matter of morals, integrity and ethical rectitude, than any of those in the Socialist combine.

Pandit Nehru has one slogan "The Congress only can deliver the goods." Yes, but at what cost and to whom? The Congress has called for sacrifices on numberless occasions from the nationals of this country, during the last 70 years. But the last four years and a half of Congress Rule has called for sacrifice in the terms of morals and integrity. The

price paid for freedom is therefore not only grievous but also deplorable and disastrous.

What chances are there of a change in these respects? None, we are afraid, unless the Congress is reformed by drastic measures. Pandit Nehru has made promises galore in that matter, *but only for after the elections.* Those who know anything about the methods of the Congress bosses, would have no doubts about the puerile and illusory nature of such pledges. The country has been run on a haphazard basis all these years. It is true that the Government had to face titanic problems and it is also true that it has avoided a general collapse and a major famine. It has likewise survived the chaos that followed the partition. But in all such performances the cost to the nation has to be considered. That reckoning must be made on an independent basis, not by tame statisticians or by financial authorities whose modes of thinking are the old soulless and bloodless bureaucratic ones.

It is in this reckoning that the Congress is found wanting. Its own National Planning Commission has mildly condemned the methodology of the existing Government schemes, by saying that "they have often failed to produce the best results for the country as a whole, due to lack of co-ordination and balance. In some cases schemes started have had to be dropped and in others progress had to be slowed down." And crores and crores of rupees were wasted thereby.

The Congress promise of "delivering the goods" depends entirely on whom the charge is given. Up till now the system has been to go entirely by party choices for office. Thus the plums of office have gone to those who were the devoted satellites of the great. Competence has not been a consideration, excepting in a very few cases. Thus the Ministries of Agriculture and the control of the River Valley Schemes have always been in hands, both at the Centre and in States, whose competence has not been beyond doubt in almost all cases. Similarly, Health, Education, Transport, have all been put on shoulders too weak and too narrow to achieve anything.

In the matter of permanent appointments the same casual, reckless and feckless favouritism has prevailed everywhere. It is true that the chosen of the Congress, whom Pandit Nehru would call the representatives of the People, were ignorant and totally lacking in experience in the matter of running a major nation's affairs. They made blunders galore in the beginning and the nation excused them on that score. But as time passed and more blunders were piled on the preliminary ones and blunder generated corruption everywhere, the country looked for redress and reform. These have not come up-to-date. And judging by the fate of Pandit Nehru's previous promises, we are unable to even hope for any improvement in the future.

The Congress claims that it is the only party that

can achieve success, and that if it cannot then no other combination can.

We would make bold to say that if the Congress, as it is constituted today, comes to power in full strength in these elections, then it will not be able to deliver even a fraction of the goods it promises. The people are reduced to destitution and the price spiral shows no tendency to flatten out, much less to go down. Then if the Congress cannot and no other existing party is likely to succeed in wresting power from the Congress, what is in store for the country? An unstable government and fresh elections, long before time—or else chaos.

We hate to begin the year with a jeremiad. But the truth must be faced. Pandit Nehru and his party have broken all pledges made at Nasik and after. We have, therefore, no reason to put any faith in empty words. In the nominations, we have seen no chance of any reform from within the Congress. On the contrary.

Therefore, the nation has to prepare for the shape of things to come. More favouritism, more corruption, more incompetence, are the likely results, if the Congress campaign succeeds in its entirety. But there is no reason to doubt the capacity of the nation to go through all trials, once it makes up its mind to face them in the right manner and in the democratic way. What are a few years in the life of a nation, and what nation has survived so many trials as ours?

The Kashmir Affair

For four years and more the people of India have been expressing with one voice their feelings towards the tactics of Pakistan. The Security Council's representative for Kashmir published his report on December 23rd last. And the members of the General Assembly, assembled at Paris for its 6th session, have got busy with its implications. India's chief delegate, Shree Benegal Narasimha Rao and Pakistan's Zafarullah Khan, have had their say. And the Security Council is likely to consider it in course of the next 15 days.

Dr. Graham's report contains nothing new, and we do not propose to discuss it, but will content ourselves with publishing extracts from its summary.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations representative for Kashmir, reported that India and Pakistan had failed to reach agreement on a plan for demilitarising Kashmir prior to holding a United Nations plebiscite to decide that State's future.

Dr. Graham said that agreement had not been reached on four paragraphs of his original twelve-point demilitarisation plan and added: "Agreement on these four paragraphs is most essential for carrying out the plan envisaged as an integrated whole in the twelve proposals.

The report said:

"The four basic proposals on which agreement between the parties has not been reached are as follows:

(1) Agree, that subject to the provisions in paragraph eleven below the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions of August 15, 1948 and January 5, 1949 shall be effected in a single, continuous process.

(2) Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed during a period of 90 days unless another period is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments.

(3) Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

(A) On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line:
(i) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn. (ii) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State, and (iii) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the Azad Forces will have taken place.

(B) On the Indian side of the cease-fire line:
(i) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn; (ii) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remaining in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in (B-i) above will have been carried out so that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of civil armed forces and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of a certain military forces.

(4) Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above."

"The United Nations Representative has carefully considered the situation on the sub-continent with regard to the relations between India and Pakistan in general and the Kashmir problem in particular.

"Furthermore, he has paid careful attention to the views put forward by both parties, and he has sought to narrow the differences between the parties on the basis of the 12 proposals of the plan as a whole which was noted with approval by the Security Council on November 10, 1951."

Dr. Graham then suggested the following changes in his original proposals:

1. "The process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952 unless another date is decided upon by the Representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments."

(In the original proposal, Dr. Graham had suggested a period of 90 days as a time limit for demilitarisation).

2. At the end of the demilitarisation period there

should remain on each side of the cease-fire line "the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

(The original Graham Plan had provided for fixing a definite number of civil armed forces on the Pakistan side and a certain military force on the Indian side).

The report also maintained Dr. Graham's original proposal that the Plebiscite Administrator should be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period. According to his new suggestion, this would be July 15, 1952.

INDIA'S REPLY

Dr. Frank Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, in his report to the United Nations put down the following as India's reply to his questionnaire:

"We should like to state at the outset that in this note we are addressing ourselves strictly to the immediate task before us, *viz.*, that of working out the details of a feasible plan of demilitarisation.

"We shall therefore refrain at this stage from commenting upon the arguments, interpretations or implications contained in the statement and in the questions presented to us by the United Nations representative on December 7, 1951.

"It might be useful to state briefly the question asked in the course of the discussions by the representative of India in regard to the question of the quantum of Indian troops remaining in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of demilitarisation.

"The point was raised whether in view of certain new assurances it would be possible to reduce the figure originally proposed. In reply it was pointed out that the Government of India was responsible for the security of the State and security could not be made dependent solely on verbal assurances offered but must be related to the actual conditions prevailing in the area.

"Therefore the quantum of forces remaining on the Indian side cannot be reduced merely because of the number of assurances offered. It should be remembered that even the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions contained certain assurances which have not been carried out on the part of Pakistan; witness the Jihad and war propaganda in that country and the building up of 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

"There was also an assurance accompanying the resolution of August 13, 1948, to the effect that during the period of cessation of hostilities Pakistan should not in any way consolidate its position to the disadvantage of the State.

"Yet there was in fact such consolidation as the U.N.C.I.P. themselves have recorded.

"The biggest assurance offered was that of a plebiscite by India in 1947, but that did not prevent the

invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan Army in May 1948.

"As it was recognised in the course of discussion that the question of security was essentially a military matter. It was agreed that discussions should proceed between the Indian military advisers and General Devers, in order that a practicable plan of demilitarisation be worked out. While demilitarisation would form part of a single continuous process, it was admitted that in actual implementation, the process could not be completed in one full sweep, and that some phasing would be inevitable.

"On November 20, General Devers made certain tentative suggestions in writing on how demilitarisation might be achieved.

"The Indian military advisers, after consulting the Government of India were able to agree to the basic principles underlying General Devers' programme, with certain reservations which were to be discussed further.

"The figure of Indian troops remaining at the end of demilitarisation given by the Indian military advisers, was based on the assumption the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator at a certain moment in the period of demilitarisation was considered necessary. On this basic point also, no agreement could be reached.

At the end of his informal discussions, the Military Adviser reported to the United Nations Representative on his exploratory talks and his tentative plan of demilitarisation.

Recalling the points of difference between the two Governments on the original Graham proposals, the Report said:

The consultations held by the United Nations representative with the parties, as well as the answers he has received to the different questions put to them by him, have convinced him that at this stage of the negotiations the parties could not achieve agreement on the draft agreement as a whole submitted to them by the United Nations Representative on September 7, 1951.

Dr. Graham sent the following statement to both parties on December 7:

The hope for an agreement in the Kashmir dispute is based on explicit commitments of a 'No War Declaration,' a policy against war propaganda, reaffirmation of the cease-fire agreement and actual demilitarisation as an inter-dependent and continuous process carried out on both sides of the cease-fire line as part of the preparation for the long-promised free and impartial plebiscite. Consequently there is the present opportunity to work out an agreement for the fulfilment of the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, to which both parties agreed.

It is obvious that the demilitarisation would not be one sudden, complete undertaking, whether the

explicit provisions of the two resolutions regarding stages in demilitarisation be followed, or whether by agreed stages in a continuous process as now proposed.

To this end, paragraph nine of the proposals of September 7, 1951 (Original Graham report) was submitted for the purpose of having the Military experts, in consultation with their Governments and under the auspices of the United Nations to work out the stages in this continuous process of demilitarisation.

To surmount the obstacle regarding war psychosis, the United Nations representative made the following proposals contained in the first three of the 12 proposals.

The Security Council has asked us to continue on the basis of the 12 proposals. Tentative agreement has already been reached on a majority of those 12 proposals.

If the two Governments reached an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the plebiscite administrator into office for the assumption of responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, we believe that an agreement can be reached on all the 12 proposals.

We have therefore with the co-operation of the representative of the two Governments confined our discussions to those two propositions.

The number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be decisively reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the plebiscite administrator.

In order to meet the contention about the security of the State, the United Nations representative has made a number of proposals for assurances by both Governments against resort to war and war propaganda and for the prevention of invasion, incursion and infiltrations into the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In grappling further with the problem of the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite, we have made other proposals in addition to the three submitted in our 12 proposals in the letter to the Prime Ministers of September 7, 1951.

We have the conviction that these proposals would make actual demilitarisation possible and also provide for the security of the State and the creation of a peaceful atmosphere conducive to the holding of a plebiscite.

The very agreement signed by two countries of high international standing, members of the United Nations and of the Commonwealth of Nations and approved in the forum of nations would be itself one of the most effective guarantees of the keeping of the peaceful assurances thus given and ratified before the world.

The report then gave the questions asked to India

during the recent talks. These were: (1) Figure given by the Indian Government as the minimum to be left on its side of the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of the period of demilitarisation before the arrival of the plebiscite administrator is 28,000 troops plus 1,000 militia. Would it not be possible for the Government of India to accept a considerable reduction in the figure in order to make possible the demilitarisation of the State and to obtain the proposed agreement?

(2) The representative of India has stated that effective guarantees should be given for further reduction of these forces: (a) Would it be an adequate guarantee for the Government of India if an agreement is signed on the basis of the 12 proposals contained in the communication of September 7, 1951? (b) If not, would it be adequate if in addition United Nations military observers were stationed in necessary numbers which would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan? (c) If not, is the Indian Government ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary? (d) If not, what other suggestion is the Indian Government prepared to make in order to obtain the demilitarisation under the resolutions of the Security Council and the agreed resolutions of the UNCIP of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949?

(3) Would the Government of India agree to cause the plebiscite administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period?

QUESTIONS TO PAKISTAN

The questions asked to Pakistan were: (1) What is the minimum number of forces on both sides of the cease-fire line that the Government of Pakistan is ready to accept on the final day of the period for the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir?

(2) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept that United Nations military observers be stationed in the necessary numbers where it would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan?

(3) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary?

(4) Would the Government of Pakistan agree that the plebiscite administrator be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation?

Pakistan's answers to these four questions were:

(1) Four infantry battalions (with the necessary administrative units) on each side of the cease-fire line. In case, however, India insists on retaining one division of four brigades, of four battalions each consisting of 28,000 troops, presumably with the normal complement of armour and artillery or an Indian army division, plus 6,000 militia, the Pakistan Government would consider it necessary to retain the Azad Kashmir forces consisting of 25,000 troops plus 3,500 Gilgit and Baluchistan scouts.

These forces are much weaker than the forces which India wishes to retain, both in number and in armament.

(2) Yes. It might be pointed out that under Clause B(2) of Part (2) of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, the United Nations representative is competent to station United Nations observers wherever he deems necessary.

(3) Yes. It is assumed that United Nations troops would be posted on both sides of the cease-fire line, and that the object of this proposal is to facilitate the withdrawal of all the forces of India and Pakistan, and the disbandment of all local forces, namely, the State army and militia and the Azad Kashmir forces.

(4) Yes. The Pakistan Government wish to emphasise the importance of appointing the plebiscite administrator formally as early as possible.

The UNCIP resolution contemplates his appointment in the middle of the programme of demilitarisation. It is hoped that he would be appointed as much in advance of the final day of demilitarisation as possible.

PAKISTAN'S REPLY

In reply received from Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, on December 11, it was stated: "It was necessary to emphasise that the two UNCIP resolutions have to be taken together, and not in isolation."

"We entirely agree with your observation that if the two Governments reach an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation, and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the Plebiscite Administrator into office for the assumption of his responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, it should be possible to reach agreement on all the twelve proposals set out in your letter of September 7, 1951.

"We also agree that the number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the Plebiscite Administrator.

"It has always been recognised by the Security Council that a free and impartial plebiscite is not possible in the presence of substantial number of troops of either party.

"In the words of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the best

guarantee of a fair expression of the wishes of the people of Kashmir is the removal or disbandment of the military forces of all interested parties.

"As a result of agreement on some of the proposals contained in your letter of September 7, 1951 there has been an improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and some reduction in the tension which existed between the two countries at the time of your visit to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

"The people of both countries have been looking forward to agreement being reached on a programme of demilitarisation and the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite."

"We entirely agree with your remark that it would be unfortunate if a failure to follow through and reach an agreement resulted in a reversal of the present development of a more peaceful atmosphere.

"On the other hand, if those hopes are confirmed and strengthened by a definite agreement between the two Governments, the atmosphere will be further improved and other disputes vital to the welfare of the people can be co-operatively settled to the high advantage of both nations of the world."

Then follows a clever attempt to suppress and twist facts so as to put India's case in the worst light possible.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister appears to think that a repetition of words will do duty for argument and reason. His patrons among the Anglo-Saxon power may believe in this technique of deception. But our people have long got over their faith in mere protestations, and are prepared to trust to the justice of their cause, and to that of the future of Kashmir-Jammu people. The idea of con-dominion is exploded today Britain at least should have learnt her lesson by this time.

Fighting Forces of India

General Cariappa, India's Commander-in-Chief has been touring the country and telling people how the fighting forces of our State can best serve their country. Modern developments have erased the difference between civil and military life, between "martial" and "non-martial" races. The last two world wars have demonstrated this fact. In his address to the Ranchi Municipality, on December 23rd last, he has underlined what is expected of the whole people.

"High morale, economic stability and industrial self-sufficiency, a virile race of people for the highest standard of physical fitness are four key points which make a country strong and prosperous. India is now free and it is the duty and responsibility of every citizen to bring the above qualities and to work harmoniously to make the country strong."

"Mission with Mountbatten"

We have in these columns commented on this book when it was being serially published in certain

Indian dailies. We have heard friends tell us that there are certain discrepancies in his presentation of the facts referring to Gandhiji. But more of them cared to come to substantiate their doubts. Many in close touch with Gandhiji had developed the habit of keeping diaries of men and matters. It is up to them to come forward and rectify any mistake there happens to be.

The book appears to have the advantage of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's pre-study. In describing the celebration by the author of the publication of his book, Eia Sen, London correspondent of the Birla group of papers, has thrown an interesting light on the matter.

"Alan Campbell-Johnson held a reception to celebrate the publication of his book *Mission with Mountbatten*. It was one of the most enjoyable parties of this sort and what might have been rather a formal affair became quite informal among the journalists who were in the majority at the function. Lord and Lady Mountbatten added in no small measure to the reception. They were both interested in individual reactions to the book, and I was not surprised to hear from Lady Mountbatten that Mr. Nehru had found the book of great interest; in fact a large portion of the last weekend he had spent with the Mountbattens at their country home, 'Broadlands,' was in reading the book. That in itself should have been an excellent recommendation for the writer."

Lord Mountbatten is a young man to whom offices of danger appear to be lucrative. His name was suggested for Malaya; now it has appeared in connection with Egypt. So, watch the man!

Mr. Elliot Lockhart's Speech in A. C. C. Meeting

A brief but comprehensive survey of the country's economic situation has been given by the Union Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh in his address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, the 11th December, 1951.

The policy of the Government of India in relation to commerce, industry and other allied subjects came in for a good deal of criticism by Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, President of the Association.

Mr. Lockhart, in his address, expressed their satisfaction that the young Republic of India in spite of the storms and stresses of the world today was as firmly on her feet as many other older and more experienced states.

While giving their general welcome to the First Five-Year Plan and accepting the inevitability of the mixed economy on which the plan was essentially based, Mr. Lockhart said that they had perhaps their

own reservations on the country's ability to finance the Plan as a whole—under the present restrictive policy towards private enterprise and the burdensome taxation it suffered; they had moreover their doubts on whether the private sector was going to get sufficient incentive and encouragement to play its full part in the field, allotted to it in the Plan.

In other directions, they deplored the attitude of the Government in attributing all to the unsocial motives of the dishonest few and a consequent tendency to tie the hands and the initiative of the entire range of bonafide business and industry by restrictive proposals and legislative measures.

Referring to the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, Mr. Lockhart said that they would do their best to see that the Act was worked to the best advantage of the country. But they disliked and were apprehensive of the very wide powers of investigation and control which it conferred on an administration very largely inexperienced in industrial matters.

He commented on several other recent measures which seemed to him to exemplify a tendency to put through important legislation without sufficient prior consultation with responsible representatives of the affected industries. He made an earnest plea for such consultation where Government had legislation in mind. He mentioned the Employees State Insurance Act as one of the examples of the difficulties which prior consultation might have avoided. A second example was the recent Ordinance setting up compulsory Provident Funds in certain industries.

As regards the Income-tax (Amendment Bill) they were anxious to have assurance that in no respect would the proposed legislation apply retrospectively. Further, they asked for a broader and more reasonable attitude than the Bill would seem to imply towards the taxation of some of the perfectly proper and very necessary amenities covered by their obligations to their employees.

Finally, he asked for a complete survey of the taxation structure of the country.

The Finance Minister's Reply: In his speech which followed the Presidential address of Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, the Finance Minister gave reply to these diverse points raised by the President.

As an annual review of the situation Sri Deshmukh said that in December, 1950, when he last addressed the Chamber, there was a steady upward movement of prices, the general index number showing a rise of nearly 31 points from an average of 381.3 in December, 1949 to an average of 412.6 in December, 1950. The increase was, as he held, largely due to the developments in the international situation such as the war in Korea and the intensification of the rearmament programme of the United States and the Western Democracies. In spite of Government's doing everything possible to hold down prices, this upward move-

ment continued this year also. The peak of the rise was reached last April, when the index number rose to 457.5. There has since then been a slow but steady downward movement. These increases, according to the Finance Minister, have been largely due to factors beyond the Government's control. He recounted some of the steps the Government has taken to arrest inflation. The provision of a substantial surplus in the revenue budget at the Centre to meet the essential requirements for capital expenditure and an increase of the Bank Rate are the "two significant steps."

As regards Bank Rate, a rise in it, is deliberately adopted as a measure of tightening credit. This change, he envisaged, produces a real as well as a psychological influence on the money market.

About the prevailing high prices of food-grains, he made natural calamities, such as floods and droughts, largely responsible and these have made us, he gave out, more dependent on imported food-grains, too costly for the country to bear. But he assured that it still remains the Government's policy to keep prices from rising unduly. In view of such an acute scarcity of food, it is but inevitable that Government should give priority to irrigation schemes which will increase food production.

In this connection the Finance Minister referred to the attack made on the increase in procurement prices allowed in certain states. The decision, he thought, is an attempt to hold the price line and not either a tardy attempt to pay more to the producer or a deliberate move in the direction of inflation.

The Finance Minister maintained a good deal of hope in the prospect of the Central Government's First Five-Year Plan, as drafted by the Planning Commission. This is both just and realistic and the most comprehensive approach to the problems of the country's development. He said that the Chamber has taken an unduly pessimistic view both in regard to the country's ability to sustain and finance a plan of this magnitude. As a finance minister and also as a member of the Planning Commission, he assured the country that the finance envisaged by the Plan is not beyond the country's resources, if we try in earnest to raise it. And to speak of financial difficulties is nothing but exaggeration of the fact.

As regards industrial development Sri Deshmukh said that while Five-Year Plan is not at all indifferent to the importance of industrial development of the country, it gave priority to irrigation schemes which will produce larger quantities of food, the most crucial problem before the country. He refuted the contention that the Government has been harsh to private enterprise. The scope left to private enterprises is, in his view, not merely adequate but leaves ample play for capital as may be raised by the private sector of the country.

He properly justified the Government's action

regarding introduction of compulsory Provident Funds, the State Employees Insurance Act and the Labour Relations Bill. In this relation, Sri Deshmukh pointed to some of the misconceptions of the Chamber. He rightly contended that the representatives of industrialists as well as labour had been fully consulted before the implementation of these matters. Therefore, as a general criticism of the Government's policy this is wrong.

As regards Government's income-tax policy, the Finance Minister promised that the proposed Income-tax Legislation would not be applied retrospectively. He declared that the amendment of Section 7 of the Income-tax Act is aimed merely at closing a loophole of evasion.

Regarding the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Committee, he said that conditions are now so fluid and unstable that such a measure on the part of the Government will not be appropriate and timely. The matter will, however, be reconsidered after election and when the recommendations of the Finance Commission would be at hand.

Amenities to Employees

The Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, in his statement in the annual general meeting of the A.C.C. in Calcutta, assured the business magnates that special amenities granted to their employees shall not be included in the proposed Income-tax Bill (Amendment) and that the Bill aimed merely at closing the loophole of tax evasion by dishonest businessmen.

But the very exemption allowed, contains elements of loophole of evasion. It is a well-known fact that giant entrepreneurs of India have been inclined to give preference to the importation of experts and technicians from outside the country. These people have been contracted with certain "perfectly proper and very necessary amenities," beyond the stipulated sum of their salary. The money cost of such amenities in almost all cases supersedes the salary. The whole amount, if paid in cash, may contribute a considerable sum as tax to the Public Exchequer. This legerdmain on the part of the employers is objectionable. As has been pointed out, it impoverishes the State to the extent of the tax. This may, again, impart an adverse psychological reaction on the national workers and may retard the progress of production. For it discriminates among workers as the perquisites are specially meant for the imported experts and technicians.

Bank Rate

The rise in Bank Rate has been singularised by the Finance Minister as one of the "significant steps" taken by the Government of India to arrest inflation and to tighten the Credit Supply of the country.

The general tension within the country, however, is that the rise in Bank Rate, accompanied by restricted purchase of securities by the Reserve Bank,

will, instead of curbing inflation, discourage accommodation to industries, deter investment and depress stock exchange leading to a further rise in prices.

(In fact, as an immediate repercussion, it has depressed the prices of gilt-edged securities further down, causing a severe strain on Indian Insurance Companies who have been compelled to invest the bulk of their assets in Government Securities under the provision of the Insurance Act.)

The efficacy of higher Bank Rate intending to tighten the credit is limited by the unorganised nature of the Indian money market. The existence of indigenous bankers outside the organised banking system is found to be one of the most serious obstacles. These indigenous bankers are responsible for the largest amount of banking credit available in this country. They are assets, especially to new and venturing enterprises who have little access to big financial groups. Again, a higher Bank Rate induces investing public to increase their deposits with banks in Western countries—where a slight change influences the world money market. (A rise in Reserve Bank's Rate will in no way attract international investors. In fact, discount rate was the most potent instrument of central Banking control in the pre-war days. In recent years, the instrument has lost a good deal of its potency in Western countries and in India, it is blunt for all practical purposes.)

As a disinflationary measure the Bank Rate will hardly produce any appreciable effect under present set-up. The high prices have been mainly due to low productivity in agriculture and also to higher cost of production in industries, as most of our established industries have to depend on foreign supplies for a large position of their raw materials. We have to pay almost fanciful prices for these imported raw materials and machineries. The tightening of credit will, on the contrary, reduce importation of raw materials and machineries and thereby retard the progress of industrial production. This will create scarcity and higher prices. Price level can hardly be reduced unless huge internal production or large imports are ensured.

This has been the problem of prices in India since the cessation of war in 1945. Towards the end of 1949 this was going to be automatically adjusted by improved supply of all commodities. But the adoption of the policy of Devaluation, following Great Britain, arrested that and in fact, gave an impetus to the general index to rise. There has been every possibility again, for the prices to come down with the declaration of cease-fire in Korea. This, assisted by cheap money policy, may have increased the supply and reduce the prices.

We apprehend that a hasty rise in Bank Rate, like a hasty and unplanned Devaluation, may cause serious hardship to the country. If a realistic survey of

the effects of the rise in Bank Rate had been included in the speech of Sri Deshmukh, the down-trodden would have known in anticipation what was in store for them. For, considering the sufferings and destitution brought about to the general public, we have difficulty in drawing a balance in favour of Devaluation. We hope the same would not be the case in the aftermath of the raising of Bank Rate.

Government's Taxation Policy

Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, ex-Finance Minister of India, criticized the Government's Taxation policy and planning, at Madras, as follows:

Dr. Chetty said: "The problems that faced the Government were three-fold. Firstly, the problem of checking inflation and increasing production; secondly, the problem of capital formation and the mobilisation of domestic savings, and thirdly, the problem of attracting foreign capital."

"In the tackling of these problems, the rulers of the country were guided by their own pre-conceived notions, inherited prejudices and rosy ideologies," he said.

Six years after the termination of the war, Dr. Chetty said, the inflationary pressure in India, far from abating had gained strength. No doubt, inflation had now become a global problem. In U.K. and U.S.A. the price level had just exceeded the two hundred mark; while in India it had exceeded the four hundred mark.

"I cannot see in sight any factor which will effectively arrest the rise in prices," he added.

The real problem to be faced in the country, he said, was the problem of increasing production on a large scale. No amount of credit control would, in his opinion, bring down the price levels unless it was accompanied by an all-round and substantial increase in production. "It is in this sphere that the policy of the Government has failed lamentably," he remarked.

Dr. Chetty said the absence of a consistent economic policy on the part of the Government, the ideology of nationalisation and the attitude of labour to industry had been responsible for retarding industrial production. "Apart from the policy of indecision, the attitude of the party in power towards private enterprise in industry has very seriously affected the expansion of industry," he added.

Dr. Chetty said that production in agriculture was equally bad. The Government had "lost the moral support of the agriculturists with the result that all appeals for grow more food have proved futile."

He declared that "if the economic development of India is to take place in an orderly and expeditious manner there must be a clear and unambiguous declaration of policy about the ideology of nationalisation and the role of private industry."

Dr. Chetty referred to the change in the outlook

of capitalist countries and said, "Time has now come for an unbiased re-examination of the problems of Capitalism versus Socialism in the light of what prevails today."

"Apart from the changed character of capitalism the techniques of taxation and controls have made it possible to achieve the ends of socialism even in a capitalist economy. If the fundamental objectives of socialism are an equitable distribution of wealth and a high standard of life for the common man, it is now possible to achieve these ends without bringing all the means of production under State control. I suggest that we may use the word mixed economy in place of capitalism. That would be a better description today of what is called 'capitalism.' A balanced combination of State-ownership and private enterprise is in the characteristic feature of the economies of most of the advanced countries in the world."

Pleading for a re-examination of taxation policy, Dr. Chetty said the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as the Finance Member of the Government of India gave a hard blow to the capital structure of the country by his budget of February, 1947. Since then the tax burden had crippled the capacity of industry to save and reinvest. "I agree that a high level of direct taxation is inevitable in modern economy. But it presupposes a high level of production and employment. Heavy direct taxation during the early stages of industrial development will hamper and retard industrial expansion. That is exactly what has happened in India during the last five years. A re-examination of taxation policy in relation to industrial development is urgently called for," he said.

Commenting on the five-year development plan, Dr. Chetty said: "It is almost tragic to think that in 1956 that is eleven years after the termination of the war and nine years after the attainment of Independence we should be looking forward to the restoration of the low standard of life of our people that prevailed in 1939."

The first aim of the planners should have been to correct the lopsidedness of the country's economy. The plan did not even make an attempt in that direction. The estimate of expenditure under the plan was in the public sector even though the major productive activity was in the private sector. The plan, he held, was a mere catalogue of schemes and a statement of the intentions of the Government.

Foreign Aid

C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, said at Bombay on the 29th December that he saw signs of an early flow of foreign assistance without any "political strings" in the implementation of the five-year plan.

"If we play our cards well the measure of foreign assistance that has been estimated in the first part of

the plan will fully materialize," he added in an address before members of the Bombay Union of Journalists.

Discussing funds for the first year of the plan, the Finance Minister said that the Government had already Rs. 75 crores from the American wheat deal and expected another Rs. 15 crores from Canada and Australia under the Colombo Plan.

He had no doubt that the first year's programme under the five-year plan would be fully implemented.

He hoped to have a revenue surplus of Rs. 25 to Rs. 26 crores during the current year. Out of that he had already allotted an additional Rs. 10 crores for river valley schemes.

Replying to criticisms of the plan, he said in a democratic set-up such as that in India an integrated plan of development was not possible. Regimentation of resources was also not possible, and there was a limit beyond which people would not tighten their belts.

He described the plan as a framework of a "mixed" economy with an expanding private sector and a place for co-operative economy. It fully provided for consultation with industrialists. "They certainly have a right to advise us, but that also carries a responsibility to help us in carrying out the programme."

Answering a question, he said he did not expect foreign investment to come to India under existing world conditions. No one would be attracted to a new field when a better return for their capital was assured in their own countries.

Replying to another question, the Finance Minister confirmed that the Government had given an assurance to the three foreign oil companies which would shortly establish refineries in India that they would not be nationalized for a specific number of years. A similar assurance could be given to any "deserving" Indian enterprise.

Regarding socialization of insurance companies, he said that postal insurance was a step towards this goal. But today the question whether insurance companies should be nationalized was premature. "Sometimes we raise funds through insurance companies for the public sector. As a matter of fact, about 55 per cent of the funds in an insurance company was available for the public sector."

He was not in favour of a capital levy. In a poor country like India such a levy would not realize any large amount though at first sight this might seem possible. "At the present stage it may even affect current savings. Even richer and more advanced countries are hesitant to impose a capital levy."

Discussing death duties, he said the Government had decided to proceed with them and fully enforce them.

Referring to the production of jute, cotton and oilseeds, he said he saw no immediate signs of jute and cotton prices going down. There could not be any

kind of control on oilseeds in view of the number of varieties involved. The Government could not hope to keep down food prices internally by importing food-grains. Foodgrains were costly and had to be subsidized before being sold.

It was not so much a question of increasing the supply of food-grains, but of getting hold of the required quantities to meet the rationing commitments through procurement. A large number of people held many times more food-grains than they actually needed.

India could not manage to import anything more than 5m or 6m tons of food-grains because Indian ports could not handle more than that amount.

Foreign Capital

Addressing the Bombay Economists' Discussion Group, Mr. Birla who recently returned from a tour of the United States and the United Kingdom, said that the prospect of foreign private capital flowing into India was remote, because of the threat of nationalisation and the restrictive measures adopted by the Government of India relating to private enterprise.

Mr. G. D. Birla said that India could get a loan from such overseas institutions as the Export Import Bank, "if only the Government of India were prepared to help private enterprise and back its request for aid."

Referring to India's foreign policy, Mr. Birla said that "we were very much misunderstood in the United States, and to some extent in the United Kingdom." This had a lot to do with the reluctance of foreign private capital to flow into this country.

Mr. Birla ruled out as remote the chances of India getting substantial help from countries like Italy and Switzerland. "There is, however, some prospect of getting capital from Germany because of fear of war."

"There is a tendency in Germany to think of India as a safe asylum for her capital," he added.

Referring to criticisms that private capital in India was shy, Mr. Birla said that private enterprise in this country had invested as much as Rs. 450 crores in the last few years, indicating clearly that capital was not on strike.

Countries like Japan, Mr. Birla said, could not only provide the technical know-how but also invest money to some extent in joint enterprises with Indian capital.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, Indian businessmen and industrialists were not averse to the flow of foreign capital into this country. As a matter of fact, some of the prominent industrialists went to the extent of assuring the Planning Commission and the Government of India that they would welcome foreign capital without any strings being attached, he added.

India's National Income

In the December 1 issue of the *Behar Herald* appeared an article by Doctor M. S. Nata Rajan, Director, Diwan Chand Political Information Bureau of New Delhi, entitled as above which bears reproduction in these columns. There is nothing new either in the presentation of the facts or in its method. But all the same these have value. The most eminent among Indian and British politicians and administrators have done this pioneer work, of whom the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, was one of the first to expose the more insidious way than politics in which poverty was created by British policy. The findings of the National Income Committee are the latest; it was appointed in 1951 and based these on the 1948-49 statistics, differing from the previous findings of well-known writers.

Population—34.104 crores.

	Rs.	Rs. 100 crores
Net national income	8,710	
Net domestic produce at factory cost	8,730	"
Net national produce at market price	9,170	"
Net output of Government enterprises	300	"
Government administration	460	"
Private sector	7,970	"
Govt. share in national expenditure	840	"
Government draft on private income	690	"
Per capita income—Rs. 255 only.		

There we have the contributions made by different classes of the Indian people engaged in different trades, industries, agriculture and animal husbandry.

	Figures in thousands	Percentage
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	90,537	68.2
Exploitation of minerals	633	0.5
Industry	18,019	13.6
Transport	2,448	1.8
Trade	8,250	6.2
Public force	1,909	1.4
Public administration	1,697	1.3
Professions and liberal arts	5,044	3.3
Domestic service	4,194	3.2
Total	132,731	100.0

Our readers will see that the first item in this list is five times than that made by the third. We have seen an estimate (*The Cow in India* by Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan) which said that animal husbandry—our cows, buffaloes, goats, etc.—produced about Rs. 1,000 crores worth of goods, though receiving the least attention from the State. This state of neglect has changed chiefly as a consequence of the food scarcity—a by-product of wars and economic maladjustment. The writer is sceptical of the labours of this Committee, and concludes his article with these words:

"On the whole, it has to be regretfully stated that the first or the interim report of the National Income Committee is of no great help in under-

standing the trends in our national economy. Nor would it help much, if at all in regard to economic planning, budgetary and other policy making of the Government."

But where does his own labours lead us to? Like all human labour why cannot we accept the findings of this Report? Statistics are not absolute as proof of truth.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" Tour

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" tour has completed more than 6 months' exertions. He fixed five million acres as the expected gifts to be received. But the results—about 65 thousand acres—have been disappointing, so far as figures went. Observers, specially foreigners, have, however, appeared to be keenly watching the "significance" of this tour, impressed by its natural appeal to India's men and women burdened with more than 50 million landless people.

Vinobaji wants a non-violent society based on co-operative activities with no money wages involved. Even in elections there should not be "any fights between parties." And in the bigger struggle for life and happiness, the same conduct should prevail. His remedy of "wages in kind," which was the usual thing in the world before the industrial revolution upset every arrangement, follows naturally as he, along with all thinking people, are dismayed at the "fraud perpetrated upon the poor by the continually decreasing purchasing power of money during an inflationary period, and the permanent fall which takes place over long periods." The remedy for this is a barter system, a standardized set of values for the exchange of goods and services within a village and groups of villages."

"This re-discovery of barter as a means of fair dealing is a curious example of the way in which the wisdom of one generation can appear folly to another. To Bentham, Mill and the orthodox economists of the 19th century, payment of wages in kind was abhorrent. The fact that the so-called sound money purchased less and less goods in every generation did not seem to worry them. Payment of wages otherwise than in money was called truck, and in Great Britain Truck Acts prohibiting it were passed in 1831, 1887 and 1896.

"In the wake of India's independence there have been many frustrations; because freedom came in a period of world economic crisis; because in many things experience has yet to be attained; and because of human failure to maintain ideals in face of tempting opportunities. Acharya Vinoba Bhave seeks to recall India to re-possess her soul. Beyond doubt, he has a magnetic quality. In his company one experiences a friendly glow and an immediate sense of intimacy, which is likely to attract an increasing number of disciples."

The above are summarized from an article in the

Leader (Allahabad) contributed by Mr. Arthur Moore. The mind of modern humanity speaks through it. And we can only pray that India will help in the recovery of the soul of the world as a partner in a great experiment in decent living. We should also guard against the conceit of superiority that peeps through words like those used by Prof. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan addressing the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati on December 24 last, "The West must accept the Eastern philosophy that there was no conflict which men could overcome by reconciliation."—This spirit of tolerance of dissimilars is no Eastern monopoly.

Bengal Academy of Literature

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat has to its credit a record of cultural activities that can compare well with other institutions of a like nature. We have received its latest report (1950-51) and we are glad and proud that progress is being maintained all along the line.

As the Parishat will be celebrating its 60-years' anniversary in the near future we take occasion to review its life. Started on the 23rd of July, 1893, the Parishat has been nursed by the most of Bengali men of letters, and expanded beyond its purely literary character, science and its various departments, research into India's past, etc. Its first president was Romesh Chunder Dutt whom Bankim Chandra had literally induced to write in his mother tongue.

Last year's report records activities of individual scholars, and they are up to the old mark with more care to what has been called the "evidence of stone," the "evidence of paper and metals." And in this connection we are inclined to think that in addition to making their results available through books and pamphlets, there should be arrangements made for discourses by competent people at stated seasons as is the practice in Poona where the Basant Vakyan Mala—Spring Lectures started by the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade about 70 years ago are still there.

Christian Missions and Their Future

The October, 1951 number of the *International Review of Missions* contains articles that are symptomatic of the changing mood, the repentant mood of the various Christian Churches of their leaders. We cannot do better than quote extracts from those to explain to our readers the workings of their minds:

"Alongside the prevailing political uncertainty, there is a great deal of cultural confusion. It is of importance to note, in this connexion, that there is a powerful pre-revolutionary 'hangover.' The Christian Church in its world mission has been and still is very heavily involved with governments—particularly in its educational, medical and philanthropic work. There is still a very general disposition on the part of governments to regard these Christian operations with favour and to encourage their continuance. There is, at the

same time, a growing tendency both to regard them as something of an anachronism and to limit their freedom to function as agencies of Christian evangelism. The conception of the State as the primary instrument of human welfare grows, almost without question. And this unchallenged expansion of the Welfare State at once raises questions of a fundamental character regarding the future of the Welfare Church.

"These tendencies are not, of course, characteristically Asian. But they are powerfully influential there. There are, however, other forces which are even more potent in shaping thought and determining action in the relations between Church and State. The newer nationalism is expressing itself culturally rather than politically. There is a sharpened awareness of the relation between culture and religion and this expresses itself in a stiffening resistance to Christian expansion. This is particularly evident in India. But it is not, by any means, confined to that country. The Indian Constitution contains impeccable written provisions for the maintenance of full religious liberty—including the right of propagation and conversion. But it may well prove that these formal safeguards form an insufficient bulwark against a rising tide of cultural nationalism which tends to identify the Hindu conception of *swadharma* with complete loyalty to the State. The liberal idealism which has found expression in the Constitution runs counter to much deeply rooted tradition and to many contemporary trends in India.

"Secondly, there is the rapid fading of what has already been called the pre-revolutionary hangover. Buttresses of prestige which the Church enjoyed in the era of Western dominion are rapidly crumbling. There is, of course, another side to this medal in the fact that a Christianity now visibly dissociated from Western political influence has a better chance of being judged on its merits.

"Thirdly, the real bulwark of Christian freedom is found in the life of the Church and not in external safeguards. Both vigilance and action are often needed at the legal and constitutional levels. The work of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs has been of the greatest service—direct and indirect—to the churches of East Asia. But the only ultimate safeguard of the Church's liberty lies in the vitality of the Church, its loyalty to the Gospel, its faithfulness as a community to the task of witness.

"The point of departure for the Christian in the whole debate on Church and State is not found in any social philosophy or in secondary and derived ideas regarding 'freedom,' 'democracy,' or 'the worth of the individual.' The point of departure is the Word of God, which is the centre of history and the revelation of God's purposeful and redemptive activity in history. This is no mere rhetorical flourish. If we take it seriously, it has the most profound and far-reaching bearing upon all our practical policies."—(Ransom: *Church and State in Asia Outside China*.)

In the article entitled—"First Thoughts on the Debacle of Christian Missions in China"—by a China Missionary, the same mood is evident. The choice of the word "debacle" is its proof:

"I believe that we must think of the end of our work as a *judgment* upon our work and upon ourselves, and must realize that the end, when it came, was a dramatic demonstration of many weaknesses, the result not only of external but of internal forces. I have used the phrase 'first thoughts' because while I am sure that there are lessons to be learned for India and Africa and the Near East from the experience of the Church in China, I am less sure that we know what those lessons are; and our second and third thoughts may be very different from our first.

"There will probably never be indigenous theology as long as Indian, Chinese, Japanese and African Christians are compelled to think in the alien Greek theological tradition. There is a real sense in which Chinese church leaders have in many instances been obliged, culturally speaking, to become Anglo-Saxons in order to reach positions of leadership in the Church; and this is now disastrous.

"A closely associated problem—the most agonizing of all for many missionaries—is that of standards of living. A couple of years ago I did a little modest enquiry, and found that I was paid about three times as much as a Chinese of comparable age and responsibility in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; and that there were other missionaries paid three times as much as I."

We propose to devote a few comments on the second and third paragraphs quoted above. Greek Theological tradition dominates still. And the attempts made by Indian Christians to relate Christ to the traditions of Eastern peoples are more or less ignored. The late Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav made a mighty effort to build a synthesis of Hindu and Christian traditions. He succeeded more with Hindu than with his fellow-believers. The late Sadhu Sundar Singh chalked out a mystical path which few have cared to tread. About "standards of living," the less said the better.

"Missionaries generally have a guilty conscience not only about standards of living, but also about the whole complex of issues now labelled 'imperialism.'

"It should not be necessary in this review to remind ourselves of the close connexion (we like to think it 'purely coincidental,' as the movie-makers say—many Chinese consider it causal) between the arrival in China of missionaries and the arrival of merchants, gunboats, Indian opium and treaty ports; though we shall be well advised to remember that Chinese feel the whole 'invasion of China by the Western world' to be more wicked and more humiliating than we can readily recognize."

Sanskrit and India's Unity

Delivering the annual address at the Ganganath Research Institute (Allahabad) on the 16th December

last Shree Kanaiya Lal Munshi, the Central Food Minister, asserted that India could attain her solidarity and cultural vitality through Sanskrit. And recalling the past he said:

"With but rare exceptions, the great and the noble in all generations in our land, who influenced life as a whole, have found self-fulfilment with the aid of Sanskrit and what it stands for. In the recent past, India though a subject race, regained her lost prestige through scholars whose vision had also been enriched by Sanskrit studies."

The eminent Gujarati scholar appeared to suggest that the moderns in India lacked this interest. But Ganganath and his teacher, the late Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, to confine ourselves to Allahabad itself, contradict this assumption. It has generally been the select few, the elite, who had devoted themselves to the study and propagation of culture direct through Sanskrit or through knowledge in that language. Lokamanya Tilak did it; so did Rabindranath Tagore. Gandhiji without knowing Sanskrit influenced history.

Uttar Pradesh and Rehabilitation Scheme

The Uttar Pradesh has to its credit the most successful and widespread of schemes for the settlement of discharged people from the armed services. The Allahabad *Leader* of December 8 last published a report on the Afzalgarh Scheme which we share with our readers:

"This decision was taken this morning at a conference of the State's Agriculture, Food Production and Colonisation Secretary, Mr. A. N. Jha, Mr. Radha Kant, Director of Colonisation and Resettlement, and other officials. Mr. A. D. Mukerjee, Administrator of Kashipur Colonisation Area which is about 30 miles from Afzalgarh, was also present. He will be the administrator of Afzalgarh area also.

"The Defence Department of the Government of India has contributed Rs. 35 lakhs, partly as grant and partly as loan towards this. The U. P. Government has contributed Rs. 5 lakhs and another five lakhs have come from the U. P. Post-war Reconstruction Fund. The remaining Rs. 5 lakhs are to be contributed by the settlers—Rs. 500 each by 1,000 families of settlers who are to be settled here on land and small industries that sprout out in the wake of this development.

"Twenty-two thousand acres of the area have been acquired and the work of clearing the jungles will start straightway. Part of it will be left for cattle grazing and the rest will be cultivated or used in building houses.

"For three years the colony will be under State management and afterwards the settlers will form co-operative societies and get the land for themselves."

Kasturba Niketan

Six miles from Delhi, a new colony is rising fast. Named Kasturba Niketan after Gandhiji's wife, it is

dedicated to her memory and provides a home for needy women, widows and orphans. It is one of the laudable efforts being made in various parts of the country to reconstruct the shattered lives of so many refugees who lost their all at the time of the partition.

Three hundred, neatly built, one-room tenements are nearly ready. Dry rations, a set of cooking utensils and a small dole of money are given to each woman for herself and her children, which means that she can run her own kitchen. This satisfies an average woman's craving to run a home and is psychologically far better than a community kitchen. A little over four hundred women and children are already living at the Niketan. When the buildings are all ready and the schools are functioning, the colony will have over 1,200 inmates.

A work-cum-production centre is the chief feature of the colony. Attendance for all able-bodied women is compulsory. Here the women learn useful crafts like cutting, tailoring, knitting, embroidery, weaving and carpet making. The articles produced are sold and the returns shared by the maker. Thus, the idea is to make the inmates earning members of society.

While the mothers work in the centre, the children are looked after in a nursery school in the colony. The school is run on modern lines and the young teachers are made to realise the importance of handling these unsettled children. As the school and work centre hours coincide, neither the mothers nor the children are disturbed while at work.

The orphanage has about forty children. Some women inmates who are not able to work in the centre are detailed to look after the children and are given remuneration. A few children are disabled and mentally deficient. Special care is given to them.

A whole-time lady doctor gives medical aid and runs the colony dispensary. Shortly, the colony will be completed, the school would have moved in, the gardens and gymnasium would be laid out and the roads all paved. Kasturba Niketan bids fair to be an ideal colony run on corporate lines, where the scars of partition would be slowly healed.

The beneficent activities of the Kasturba Memorial Fund have been slowly spreading over Bharat.

Buckingham Canal

The Madras *Hindu* has ventilated a grievance of the citizens that has become almost irremovable. The small Coum river which has been transformed into this Canal and named after a former Governor appears to be receiving less attention when the pressure on transport facilities has worsened. We quote our contemporary: "To the citizen of Madras the Buckingham Canal may appear to be one among the more regrettable features of the City. It is not commonly realised that this Canal runs for a length

of more than two hundred and sixty miles and that, connecting up with the fresh-water, high-level canals of the Krishna and Godavari Rivers, it affords a total length of about four hundred and sixty miles of navigable canal. From Kakinada down to Merkanam in South Arcot this Canal is useful as an inland waterway. The development of the British-owned M. & S. M. Railway limited the usefulness of the Canal. Work on the excavation of the Canal in sections extended from the year 1801 up to the famine of 1876 when its completion was undertaken as a relief work. It runs within a few miles of the sea all its length and is a salt-water canal except near its head-waters, being influenced by the tides of the sea which affect it through bars and backwaters. The Canal is extremely liable to be silted up and lakhs have been spent upon preventing this. As long as there was no pressure on our railway system it did not appear economic to send goods along the Canal on shallow, non-mechanical, slow boats. But our City depends on it for its salt and firewood, which are available in the coastal belt and are sent to Madras along the Canal.

Nepal's New Set-up

The arrival of Sri Vir Bikram Shah, Nepal's King, has given rise to any number of speculations in India. His visit is off the record, and the studeid care with which questions are being avoided adds to the mystery of the thing. Bombay's newspapermen have been persistent in the pursuit of news—a contrast with Calcutta's silence. Maharaja Mohan Samshere Jang is at Bombay now on "medical" advice. The same advice may take him to foreign countries. He is today free of State responsibilities as Prime Minister; his place has been taken by a Nepal Congress leader, Sri M. P. Koirala.

But these speculations are of ephemeral interest. The people are more concerned with the immediate future which the Koirala Cabinet propose to build up. Nepal is proud of her armed forces, and its leadership has been a point of dispute between the old leaders and the new. Therefore, the news from Kathmandu has a certain significance that Maj.-Gen. Kiran Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Nepali Army in place of Gen. Kaiser Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana who is now Defence Minister.

Maj.-Gen. Kiran who was Deputy C-in-C. enjoyed the full confidence of the Nepali Congress group in the old Cabinet. He is the son of a former Prime Minister, Maharaja Joodha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, now in retirement in Dehra Dun. We hope that when the old Maharaja has retired with dignity and has accepted the new regime, the future of Nepal is assured, and the Nepali people will be able to co-operate in creating a better life for themselves.

Egypt and the Copts

A booklet of 24 pages has been sent to us published by the Phoenicia Press of New York. It reveals the skeleton in Egypt's cupboard. The Introduction gives the story why this book was printed in the U.S.A.:

"The book was outlawed by the Egyptian government and the Arab States. Even the Christian Republic of Lebanon, under the government of Riad Solh, followed the Moslem Arab States in forbidding the entry and circulation of the book, as a courtesy toward Egypt.

"The material in these pages, translated in each case from the 'original Arabic,' describes the religious, cultural, political and economic discrimination now suffered by the Copts. Each of the articles here included appeared originally in one of three places: the Coptic-owned Cairo daily, *Misr*; the weekly magazine of the Coptic community, *Al-Manarat*; or, especially, a remarkable book called *Farrig Tasud* (Divide and Rule), which was secretly printed in January, 1950, without mention of publisher or press."

And the author "who was daring enough to put his name to the book, Dr. Michael Zugheib, suffered the consequences in a terrible way. A group of Moslem youths, living near his town of Abugurgas, came one Saturday night and attacked his home, shooting about thirty bullets into the house. They burned a house or two in a nearby Christian village. In one of these 'an old woman was burned to death.' Luckily, Dr. Zugheib and his family happened to be out of town at the time."

In page 7 we get some details of the story of discrimination:

"The study of the Arabic language has become a Moslem domain, and the Copts are excluded from it. Those few Copts who have acquired a literary diploma with a specialization in the Arabic language, find the Ministry of Education not disposed to appoint them.

"Foreign nations established free schools in Egypt to teach their languages to the people and make them love their cultures. But our ministers of education do not seem to understand that the Copts should learn to know and love Arabic! It seems they want the Copts to remain alien to Arabic, neither teaching nor studying it. In the Academy of the Arabic Language there has not yet been a single Copt, though there are Moghrabi, Syrians, Iraqi and Lebanese members. More than that, there even was an Iraqi monk!"

"Other privations and grievances—like the regulations on the building of churches. He mentions the many university exchange missions from which brilliant Copt students are excluded, and he mentions sixty high offices in the Ministry of Health which Copts cannot fill."

Of political discrimination pages 9-11 gives but an indication of things as they are today in Egypt even under Nahas Pasha. The author mentions the "Moslem Brotherhood" and the "Shabab Muhammad" (Mahomedan Youths) who starting with oppressing non-Muslims have begun to murder Muslims. The late Premier, Nugrashy Pasha was a case in point.

The charge-sheet, as we have quoted, is heavy enough. It is a saddening thought that a people fighting British imperialism should be found playing that discreditable game themselves!

Soviet Union and Islam

Since its foundation we have been hearing many creditable reports on the minority or nationality policy of the Soviet Union. Stalin's thesis on the subject, presented some time during years 1917-18, laid the lines of this policy of respect for dis-similars. And this the world has come to regard as the Charter of nationalities. But there appears to have been another side of the shield. The following from an article on Soviet imperialism is quite timely for all of us to ponder over:

"Soviet social policy in Central Asia hinges on the treatment of Islam. For, homogeneity throughout the region has been obtained from the fact that its peoples were almost solidly Muslim, constituting, together with the Muslims of the Caucasian Republics, the second largest religious group in the Union. Islam was the great unifier and its tenets were diametrically opposed not only to the secular Communist creed but its whole new way of life.

"Soviet rule could not afford to make concessions to such a challenger, although Muslim opinion had been led to believe otherwise. In the early years of the new Government a number of leading *Mullahs* made overtures of loyalty by attempting to reconcile the teachings of Islam with those of Communism; such conciliation was described in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia (1935) as 'counter-revolutionary.' Similarly the *Shari'ah*, whose validity was pledged by Stalin in November, 1920, was gradually superseded by a new unified legal system operating throughout the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet authorities have opposed any emergence of a Pan-Islamic movement in Central Asia, *vide*, the Tashkent treason trials of 1929. They have kept the influence of the faith in check sometimes by force, imprisoning the *Mullahs* and expropriating or closing the mosques, and more persistently by indirect psychological undermining. Direct persecution occurred after 1917, in 1929 and again in 1936-38, and was each time succeeded by conciliation.

"Since 1939, ten new mosques have been built and the pilgrimage to Mecca has been renewed, after an enforced cessation of 20 years. This toleration has been coupled with a new campaign of Communist indoctrination from Moscow and new exhortations, particularly to the young in Central Asia, to rededicate themselves to the Marxist faith."

Is Russia Weaker than the West?

Only a few months ago, Soviet Russia was hailed by the entire Communist press as the greatest military power in the world, the Soviet Army as the invincible

bastion of peace, and so on. Since the West, alarmed by Soviet Russia's growing military potential, has begun to rearm, we are treated to articles like John Gollan's.

In his second article, Gollan published a graph. Analysing the rate at which the defence estimates of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Great Britain had increased. He said that by 1951, "The American arms budget has almost trebled since 1949, that of Great Britain has doubled. In the U.S.S.R., it has gone up by little more than one fifth." On the basis of the *United Nations Economic Survey for Europe*, published in June 1951, the amount of manpower devoted to armaments in these countries is as follows:

Great Britain: 82 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.A.: 77 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.S.R.: 49 labour man years per 1,000 of the population.

Let us see what happens when these figures are multiplied by the number of inhabitants. In 1951, the U.S.A.—with 150 million inhabitants—spent 11,100,000 labour man years on armaments; the U.S.S.R. with 200 million inhabitants 9,800,000; Great Britain with 50 million inhabitants—4,800,000.

To calculate the number of labour man years spent by each of these countries on armaments in 1949, let us take the proportional increase in their defence budgets, as quoted by the *Daily Worker*:

Labour Man Years

	1951	1949
U.S.S.R.	9800000	7840000
U.S.A.	11000000	3700000
Great Britain	4100000	2050000

This shows that in 1949, that is before the rearmament drive in the West, the Soviet Union was devoting twice as much as Great Britain and the U.S.A. put together.

As this first deduction is so revealing, let us compare the effort of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. to create war potential during the post-war years. Let us calculate the labour man year figures for each year proportionately to their defence budget expenditures:

Labour Man Years

	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
U.S.S.R.	9800000	8000000	7850000	6400000	6000000
U.S.A.	11000000	4650000	3700000	3400000	4250000

According to these figures, during the three years preceding the rearmament drive in the West—1947, 1948 and 1949—Soviet Russia accumulated 20,850,000 labour man years, against the U.S.A.'s 11,350,000. In 1950, the difference of 9,000,000 labour man years grew to 12,750,000; even after the completion of the 1951 U.S. arms budget, the Soviet side will have 11,050,000 labour man years to its credit. At the end of 1951, that is after two years of increased armament expendi-

ture in the West, the U.S.S.R. will still be a full year ahead of the U.S.A.

If the *Daily Worker* published these figures to convince us that the Soviet Union is not piling up armies and guns, it has made a mistake. We can only presume that its economic experts do not understand the difference between western peace economy and Soviet permanent war economy.

After de-mobilisation, the Soviet Union quietly went on with her permanent war economy, and piled up armaments; the western countries passed over to peace time economy and small defence expenditure. As a result of this, during 1947, 1948 and 1949 the disparity between the Soviet Union and the west grew to an alarming extent, and the "doomed, decaying, disintegrating bourgeois world" had to make an effort for self-preservation.

Then Communist propaganda suddenly switched from boasts about Soviet invincibility, to statistics showing that the USSR was the least armed of the Great Powers. The truth is somewhere in between.

The most valuable lesson the west has drawn from the period of Nazi political blackmail, which preceded the second world war, was that in politics as in war, the Powers must rely on their war preparedness. Hitler's power of 'Diktat' must not be allowed ever to revive; the present day dictators must be forced to come down from their dreams of world supremacy to normal human relations, where the rights of individuals, of classes and of countries are respected and protected. This is the real basis of peace.

We are grateful to the *Daily Worker's* statisticians for having given us the opportunity of demonstrating the truth by means of their own figures.

On September 3rd and 5th, the *Daily Worker* (New York) published two articles by John Gollan to show that Soviet Russia's war potential was insignificant compared to that of the USA and Great Britain, for "the west is piling up the armies and the guns, not the Soviet Union."

New East which publishes this rejoinder has done a great service by this comparative study. The Western Powers will now realize their own strength and weakness—the surest way to remedy. Our neutral position stands more or less justified by this criticism of a non-Communist paper.

Difficulties of West Germany's Chancellor

We do not envy the position of Doctor Adenauer dragged by two groups of Great Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. On the last day of November last appeared an air-mail news indicating his coalition Government, undergoing a serious process of attrition. The nature of this crisis will be found in the following words:

"As the party assembled for its annual Congress at Karlsruhe, it was forced to look back on an un-

broken succession of reverses in provincial elections and by-elections to the Federal Parliament during the past 12 months. There are wide differences of degree: the Christian Democrats are still the strongest single party in all the predominantly Catholic States, while they are approaching complete collapse in such Protestant areas as Lower Saxony and Bremen.

"There are also different heirs; in Lower Saxony the votes have passed chiefly to the Refugee Party and the Right-wing extremists; in other areas chiefly to the Socialists.

"Of the minor partners in the Federal Government the Right-wing German Party, which exists only in the Protestant North, fully shares in the downward trend.

The Free Democrats, although profiting in some areas from the desertion of Protestant middle-class elements from their Christian Democratic partners, have also suffered a slight loss in their total poll.

"Together the Government Coalition parties have dropped a million votes compared with the last Bundestag elections in the 6 out of 11 States, where provincial elections have been held in the last year—from 6.2 to 5.2 million. During the same period, the Socialist Opposition gained half a million votes—from 3.8 to 4.3 million—in the same area, and the Right-wing extremists gained 200,000 almost doubling their 1949 vote. Though the next Federal elections are not due until 1953, this trend cannot fail to increase Mr. Adenauer's difficulties in holding his coalition together—chiefly in the fields of foreign policy and of industrial legislation.

"The Christian Democrats, founded after the war as the rallying platform for democratic Conservatives of both Protestant and Catholic background, find themselves more and more reduced to the traditional following of the Catholic Centre Party of pre-Nazi days.

"As the Protestant voters desert them, they become more and more committed to the active promotion of 'Western European integration' as its most distinctive policy—while its Protestant coalition partners try to present themselves as more jealous guardians of national German interests and to vie with the Socialist Opposition in presenting 'conditions' to the Western Powers.

"The result of all this is not that the coalition is threatened with political paralysis. It is natural in the circumstances that speculation among Allied observers returns periodically to the possibility of a coalition between the two big democratic forces of German society which are at present bitter opponents: the Socialists, now, definitely the strongest, single party but still far from any prospect of absolute majority; and the Christian Democrats who, despite their present decline, are likely to remain indispensable for any stable majority in Western Germany.

"But even though the Christian Democrats may be sufficiently flexible in economic and social policy to make such a coalition possible one day, nobody has yet been able to envisage a compromise between the foreign policies of Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher."

Constitution of Federal Libya

The Constitution, recently approved by the Libyan National Assembly, creates a United Kingdom of Libya consisting of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan as a free, independent, sovereign State possessing hereditary monarchy with a Federal representative form of government.

The Constitution has come into force upon the declaration of the independence of Libya on January 1, 1952, in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly's resolution. In the meantime, the Federal Provisional Government, set up last March, exercised the powers transferred to it by the administering Powers until the establishment of a duly constituted Government appointed by the King.

The following are the main features of the Constitution approved by the Libyan National Assembly meeting in Benghazi on October 7.

The Libyan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate is composed of 24 members equally divided among the three Provinces, with the King appointing half of the members and the other half being elected by the three Provincial Legislative Councils. Membership in the Senate will be for eight years, with half of the appointed and elected members being replaced every four years. In the first Senate, however, all the members will be appointed by the King for a four-year period.

The House of Representatives will be composed of members elected in the proportion of one to every 20,000 inhabitants and in accordance with Federal electoral law, to be promulgated within 30 days as from October 7 by the National Assembly. Elections must take place within three and a half months after the promulgation of this law. No Province will have less than five representatives, and pending the taking of a population census Tripolitania will be represented by 36 members, Cyrenaica by 15 and the Fezzan by 5. The term of office of the House of Representatives will be four years unless the House is dissolved sooner.

The first King of Libya is Sayed Mohamed Idris el Senussi. The order of succession of the male heirs will be determined by Royal decree but the heir is to be the eldest son. In case there should be no son, the heir will be appointed by the King.

The King's Ministers will be responsible to the House of Representatives. The Prime Minister will be appointed by the King, and at the Prime Minister's

request the King will also appoint the other Ministers.

Every resident in Libya with no other nationality will be considered a Libyan if born in Libya or if he has held normal residence there for a period of not less than 10 years. Foreigners normally residing in Libya for the last ten years will be given opportunity within the three coming years to opt for Libyan nationality.

The constitutional provisions relating to the monarchical form of government or the order of succession to the Throne or the principles of liberty and equality will not be subject to revision.

For a review of the other provisions it will be necessary to obtain a two-thirds majority vote in each Chamber and the sanction of the King. For a review of the provision relating to the Federal form of Government it will be necessary, in addition, to obtain the approval of all the provincial legislatures and executives.

This double approval of the Federal Parliament and of the Provincial Legislatures and Executives is requisite because certain powers fall solely within the competence of the Federal Government and other powers are exercised jointly by the Federal Government legislatively and by the Provinces executively under Federal supervision.

The Federal powers include foreign affairs, defence, immigration, currency, armed forces and higher education.

The joint powers include Income-tax, Mining, Shipping and Navigation, Labour and the General System of Education.

The King of Libya belongs to a sect in Islam that is almost akin to Wahhabism whose present head is Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the King of Arabia. In foreign affairs, these two States are likely to work together. In between lies Egypt with its Frenchified ruling class. The effects of this geography will be watched by all with hope and not a little anxiety.

Is China a Satellite?

There is more than a hint of insult in this question put even by our people. We are glad, therefore, that Sardar Panikkar, India's ambassador to China, has voiced the feeling of his people so consistently on this matter. Today, British politicians are found echoing the same sentiments. The Labour Government's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, did well, therefore, in repudiating such an attitude of superiority over Communism. In a speech on the eve of the last election, he said: "... because China had a Communist Government, she should be treated exactly in the same category as the Soviet Union." It was "a mistake" to assume that she was "bound to be a slavish and subservient satellite." He hoped that the Government of Winston Churchill would avail itself of the earliest opportunity for getting "the effective

Chinese Government to the United Nations." For, on such a step depended the peace of the East which is "vital" for the restoration of normal civilized life all the world over.

Meanwhile, news has been circulated from the circles about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that the 1952 spring will be signalized by attack on China. This is being financed and organized on all ways by the United States Government, the same sources assert. It is the madness of a confused and bewildered administration. If such an attack took place, India would stand in the way; so will other nations. We believe that U.S.A.'s ruling classes are not as mad as that.

Darbar Gopaldas

Another link with the Gandhian era, with the Non-co-operation Movement, is snapped by the death of Darbar Gopaldas at his 73rd year. Coming almost after a year after Sardar Patel's death, the event has a significance for Gujarat which they had helped to build up as a weapon to wrest power from the British.

Son of a *jaigirdar* in Kathiawar, inheriting its traditions and rules of conduct, ever anxious to conciliate whoever holds the State power, at the expense of individual and national self-respect, Darbar Gopaldas could have thus enjoyed life. But under Gandhiji's inspiration he broke away from the old order. This he found easy to do, because his chosen guide and philosopher was himself the son and grandson of Prime Ministers of two Kathiawar States.

Darbar Gopaldas had never wavered through any of the successes and failures of the Non-co-operation period. He never hankered after power, and thus we have not seen his name in newspapers. He was one of those silent men and women who are the real props of all movements of uplift and revolt.

Today we have to mourn his death. To his wife, Bakti Behn, and his family we send our condolences. May his soul rest in peace!

Dr. Wilbur Sawyer

On the 20th November last died Wilbur Augustus Sawyer (72), who developed the first successful vaccine against yellow fever, at the Merrith Hospital of heart ailment. He, former University of California professor of Clinical Medicine, developed the vaccine in 1931 when he was head of the Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Sawyer was Director of Health for UNRRA 1944-47, was Secretary-General of the Fourth International Congress of Tropical Medicine and Malaria in Washington in 1948. Though he died full of years and of honour, the death of this benefactor of humanity deserves notice. May his soul rest in peace!

Abanindranath Tagore

On the 5th December last departed from this world Abanindranath Tagore, the life-and-soul of

Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan after the death of Rabindranath. He died in his 81st year, full of years and honours, as the symbol and representative of India's culture at its highest and best. He succeeded Sarojini Naidu as the third President of the Governing Body of the Visva-Bharati and its associated institutions. And well was it that he had been called upon to do it, because he was in a way, the handiwork of Rabindranath. And in beautiful Bengali he has described for all times the relationship that had bound these persons in mutual understanding, love and respect.

He was the torch-bearer not only in the renaissance of Indian art but as well of children's literature. Havell's name is associated with this art revival; Abanindranath has ever expressed gratefulness to this British artist for drawing him out of his recluse life, devoted to the fine arts. In search of the old, Abanindranath not only went to Ellora, Ajanta, Rajput and Mughal paintings and their inspirations, but went to our villages, where Bengal's womanhood with their deft fingers, had kept alive *alpanas* (designs on floor, on blocks of wood); *kanthas* on old cloth which are comparable with Kashmiri work, and to our potters and carpenters. Thus was founded the Bengal School of Oriental Art which has made history in India since 1900.

Today we can only express our sense of loss at his death. To his sons and daughters we tender our condolences. A short life-history of his is given below:

"Abanindranath Tagore, a grand-son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and nephew of Rabindranath, was born on August 7, 1871.

He was educated at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta and then privately at home. He took lessons in European art from Signor Gilbady, an Italian artist and Mr. Palmer. After some time he gave up painting after European style and began studying ancient Hindu and Moghul art. He painted more than 200 pictures of which the most famous are perhaps the 'Banished Yaksha,' 'Passing of Shah Jehan' and the 'Queen of Ashoka.'

Leader of Art Renaissance in Bengal and the founder of the Modern School of Indian Art, he was the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta from 1905 to 1916 and then became its Principal.

He was also founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts and elected President of Visva-Bharati in 1941.

In the words of Rabindranath: "He saved the country from the sin of self-deprecation. He has raised her from the depths of humiliation and has regained for her the honoured position which was hers by right. He has earned for India the recognition of her contributory share in all that humanity has realised for itself. A new era has dawned upon India through the awakening of her art consciousness. And it is from

him that the whole of India has learnt her lessons anew. A proud place has thus been assigned to Bengal through his achievement."

Soon he gave up his studies in the general line. Between 1892-94 he illustrated Rabindranath's *Chitrangada*. He drew pictures for his own story books *Sakuntala* and *Kshirer Putul* during the period.

But experiments in European technique could not satisfy him and he felt within himself an urge to give expression to his inner impulses through colour and brush and the proper medium to express them tormented him a great deal. In his own words, "I grew restless. There was a yearning in my heart. I felt it, but could never define it. What next, I would often wonder."

In those days of inner torment he came across some English illuminations and an album of Indian paintings. Attracted by their decorative quality, he searched for Indian subjects to be executed in this newly found technique and at the suggestions of Rabindranath attempted to illustrate the lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidasa. His first attempt, however, was a failure as he could not get rid of the European influence. He then took lessons on the technique of illuminations from an expert Indian craftsman. The lessons were successful and he brought out Radha-Krishna series. This meant a new liberation for him from the influence of Western creation.

He has said of his experiences during this period: "How can I express what I felt during all that period? I was filled with pictures—that's how it was like. They dominated my entire being. I had only to close my eyes to get pictures come floating before my mind—form, line, colour, shade, all complete. I would take up the brush and the pictures painted themselves as it were."

After some time Abanindranath had an opportunity to meet E. B. Havell, the then Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This meeting was a turning point in his career. Havell fired the imagination of Indian people by the warmth of love for Indian ideals in art; he showed him some masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal paintings, which he had acquired for the Picture Gallery then attached to the Government School of Art. By quick assimilation of their technique, Abanindranath at once carried on experiments which were the seed-plot of the new spirit of nationalism.

Havell said of him: "Naturally being well-versed both in Sanskrit and Persian literature, he seeks inspiration from the great epics of India and from the poems of Kalidasa and Omar Khayyam and being gifted with a fine imaginative faculty, he gives a true interpretation of Indian spirituality and an insight into that higher world, the fairy land of Eastern poetry and romance which Eastern thought has created."

Sometime between 1901-1902, Abanindranath met for the first time two Japanese artists, Yokahama Taik-

wan and Hisida; they exercised considerable influence on his technique. His *Evening Lamp*, *Bharat Mata*, *Yakshas of the Upper Air* and many others painted, during this period, show considerable Japanese influence.

The new spirit of nationalism through the poetry, songs and literature of Poet Tagore, came to be felt in the country. Living at its centre Abanindranath with the help of his brother Gaganendranath, gathered round him a band of artists.

In time people came to realise the significance of this new art movement. Abanindranath's mission was realised. The artists of this school were requisitioned by other Provinces in India.

Numerous were the works executed by Abanindranath and they showed a gradual process of development in technique and style spreading through years of divergent moods and expressions. By the power of assimilation he was able to evolve a technique of his own. Our country's classics, the old tradition of Ajanta, the masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal miniatures, his critical study of the Japanese prints, his training in Western technique and the congenial artistic atmosphere of his family, all combined together, helped him in developing a style of his own.

Abanindranath was a great teacher also. Those who had the privilege of being his pupils would never forget the affection and sympathy they had from him. Before imparting his lessons he would ask each and every pupil to be well acquainted with the vast art-treasures—paintings and sculptures scattered all over India and to have an extensive study of Indian classics for developing power of thinking and for inspiration. He did not impose his own style on his pupils, but gave them suggestions or corrected their works according to the conception formed by them and not according to what the Master would have done in his own case. What he wanted of his disciples was originality and his genius consisted in drawing out the artistic faculty from the most mediocre students. He worked hard to inspire his pupils and encouraged them to draw and paint whatever subject they liked according to their own style.

He was also a talented writer. He wrote in a simple style and had a peculiarly witty way of giving expression to his ideas. Some of his Bengali books have been translated in foreign languages and highly appreciated in many countries. His small stories reveal a rare charm. His *Raj Kahini*, *Bhut-petnir Desh*, *Buddh Angla*, etc., are rich contributions in the domain of literature. His *Sadanga or the Six Limbs of Paintings* (translated into English by Dr. A. Aronson and translated into French by Andree Karpeles) is regarded as an authoritative exposition of the theory of art.

He spent the last few years of his life in his quiet retreat, away from the din and bustle of Calcutta. The peace was often "disturbed" by his disciples who went to greet him and obtain his blessings on his birthday and similar occasions.

GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

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By HIS EXCELLENCY DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Governor of West Bengal

GANDHIJI AND THE BRITISH TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

IN the absence of well-authenticated evidence to the contrary, it is probably correct to assume that the drink problem thrust itself into the notice of Mahatma Gandhi when he went to England to study law. One of the many strange and unusual things noticed by him, brought up as he was in an orthodox Vaishnava family, must have been the Western attitude towards drinking which carries no social opprobrium so long as moderation is observed. He has told us in *Young India* (April 18, 1929) how often he was placed in an embarrassing position because he would neither drink when visiting friends nor offer them liquor when they called on him.

It is well-known that many who observe moderation in drinking are guilty of lapses at least now and then. And we may be certain that such cases must have come under Gandhiji's notice for, in his own way, he was, in those days, something of a society man with friends among the educated, the cultured and at least the comparatively well-to-do classes among whom the majority of moderate drinkers in the West were and are still to be found. So far as the working classes were concerned, he found that they contributed the largest number of drunkards and wasted so much on liquor that they could provide neither proper accommodation nor the right type of food in adequate quantities for themselves and their dependents. The conclusion drawn by him from what he saw during his stay in England was that literacy by itself does not prevent a person from excessive indulgence in liquor and that education in primary and secondary schools, in colleges and in universities is equally valueless as a preventive of inebriety.

Gandhiji had been told that Great Britain had, by the method of trial and error, gradually evolved one of the most satisfactory systems for the control of liquor, that there were so many restrictions of various types on its manufacture and distribution that this country had practically solved the problem of securing maximum revenue with minimum consumption and that the people in general were so law-abiding that infringements of its excise rules and regulations were rare. But what he saw around him must have convinced him that, granting that the British system of control is one of the finest yet produced, it had failed to put an end to or even act as an effective check on drunkenness and its consequences, individual and social, as also that greed was responsible for many breaches of the laws governing the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Always interested in endeavours put forth either by individuals or organisations to remove or mitigate social evils, Mahatma Gandhi must have felt interested

in the British temperance movement in which thousands of volunteers, men, women, adolescents and even children participated, in the largely attended public meetings organised and in the immense mass of literature issued by it. He must have been equally familiar with the efforts of temperance workers to establish contact with drinkers in order to dissuade them from indulgence in liquor. This technique for bringing about the elimination of drink had been started on an organised basis early in the 19th century and hundreds of thousands of people had devoted their means and their energies to put it through. And yet what has been called "moral suasion," and legislation for tightening up the excise system had, as his eyes told him, all ended in dismal failure so far as the elimination of drunkenness was concerned.

SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Professional work or rather Providence took Mahatma Gandhi to South Africa shortly after his return to India. The law there prohibited the supply of liquor to Africans; Indians were permitted to drink in shops licensed to sell liquor but not to buy and carry it home for consumption. There were no restrictions on whites. Here too drunkenness was found among the educated, the cultured and the well-to-do as well as among the poorer whites proving the correctness of the conclusions previously arrived at by him.

Gandhiji saw drunkenness not only among Indian men but also among Indian women settlers. He found that many of these who, if they had remained in India, would never have even dreamt of touching liquor felt no shame in visiting liquor shops and drinking in public. He also noticed drunkenness in the homes of Indians as well as of Africans. These got their supplies from covetous whites who purchased considerable amounts of liquor and then sold them to Indians and Africans.

The sympathy Mahatma Gandhi felt for the difficulties imposed by Government on his countrymen who had emigrated to South Africa led to various attempts on his part to champion their cause so much so that, within a short time, he became their undisputed leader and their spokesman. Greatly disturbed by what he saw around him and especially by the moral degradation and the economic loss suffered by his countrymen and countrywomen, he tried to utilise his position to persuade them to abstain from liquor. He has himself told us how he began active temperance work there from 1893. He was bitterly disappointed when he found that his efforts bore no fruit for his countrymen and countrywomen, to quote Gandhiji's language refused "to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice." Many were the steps he adopted, to encourage sobriety among

them but realised only too soon and too well that he could not claim "any degree of visible success."

The lessons drawn from his South African experience in regard to the drink problem may be summarised as follows. Gandhiji was confirmed in his views about the ineffectiveness of literacy and education, of liquor control and of anti-drink propaganda as satisfactory methods for solving the problem. Two important facts which emerged were that the first and fundamental step must be withdrawal of all temptation, possible only when shops licensed to sell liquor are closed, in other words, when there is legal banning of liquor. The second thing he learnt was the utter worthlessness of that uninformed type of criticism which holds that prohibition should not be introduced as it would encourage defiance of law and loss of revenue. Mahatma Gandhi's experience showed that greedy men feel no hesitation in betaking themselves to illicit practices, control or no control, prohibition or no prohibition, so long as it is profitable to do so and that therefore this particular argument against the imposition of prohibition is meaningless.

EXPERIENCE IN INDIA

Returning home at the request of Gokhale whom he called his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi spent one year in touring India always travelling in the third class and mixing with high and low, keeping his eyes and ears open, drinking in all that he saw around him and drawing his own conclusions from them. One of these was that while some among the wealthy, the cultured and the educated in India indulge in alcoholic beverages, the bulk among the consumers of drink and drugs is always drawn from the poorer classes. He summarised his findings by saying:

"Drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle class man, it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands."

Gandhiji laid special stress on two evils which he held invariably follow the consumption of liquor and drugs. He quoted with approval a few lines from a pamphlet advocating prohibition written by a European Missionary of Madras who, basing his views on statistics published by Government, showed that the lower classes wasted the enormous sum of 80 crores or so on them, the saving of which would naturally mean a marked improvement in their standard of life.

Gandhiji who always attached a very high value to the moral improvement of man after supplying the above information to the readers of *Young India* (February 4, 1926) added:

"The moral loss is even greater than the financial. Drink and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them. The drunkard forgets the distinction between wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes of which in his sober moments he will be ashamed. Any one who had anything to do with labour knows

to what state the labourers are reduced when they are under the satanic influence of drink. Nor are the other classes better off. I have known the captain of a ship forgetting himself in his drunken state. The ship had to be entrusted to the care of the chief officer. Barristers having drunk have been known to be rolling in gutters. Only these better-placed men are protected by the police all over the world whereas the poor drunkard is punished for his poverty."

FREEDOM AND PROHIBITION CAMPAIGNS

Gandhiji's experience in India confirmed the views to which he had been previously driven namely that even the most efficient system of control and regulation is ineffective in stamping out addiction and that the only way to achieve it is the banning of drink and drugs through legislation. He realised quite well that while this is feasible in a free country provided a large majority of its citizens are in favour of such a step, it was an impossibility in a subject country like India where the rulers were no believers in it and where too nearly a quarter of the total revenue was derived from this source. Quite aware that they would persist in retaining the existing excise system in spite of the almost universal desire of the people to abolish the consumption of drink and drugs, Gandhiji was irresistibly led to the conclusion that only political freedom would give prohibition to India.

This explains, but only partly, the close association between the freedom movement and the prohibition campaign. But till freedom was acquired and as an item in the fight to win it, he stood for the application of pressure on such a large scale that it would be impossible for a foreign government to resist it. Naturally enough, public support for this large-scale pressure could come only when the fight against drink and drugs became part of a bigger struggle for the removal of more than one grievance. Further, it had, in his view, to be non-violent in character.

The opportunity for an all-India effort of a type more militant and much more effective than anti-alcohol propaganda in scattered and widely separated areas and personal contact with addicts so far only by temperance workers, came with the Non-co-operation Movement of 1920-22. Primarily, a protest against the Rowlatt Bills, the Punjab atrocities, the Khilafat wrongs and the unsatisfactory character of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, it, as the result of official refusal or inability to read and interpret the signs of the times correctly, resolved itself into a new type of political struggle with definite political, economic and moral ends, one of the latter being the purification of the country by the abolition of drink and drugs through peaceful picketing.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Gandhiji thought it necessary to issue specific instructions as to how workers should conduct their work (*Young India*, March 23, 1921). They were exhorted to adopt the method of "respectful entreaty"

requesting the shop-keepers to give up their licenses and their patrons to abstain from the wares sold by them. They were to content themselves with merely warning the addicts against their evil habits but not to molest or otherwise prevent them from indulging their appetite if they declined to pay any heed to their appeals.

Thousands of people, most of whom were young men or students who had left colleges and schools, volunteered their services for picketing shops selling foreign cloth, drink and drugs. To ensure the absolutely non-violent character of their activities, these people had to undergo rigid tests and only those who passed them were registered as Congress volunteers. The general public was forbidden to participate in the picketing as it was apprehended that it might, under provocation, be tempted to depart from Gandhian principles.

Though the volunteers had often to suffer physical violence at the hands of addicts, shop-keepers and their assistants, as also from subordinates of the Excise and Police Departments, they persisted and the results achieved were remarkable. Gandhiji summarised them (*Young India*, April 18, 1929) in the following terms:

"We were within an ace of complete success, at least in some provinces, many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens were deserted."

The second uncompromising champion of total prohibition, Shri Rajaji, has told us (*Young India*, February 7, 1924) that

"In the Southern Provinces young men of all classes went to prison in their hundreds in the Anti-Drink Campaign and the message penetrated the furthest corners of village life."

What was still more remarkable was that many social groups both among the classes and the masses vowed to give up the consumption of intoxicants and kept their promise. This happened because, in the language of Gandhiji:

"There was an onrush of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how,—we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works."

WANING OF PROHIBITION

The British Government, never a believer in prohibition, was alarmed by an unprecedented drop in the Excise revenue which, at that time, amounted to 25 crores or so. Unable to appreciate or unwilling to admit the ethical and moral aspect of the movement, it assumed that its primary object was to harass the administration. It started repression, generally drastic in character, so that, to quote Gandhiji again:

"Thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops on the plea of giving protection to addicts and licensed shop-keepers and for the maintenance of law and order."

Their disappearance from the scene gradually brought back the old situation.

Another reason for the gradual subsidence of the

anti-drink and drug campaign was that many of the picketers in their enthusiasm to make it a success departed from the instructions given by Gandhiji. The moral and ethical motive behind the movement was replaced in numerous cases by the desire to embarrass the administration by reducing the revenue. Their adoption of pressure tactics not only deprived the movement of its moral appeal but also alienated the sympathy of the public.

THE SWARAJ PARTY AND RESOLUTIONS IN THE LEGISLATURES

Gandhiji was tried on a charge of sedition in March, 1922 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. After his disappearance from public life, an influential section of Congressmen, known later on as Pro-changers, felt that, for the time being at least, the interests of the country would be best served by entering the legislatures and showing up the defects of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Others, known as No-changers, refused to give up Non-co-operation. For some time it appeared as though these differences would break up national solidarity to the extent that all effective opposition to our rulers would come to an end.

Gandhiji was released unconditionally after a serious operation early in February 1924. He met Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leaders of the Pro-changers, and after giving his qualified approval to their programme asked them and their supporters to move resolutions in the Central and Provincial legislatures one of them being "to abolish the drink and drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the Army expenditure." The No-changers were consoled by the assurance given by the Pro-changers that they could always rely on their co-operation in working the Constructive Programme one of the items of which was and continues to be the abolition of drink and drugs.

The Non-co-operation Movement was formally suspended at the annual session of the Congress at Belgaum in December, 1924. In his presidential address, Gandhiji suggested the following as indissolubly connected with Swaraj as he envisaged it:

"Manual labour to be the qualification for franchise; the reduction of Military expenditure, the cheapening of justice, the abolition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and revenues therefrom, reduction of Civil and Military salaries, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, examination of monopolies of foreigners, guarantee of status to Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, repeal of arbitrary powers, abolition of race distinction in services and religious freedom to various denominations, administration through vernacular languages, and Hindi to be the National language."

From the above, it is clear that such was the importance he attached to the abolition of drink and drugs that he placed it on the same level as guarantees in regard to religious freedom, repeal of arbitrary

powers, reduction in military expenditure and of the salaries paid to officials, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, the replacement of English by a national language, etc.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The campaign against drink and drugs had gone on though after 1922 it had lost much of its militancy. The No-changers who were to be found in every nook and corner of our motherland had worked faithfully, if silently, the Constructive Programme of 1920. Further, the formal withdrawal of Non-co-operation in 1924 had emboldened most non-Congress temperance workers to come out into the open and to take a more active part in the movement. The effect of all this was seen in a memorial presented to the Viceroy in 1925 and signed by 30,000 people asking for the introduction of prohibition as a much-needed social reform.

Mahatma Gandhi retired from the presidency of the Congress in due course but his influence was there all the same. Among other things, this is seen from the following resolution passed at its annual session which met at Cawnpore in December, 1925:

"The Congress is of the opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India, and would therefore welcome its abolition."

THE SIMON COMMISSION

Indian nationalism which was seeking for a definite issue on which to fight the British administration found it in the appointment of the all-English Simon Commission towards the end of 1927. Looking back at the matter after all these years, it has to be admitted that this was a political blunder on the part of our rulers especially as none of its members was at that time known in India or possessed any experience of the East. Followed an all-India boycott in which even the Moderates led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru felt compelled to join.

The statement of Lord Birkenhead that India's communal and other dissensions precluded the inclusion of Indian members in the Simon Commission led to the deliberations of the All-Parties' Conference of 1928 and the drafting of a Constitution for India which, among other things, accepted prohibition.

This Constitution was ratified with certain reservations with which we are not concerned here by the All-Parties' Convention attended by many members of the Central and Provincial legislatures, representatives of various political, communal, labour, landholders, Indian States, women's, backward classes, journalists and other organisations. What is important is that, in spite of differences in other matters, there was absolute unanimity so far as the clause of prohibition was concerned—the best possible proof that the anti-drink and drug campaign initiated on an all-India basis in 1920 and carried on under Gandhiji's inspiration by the Congress had the support of all sections

of the Indian public including even people who had deliberately kept themselves aloof from this organisation.

The Congress at its annual session of 1928 with Pandit Motilal Nehru as President considered the Constitution approved by the All-Parties' Convention. In order to save the country from sufferings inevitable if an all-India struggle was precipitated at this juncture, it offered to accept this Constitution provided it was accepted "in its entirety" by Government on or before the 31st December, 1929 failing which it declared its intention to launch "a campaign of non-violent Non-co-operation" in the shape of refusal to pay taxes and "in such other manner as may be decided upon." One of its resolutions laid down a ten-point programme probably to prepare Congressmen in particular and Indians in general for the struggle into which our country might be drawn if our rulers refused the above offer. We are concerned with its first item which reads as follows:

"In the Legislatures and outside, every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible."

The Working Committee which met immediately after the Congress session appointed a number of Sub-Committees to carry on the work contemplated in the above resolution.

RAJAGOPALACHARI AND TOTAL PROHIBITION

There was at least one champion of prohibition in India who would not allow the grass to grow under his feet once the Congress had passed a resolution like the one just quoted. Always alert to take the fullest possible advantage of each favourable opportunity as soon as it presented itself to uproot addiction to drink and drugs, Shri C. Rajagopalachari drafted a scheme for implementing it. Even a cursory glance at its fifteen items will show how practical were the suggestions put forward and how eminently fitted the scheme was to combat the drink and drug evil through the organisation, on an all-India basis, of all opposed to it.

This was accepted by the Working Committee and a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri C. Rajagopalachari was appointed to put it through. It will be noticed that the selection of members was such as to ensure the all-India character of the campaign.

This scheme which found nation-wide publicity and support was published in *Young India* (April 4, 1929). Rajaji who had been entrusted with the task of organising the prohibition campaign circulated his programme of work among the Provincial Congress Committees, a work which received the blessings of Gandhiji (*Young India*, May 23, 1929).

The results of the picketing campaign directed against licensed shops appeared in *Young India* on

April 18 and 24 and on October 17, 1929. The detailed information given in these articles possesses unique interest for all students of the prohibition movement in India.

Quite alive to the fact that picketing would sooner or later be countered by repressive measures of different types and that only Congress workers could be expected to face them unflinchingly, Rajaji thought out a plan for securing the active help of the vast mass of non-Congressmen who too were equally opposed to drink and drugs but were not prepared to suffer in person and property for their convictions by taking an obviously militant part in the campaign. This consisted in seeking and obtaining the support of Caste Panchayats which exerted social pressure on addicts and, wherever possible, on persons engaged in the drink and drug trade.

The effectiveness of this method in discouraging the production of intoxicants thus indirectly bringing about prohibition has been narrated in detail by Shri Mahadev Desai (*Young India*, November 21, 1929).

In order to meet this two-pronged attack, the officers of the Excise Department encouraged liquor-sellers to break regulations breaches of which had been punished, and sometimes heavily punished, in former days. For instance, men who did not possess licenses were permitted to sell liquor. Instead of sales of two bottles at a time, sales up to six bottles at a time were winked at. The purchasers were permitted to dispose of what they did not themselves consume to the public. Sales were also permitted outside the hours fixed under law.

Efforts were made to thwart the prohibition campaign in other ways also. For instance, a village munsiff of Singarpur, District Salem, Madras, was suspended for one year because he was accused of taking disciplinary action through caste organisations against drinkers, taking pledges of abstinence from Adi-Dravidas, etc.

When the Viceroy granted an interview to Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel in December, 1929, he made it perfectly clear that he could not give any definite undertaking that even Dominion Status as demanded in the Constitution of the All-Parties' Conference would be granted to India as the result of the Round Table Conference proposed to be held next year. This precipitated the long impending conflict between the rulers and the ruled. In the annual session of 1929, the Congress declared Complete Independence as India's goal, called upon Congressmen to resign from the various legislatures, asking them to "zealously prosecute" the Constructive Programme and empowered the All-India Congress Committee to start Civil Disobedience at its discretion.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 1930

Two statements made by our rulers in January,

1930 in regard to our political future proved disappointing. Mahatma Gandhi who had been requested to take the leadership in the impending conflict thought of negotiating with the Viceroy to which end he made an eleven-point offer the first of which was prohibition, as a preliminary to efforts to arrive at an agreed solution of India's political problem. When this was ignored, he wrote to the Viceroy on the 2nd March, 1930 explaining the reasons for his decision to initiate Civil Disobedience by breaking the salt law. In this celebrated letter, he gave India's views on the drink and drug problem:

"It saps the foundations both of their health and morals, it is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, it is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus from the very beginning rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue."

Then came the march to Dandi lasting for 24 days from the 12th March to the 5th April in the course of which he preached prohibition, requested the people to cut down palm trees and set the example himself.

On the eve of his arrest which happened at 1 a.m. on the 5th May, 1930 he dictated a last message in the course of which he said, "Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops." This work was allotted to them because he felt that, by nature, they are better fitted to carry it on in a truly non-violent spirit.

The Congress Working Committee which met at Allahabad after Gandhiji's arrest passed a resolution on prohibition which reads as follows:

"The Committee once again emphasises the necessity of carrying on an intensive propaganda in favour of total prohibition and calls upon the Provincial Congress Committees to picket liquor or toddy shops."

This resolution marks the second all-India attempt to eliminate drink and drugs through our own efforts and in the face of official opposition. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has described the results achieved by the end of 1930 as follows. The picketing of liquor shops in Bihar "caused a loss of 40 lacs to Government," in the Central Provinces, now known as Madhya Pradesh, "liquor bids went down by 60 per cent," in Kerala toddy sales went down by 70 per cent and in Tamil Nadu, "stoppage of toddy sales was the scene of firing and several lathi charges."

It is to be noted that Gandhiji was in prison when most of these events took place and the fact that they happened in different and widely separated parts of India is a clear indication of the universal popularity of the prohibition movement.

(To be continued)

CONGRESS—OLD AND NEW

Face Facts

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

In a few days the nation would go to the polls to elect representatives to Legislatures. The Congress has appealed to electors as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi, and also as the representative of the nation. The legatee forfeits legacy if he fails to act or do not act as a legatee. Has the Congress in Government acted as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi? Has the Congress today the complexion that gave it the national character? It is time these questions were assessed.

The Congress was the spearhead of the national will to win back lost freedom. And that gave it the nation's support. The Congress promised a new economic order: it was pledged to reconstruct India's economic independence according to her genius.

With the attainment of political freedom and assumption of power the Congress dropped its national character and resolved itself into a party. The Congress thus almost imperceptibly underwent a sea change. What was a whole became a part now. Conservative by nature people are slow to recognize a change. But not so Congressmen in Government. Even in 1947 they knew what they wanted and where they were drifting. A reference to the nomination of the Congress President after Acharya Kripalani had resigned would bear testimony to what we say. Louis Fischer in his *Mahatma Gandhi* writes:

"The choice of a successor to Kripalani assumed key importance. The election of a puppet who obeyed the Government would signalize the elimination of effective political opposition. Gandhi proposed the name of Acharya Narendra Dev, the Socialist leader. The Socialists were then still inside the Congress party. But their ideological, political and personal differences with right-wing Congressmen presumably encouraged Gandhi in the belief that they might be able to control and check trends within the Congress."

But neither Nehru nor Patel would have Acharya Narendra Dev. They induced Rajendra Prasad to accept the Presidentship. Gandhi advised him not to.

Louis Fischer writes again:

"Nehru and Patel were heads of the Government. They were also leaders of the Congress Party. Their popularity and hold on the Congress machine enabled them to dominate the party. Why then should they accept the Congress President as a curb on their power? Why should they give him a veto on their proposals?"

From the above a clear picture of the post-independent Congress emerges. Gandhi sought to give the Congress a new shape. He wanted to make it the vehicle of the new economic order he had envisaged. He asked the Congress to turn itself into Lok Sevak Sangh, his last gift to the nation, and be the builders of a new civilization and the watch-dogs of the people's

interest. The last gift of the Father of the Nation too was not acceptable to Congressmen in Government and their supporters outside.

Let us look into the question—if the Congress is what it had been before political freedom was attained—from another aspect. The Ahmedabad sitting of the All-India Congress Committee passed a unity resolution. And on the eve of the Nasik Session of the Congress a Central Cabinet Minister Shri R. R. Diwakar gave us a 'Serve and save the Congress' prescription. Later on, the Congress Working Committee unanimously agreed breaches 'must' be dealt with in accordance with the rules. The maintenance of discipline among Congress workers was particularly necessary 'in the circumstances of today.' The Nehru Resolution, the Diwakar Prescription, and the Working Committee decision have all failed to take note of the all-important thing, the nature and extent of the Congress malady. Unity efforts or a prescription or stern disciplinary action to be effective must first determine the disease.

A thing cannot rest in the air. It must either have legs to stand upon or pegs to hang from. The Congress edifice rested on two pegs. The struggle for throwing off the foreign yoke represented the first peg. The other peg was the constructive activities of the Congress which aimed at replacing the centralised economic order by a decentralised one. Under that scheme each village was to be a small republic, the unit of the State, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. So one peg represented political freedom of India and the other the economic independence of India as Gandhi envisaged it.

Political freedom may be compared to the heart whose function is to pump blood to the limbs according to their needs. And the blood so distributed represents the economic freedom of a country. Economic freedom of a country is good, bad or indifferent according as this distribution is good, bad or indifferent.

Britishers were made to quit. The usurped heart was recovered. And with that the function of the first peg ended. It, naturally, fell off. But it fell off not before it had given us political freedom—the heart—without which you cannot proceed to reconstruct. To construct the other half of our freedom we were now free to push blood to the various limbs equitably, with, of course, a liberal flow to the hitherto starved ones. But at the crucial moment we hesitated. We quailed before the task. The Congress forsook Gandhi, the one true revolutionary. It went the other way about. Congressmen in Government and their

supporters outside chose to walk the way of Western democracies; they blindly subscribed to the unplanned science 'the salvation of mankind' theory. So the economic independence of Gandhi's conception so long subscribed to by the Congress also went overboard. Thus Congress forgot the mission Gandhi gave us, the mission to create a new civilization. And that one urge in spite of our differences bound us together. That mission, the self-forgetting urge, the second of the two pegs that yet sustained the Congress also went. Mission forgotten only lure for political power remained. So the Indian National Congress came to be a party, but it all the same clung to its claim to be the representative of the people it had once been.

Naturally fissures appeared in the Congress. You cannot contain the whole in a part. The container in that case is bound to burst. And so the Congress has burst. Nature provides for checks as it does for escapes. And a thing disrupts to create anew. We failed to recognise this and the malady has gone deep. You cannot restore it to health unless you have given it back some strong cementing force.

The Congress party swears by Democracy. Now, true Democracy invites criticism and evolves opposition. Honest criticism and effective opposition are the life breath of democracy. But the Congress party is behaving to the contrary. Rather than welcome the growth of an effective opposition it has been seeking to prevent its formation. In fact, top Congressmen in Government made no secret of their opposition to the formation of an opposition. They demanded (the word is used advisedly) that there should be no opposition for a decade and a half to come. That, they said, would mean ruin for India. This opposition would have been intelligible if the pattern of the Union Government were not after the Western Democracy, or if the rulers were cast in the mould of Dharma-Asoka or Omar.

To resent opposition is to deny democracy. Gandhi detected this trend in the Congress Government. And it made Gandhi uneasy. How to check that was the question that exercised his mind. This is how one from a Western democracy, Louis Fischer, has analysed it in his *Mahatma Gandhi*:

"Gandhi seldom made an adverse criticism without suggesting a concrete cure. He had criticized the Congress Party and the new Government of independent India. What did he propose?"

"Gandhi was quick to see that the freedom of India raised the question of freedom in India. How could India remain a democracy?"

"There was only one major party, the Congress party, and it enjoyed vast prestige as the party of Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, the party which had fought and won the battle for liberation from Britain. Other parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists were insignificant."

"The question Gandhi pondered was: Could the Congress party guide and curb the Govern-

ment? He had not studied political conditions in the Soviet Union or Franco Spain or other totalitarian countries, but by intuition he arrived at conclusions which others had reached after long experience and analysis: he realized that a one-party system could actually be a no-party system, for when the Government and party are one, the party is a rubber stamp and leads only a fictitious existence.

"If the one important party in India, the Congress, did not maintain an independent, critical attitude towards the Government, who could act as a brake on any autocratic tendencies that might develop in the Government?"

"Without free criticism and potent opposition democracy dies."

"Without political criticism and opposition, a nation's intellect, culture, and public morality stagnate; big men are purged and small men become kowtowing pygmies. The leaders surround themselves with cowards, sycophants and grovelling yes-men whose automatic approval is misread as a tribute to greatness."

"Could the Congress party, with aid from Gandhi and from the free press, prevent such a development in India?"

We have seen above that Gandhi's recommendation in respect of the nomination of Congress President was rejected. Acharya Narendra Dev was rejected: Gandhi was rejected. That the Congress was unable to guide and curb the Government was plain also from the speech of a retiring Congress President, Pattavi Sitaramayya, and the manner of expulsion of the succeeding President Purushottamdas Tandon.

So that is the complexion of what we parade as democracy. You cannot claim to be a democrat and seek all the same to stifle opposition. And that is exactly what the Congress party is doing. Our constitution is largely an ill-assorted carbon copy of British and American constitutions but minus the most striking trait that there is in the British constitution. The British constitution provides for, fosters and respects opposition. The Government there is called the King's Government, and the opposition the King's Opposition. One may say the King of England asks one party to rule, and at the same time asks the other party to oppose them. Healthy growth needs healthy checks. As in nature, we find in the British constitution provision for healthy checks. But our Congress Government resents criticism and opposes the formation of an opposition.

Now to the 'Serve and save the Congress' slogan. Serve what Congress? And save what Congress? The old Congress is dead. The Gandhian Congress stood for decentralization of industries so as to prevent concentration of capital and hence of power in a few hands. The Congress today seeks salvation in centralised big industries. The Congress was then working for making each village a small republic, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. And the State was to be composed of congeries of such village republics. Through

various works Congress then was seeking to organize the masses for united action against any encroachment on their rights by the rulers. In other words, the aim of the Congress then was to put in the hands of the masses a weapon, satyagraha, which the power-that-be could not snatch away. The post-independent Congress has forsaken that ideal, that path. So 'serve' today means anything but what it meant then. Serving the Congress today is canvassing support for Government policy, good, bad or indifferent. Congress cannot be saved that way. That way you may only kill it. To save the Congress you must give it back the mission it has forgotten—the mission to fashion a new economic order, a new civilization. If you do not, then

there is no resurrection of the Congress that is stone dead. And for that Congress will have to walk the way of a Fakir. They in China are doing that. Outside office hours ministers there jostle their way into buses as others do. No cars are to be seen in the streets. There is therefore small wonder that they have succeeded so effectively to collar corruption and black-marketing. The way of the Ameer the Congress has been walking would involve the Congress in ruin and with that the Government. We may not forget that India today in the name of the Congress is riding to her ruin. And in her ruin India will kill the promise of liberation Gandhi held out to the down-trodden of the world.

—:O:

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

It was observed when Mr. Churchill rose to make his first speech in the new Parliament he began in gathering darkness. As he proceeded, the lights came on all over the House. This seemed an appropriate and excellent omen—and may it indeed foretell the shape of things to come. But even if the lights after putting in an appearance had ended in a general fuse, I do not think they could have cast a chill on the present purposeful mood of the country.

After six years of Labour Government, latterly working on a shoe-string majority, everyone is glad of a change. Everyone is glad that there is a man at the head of the State whose courage is undoubted and who will have the assistance of able and fresh minds. (There is plenty of new blood in the Government. Indeed there have been several surprises in the people who have been passed over.) Mr. Attlee, perhaps, is the most relieved of all. He has just been awarded the O.M.

But no one feels like conceding it to any others in his late Government. And if in fact he had been returned to power, could he have got a team together? My guess is that he would have had to seek a Coalition. In no other way, it seems to me, could he have got over the problem of what to do with Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Aneurin Bevan. The one is the strongest organizing force in the Labour Party, impossible to pass over, and yet at Albadan he had landed the country in its biggest humiliation since the days of Charles II and, worse still, in doing so had completely upset the apple cart in the Middle East. The other, though returned at the head of the poll in the voting for the party Executive—and so not to be passed over by anyone observing the ordinary rules of constitutional procedure—is anathema to the T.U.C. whose leaders he has attacked and who are determined to be rid of him. Nothing but party trouble was in store for another Labour Government: party trouble piled on top of the formidable troubles besetting the nation. It was a good thing for the Labour Party that they lost the Election. It

will be a good thing for the country if they reflect upon this.

The new Government, for its part, has begun in conciliatory mood. It is plainly anxious to get as much support as possible for the measures that must be taken to overcome the present two-fold crisis in our monetary and our international affairs. It took an early opportunity to prove this. The Labour Party, with doubtful political wisdom, challenged the traditional method of selecting the new Speaker. (The first time this has happened for fifty years.) Though it has been the accepted thing for the Government to choose the Speaker and the Opposition the Deputy-Speaker, Labour put forward its own nominee for the Speakership. Defeated on this they sulked in their tents and declined to nominate the Deputy-Speaker—which meant that the Government must provide both and thereby reduce its voting majority by two as neither the Speaker nor his Deputy vote. The Government could have made good this loss if they had done what everyone had expected them to do and that was to restore University representation. But Mr. Churchill showed a political wisdom of another kind. He decided it was not the moment for controversy. Perhaps the *Spectator* is worth quoting on this point. "The Prime Minister, as he said on Tuesday, would be fully justified in introducing legislation for the restoration of the university seats forthwith. The Speaker's Conference of 1944, on which the Labour Party was largely represented, recommended unanimously that 'the existing University representation and methods of election shall be retained.' From the moment the Labour Party disregarded that decision and carried a clause abolishing the seats Mr. Churchill has repeatedly stated that when the Conservatives were returned to power they would restore them; no one knew then what the Conservative majority, if any, in the House of Commons would be, and its size is, in fact, irrelevant to the main issue. But at a juncture like the present first things must come first, . . ."

Close on the heels of the Opening of Parliament came the Lord Mayor's Show and the Guildhall Banquet. If the King had been in good health—and had opened Parliament in state—what a feast of pageantry would have been crammed into our wet and gloomy November streets. As things were, the Speech from the Throne was read by a Lord Chancellor struggling manfully against a heavy cold and the Lord Mayor's Show was shorn of all the usual tableaux. But at the Banquet at the Guildhall there were many consolations. First of all Sir Leslie Boyce is something quite out of the ordinary in the way of Lord Mayors. He is an Australian; he has a flair for history and feels the pull of London's long past; and he is a very good and forthright speaker. Mr. Churchill, as we have seen, is being very circumspect about University representation. He is all for letting sleeping dogs lie. But the City of London representation, also abolished by the Labour Government along with University representation, is in the Lord Mayor's view a dog of another kidney. A watch-dog in fact! And the City wants its dog back again. In plain set terms the Lord Mayor asked the Prime Minister to give them an assurance that very night that their representation in Parliament would be restored to them. Mr. Churchill said in his reply that he shared the Lord Mayor's regrets that we have no member for the City of London in the House of Commons. But he added: 'We must not introduce party politics on this occasion. . . . But is the representation in Parliament of the ancient City of London a matter of party politics? Mr. Churchill, like King Harry, 'loves a man.' How he must have enjoyed being tackled on a ticklish question by a man who knows his own mind and who moreover took his stand on Mr. Churchill's own chosen ground of history. Indeed our new Lord Mayor is pithy and to be remembered. His watch-dog is stirring in its sleep. "Since Queen Elizabeth opened the first Royal Exchange," he insisted, "it has been, not only its pre-eminent position in the world of commerce which has given the City the right to speak with some authority on affairs of State. At many of the most critical periods of our national history it has been the influence of London, and of its Lord Mayors, which has turned the scales in favour of the people's liberties. There were even times in the eighteenth century when the City of London turned the scales against the House of Commons, in defence of the people's liberties." I must not linger on this point. But in these days of irksome if inescapable controls, it is stimulating to find a breath of liberty blowing from the City of London.

Mr. Churchill's speech, as with every relevant speech these days on the general situation, was concerned mainly with Russia and her satellites and America and the rest of the world—the Gog and Magog of the present age. The point which everyone has seized on is his allusion to the fact that in East Anglia we have provided the principal atomic base for the United States. It is indeed amazing how few people, either at home or

abroad, seem to be aware of this truly momentous undertaking. For, as he pointed out, we have in consequence 'placed ourselves in the very forefront of Soviet antagonism.'

Soviet antagonism . . . Is there any way of inducing the Russian Government to relax? In England now the magic word is *climate*. The Government attaches tremendous importance to this spiritual thing. Only if they can create the right climate, secure the co-operation of men of good will of all classes regardless of party interest, do they see any hope of pulling the country out of its near to desperate economic difficulties. With Russia also, is not the problem one of changing the mental climate?

I must confess that the idea of getting Russia to change her methods seems to me, on the face of it, about as feasible as drinking oceans dry. For if Russia wanted to change the international climate, she could do so tomorrow by taking a very simple step. She could release those Russian wives and allow them to join their husbands in England. No other action of hers has created more indignation. It is considered on a par with the Nazis' cruel trick of forcing compulsory divorce on German-Jewish couples.

But in Europe of course Russia does her greatest mischief in Jugo-Slavia. Before the War Jugo-Slavia, under King Alexander, tried to bring about an entente between the Balkan Powers. For decades their relations with one another had been bedevilled by Russia or Austria, latterly by Italy and Germany, who were all competing for supremacy in that area. Jugo-Slavia had hoped to give them a Balkan entity, but that hope faded when Alexander was murdered (with Italian connivance). To-day Russian imperialism is the bird of prey which hovers over the Balkans; and her satellites—Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria—surround Jugo-Slavia, spying on her, harassing her, and kidnapping her nationals. Jugo-Slavia is their victim because she is the only Communist country in existence which refuses to come under the Russian umbrella. (As a Russian orthodox bishop, now ministering to Orthodox communities in this country, remarked the other day: "The present tyranny in Russia is the only tyranny in history which has arrogated to itself the words of the Saviour: 'He who is not for me, is against me'.")

The Russian Government may not wish to do anything to improve the international climate, but the climate certainly has altered a little since Mr Churchill's Government took office. America, Britain and France have put forward a proposal for the regulation of arms and there is the new project for creating a Middle East Defence Command which is sponsored by America, Britain, France and Turkey. M. Vyshinsky rejected the proposal about regulating arms in a speech which amused himself and the Russian satellites immensely (but if any of them knew their Swinburne it may have occurred to them that such laughter was

'like a man's laughter heard in hell.') Russian diplomatic methods in fact have robbed the word *diplomacy* of its age-old attributes. Until the present age, to be 'diplomatic' meant to be tactful and conciliatory in manner. But Russia's principal 'diplomat' glories in disappointing other people's hopes and in employing the brusque and most derisory language he can find. He is not sent to the United Nations, evidently, with the injunction to seek some means of coming to terms with his fellow delegates. He must even *pretend* that he does not understand them.

But however blind it suits M. Vyshinsky to seem when he attends United Nations conferences, we may feel quite sure that in Moscow Mr. Churchill's speech at the Guildhall has been scrutinised by the sharpest eyes they have. Over and over again they must have pondered what he had to say about Gog and Magog. And in one passage at least it does seem as if he believes that war can be avoided. Here it is: 'World politics, like the history of Gog and Magog, are very confused and much disputed. Still, I think there is room for both Gog and Magog.'

The Government is only a fortnight old and has scarcely had time to look about its business. None the less there is the conviction that Mr. Churchill will make a supreme effort to settle the Russian problem. I cannot recall his exact words but, during the Election, he certainly said that he would like to be able to make one more effort to win the peace. One way of winning the peace is to continue to build up armaments and alliances until Russia is at last 'contained.' Another and better way is to convince M. Stalin and the Polit Bureau that we want war just as little as we want Russian imperialism. At the moment of writing Lord Beaverbrook has informed American newspapermen that he expects Mr. Churchill will try to have a meeting with M. Stalin. This may be merely kite-flying but it is a good kite.

It will not be enough for the West to escape a collision with Russia. Somehow a way must be found of persuading Russia to get rid of her iron curtain. The Russian Revolution is unique in history in that it has never been upset. In other ages there have been revolutions followed by counter-revolutions. But this does not happen in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution succeeded because Russia was in chaos, as a result of the collapse of her armies, and so a determined minority was able to seize power. No minority now, however determined, could seize power from the Bolsheviks. They would first have to overcome the Secret Police and the Red Army.

Still, a huge segment of the world cannot indefinitely cut itself off from the rest of mankind. Sooner or later, indeed, the Russians themselves will want to get out. For if the Bolshevik regime seems to go on for ever, the nature of that regime itself is undergoing great changes. A most interesting series of articles is appearing in the London newspaper the *Sunday Times*.

It is entitled *Beyond The Iron Curtain* and is written by Sir David Kelly who until recently was our Ambassador in Moscow. It gives a picture of present-day life in Russia and it is not an attractive one. Innocents abroad who imagine that Communism is another word for a worker's paradise will be sharply disillusioned. The one class in Russia which has a perfectly awful time is the working class. "A worker who is over twenty minutes late gets up to six months' corrective labour in his place of employment and is, fined one week's wages a month; for being over twenty minutes late three times in one month he gets two to four months' imprisonment—much longer if the factory is working for defence."

The ordinary worker in Russia just does not get a look-in. Only the exceptional person can make a good life for himself and his family. In England today a clever boy or girl (often merely a studious one) can reach the university whatever the merits or demerits of his home background. But in Russia this would depend on the parents' earnings. It is the same with housing. Only the exceptional person will get the more adequate living space. It is worth quoting the Ambassador on these very material points. "Inequality in salaries is now on a scale fast becoming unthinkable in England, but even more important is inequality in privilege. The very fact that all activities are controlled by the State has enabled the use of privilege as a reward and incentive to remain the basis of the whole system . . . the benefits of privilege are extended to all those workers in farm or factory who by super-normal efficiency earn the right not only to vastly greater wages but to greater privileges for themselves and their families in facilities for travel, holidays, amusements, motor-cars, education and, perhaps, most important of all, in housing accommodation. From these privileged workers are recruited the new entrants into the governing class, especially owing to the educational facilities. Not only can they alone of their class afford the fees and expense now necessary for higher education; it is also that their better housing conditions give their children an obvious advantage in scholarship and other competitive examinations."

The Workers' Republic has lost sight of the worker and it is the old story of 'the zeal of my house has eaten me up.' But perhaps after all Russia will owe her escape from the Bolshevik dictatorship to the privileged class which it is creating. How long can these privileged people, with their motor cars and their travel, be content to remain behind their Iron Curtain? And this worship of efficiency, surely in time it will spread to things of the mind. History students will find their researches leading them to sources in other lands, Greek scholars will want to visit Athens and architects to visit Rome . . .

And then no doubt Russian diplomats will learn to be 'diplomatic.'

Westminster, London, November, 1951

UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

A number of learned articles have lately appeared in the pages of this and other journals in this country on the above subject and a good deal of discussion and controversy, sometimes heated and acrimonious, has already taken place. If I am adding another to the already numerous papers on the subject, it is not with a view to entering the lists against those who have already appeared in the field before me; but to give in as clear language as I can, my own reading of the subject, and the only justification that I may offer for my writing on this much debated subject is that on a subject like this there cannot be any last word and hardly any two people will look at a constitutional problem from exactly the same angle or view it exactly in the same light. Moreover, our constitution has only just come out of the anvil, it has hardly had time to take a proper shape which it will do only in course of its working. With the lapse of time it is bound, as any other constitution in the world, to undergo changes both in its form and substance, as in the course of its working it confronts new and ever changing situations, calling for fresh interpretation of the institutions set up by the original constitution. This is equally true of both the so-called written constitutions like ours and of unwritten constitutions like that of England. I have a feeling that this aspect of the matter has not been adequately appreciated, if at all, in most of the previous papers written on the subject. The controversy has mainly turned, as I have understood it, on the question whether the nature of the Union Executive is of a pure and orthodox brand of the parliamentary system as it has evolved in England or not. In the nature of things two constitutions cannot be exactly alike, even though one is modelled on the other; because the constitution of a country is the visible expression of the organic life of the community. It must necessarily fit in with the peculiar conditions of each country and with the passage of time it tends to deviate more and more from the original pattern. We have only to study the working of parliamentary system in France and the Self-governing Dominions to verify the truth of the statement. So it is idle to attempt to describe the nature of a constitution by reference to a particular type and place it rigidly under a known category.

(Coming to our new constitution there is no doubt that the system of government both at the Centre and in the States has been modelled by and large on that of England, but not wholly so, we have borrowed extensively from other constitutions also) As. Mr. H. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary to the Constituent Assembly points out*:

“The authors of the Indian constitution have drawn from the rich experience of the working of the most of the modern constitutions of the world.”

In this article we shall confine ourselves only to the Executive of the Indian Union and see how far it follows the English model and also where it deviates. (The position of the Union Executive is dealt with mainly in Chapter I of Part V of the constitution. At the very outset it may be pointed out that unlike England and like France and U.S.A. we have set up a Republic with a President as the head of the State. But then our President unlike his opposite number in U.S.A. and like the English King is not the head of the government. Here he is analogous to the President of the French Republic. Like both the French and American Presidents he comes to office by a process of indirect election† and does not hold office by hereditary tenure like the English King. He is elected by an electoral college consisting of the electoral members of both Houses of Parliament and of the members of the State Legislative Assemblies. (Sec. 54). Thus the elective character of the office lends some strength or at least a consciousness of strength to the incumbent which cannot belong to a hereditary king. Of course, that strength deriving as it does from indirect form of election is not of such a character as to make it a rival of the Prime Minister and the council of Ministers who are virtually the direct nominees of the people. It is exactly this consideration that induced the authors of the constitution to discard the process of direct election for presidential election. But the Presidential electors being elected representatives of the people throughout the union both at the Union and the State level, the President is expected to have a consciousness of authority which does not quite fit in with the orthodox type of parliamentarianism which requires an absolutely powerless, ornamental, constitutional figurehead as the head of the State. How far, if at all, this advantage will be utilised by our president only the future can decide and it will also depend on a conjuncture of circumstances, such as personal factors, party affiliation of the President and the ministry, etc. But the fact is, that this is a feature which introduces the potentiality of a departure from the orthodox type as it prevails in England. ✓

*Vide his article “The Constitution of India, An Analysis” in *A. B. Patrika, Republic India supplement*, January 26, 1950.

†In the case of the American President formally and legally it is a process of indirect election, though in fact it has now been converted into a process of direct election by growth of convention relating to Presidential election.

We shall first of all look at the specific provisions of the constitution dealing with the President and the council of Ministers. (The executive power of the Union is vested in the President, as the head of the State.)

Let us describe the specific powers granted to the President under different sections of the constitution before dealing with the general executive powers. This will, however, be only illustrative and not an exhaustive list. The President has been given the power of appointment to a number of highest offices within the Union, such as the Prime Minister of the Union directly and other Ministers on the latter's advice (Sec. 75), the Attorney-General for the Union (76-1), the Supreme Court Judges (124-2), the Judges of High Courts (217), the Comptroller and Auditor-General (148-1), the Governor of Part A State (155), the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners (324-2), the Chairman and other members of the Union Public Service Commission (316-1).

The President forms an integral part of the Union Parliament (579). He has the power to summon and prorogue the Houses of Parliament and dissolve the House of People subject to some conditions (85-2); he may address either House of Parliament or both Houses together and require the attendance of members, may send messages to either House (86-1) and (2); he is required to address the joint session of both Houses of Parliament at the commencement of every session (87-1); he is required to assent or withhold his assent to a bill passed by Parliament or if it is not a Money Bill to return it to the Houses with messages for its reconsideration in whole or part (Sec. 111); he is required to cause to be laid before Houses of Parliament the annual Financial Statement of the Union (112-1); no demand for grant may be made except on the recommendation of the President. No financial bills can be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the President (Sec. 117-1). The President has the power to grant pardon and to suspend, remit or commute sentences in certain cases (Sec. 72); when Parliament is not in session and circumstances arise requiring immediate action in the opinion of the President, he may, subject to some conditions, promulgate ordinances having the force of law (123-1). He has some powers with regard to bills passed by State legislatures and reserved by the Governor for his consideration (201). The administration of Part C States is vested in the President acting through a Chief Commissioner (239-1). Lastly we come to the emergency powers of the President detailed in Part XVIII of the constitution (Secs. 352-360). Wide powers are given to the President to the extent of even practically suspending the constitution, only if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists.

It will thus be noticed that the powers assigned to

the President like those of the English crown are sweeping and all-embracing. They are not limited to the executive sphere alone but extend to legislative, financial and judicial spheres also. The question is, and it is moot point, how far if at all, the President is free to exercise these powers independently. In order to answer the question we have to discuss the provisions of the constitution defining the position of the President and the council of Ministers and their relation to each other and the implications thereof. Under Section 53(1), "the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President." As it is not possible for the President to exercise all such powers personally it is stated further that it "shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him; but in accordance with the constitution." This allows him to delegate the exercise of any part of the executive power to Ministers or other subordinate officers, provided that is in accordance with the constitution as he interprets it. There is a qualifying clause, viz., clause (3) lagged on to the section which provides that no functions conferred by any existing law on the Government of any state or other authority will be deemed to be transferred to the President and enables Parliament to confer executive functions by law on authorities other than the President. The measure of the executive power is defined in Section 73 which states that subject to other provisions of the constitution the executive power will extend to all matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament as laid down in Part XI of the constitution and to rights, authority, jurisdiction, etc., exercisable for implementing international agreements and treaties by the Government of India. There are two limitations to this definition. Firstly, the proviso to the clause prevents the extension of the executive authority of the Union to matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Part A and Part B States, unless expressly provided in the constitution or any law made by Parliament. Secondly, clause (2) of the section protects the power and functions which any State, or any of its officers or authorities might be exercising immediately before the commencement of the constitution, notwithstanding that such power and functions fall within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament under the constitution, until Parliament by law provides otherwise. Besides the executive power of the Union in general as stated above, Section 53(2) vests another very important function in the President, without prejudice to the former, viz., "the Supreme Command of the Defence Forces of the Union," which necessarily implies the power of declaring war and making peace and directing the armed forces of the nation in the event of a national emergency. Besides these, the President has been granted under the constitution the numerous specific powers already enumerated above.

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ITS FUTURE

BY PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA, M.A.

ACCORDING to Marx and Engel, "The History of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In ancient Rome there were patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves. In the Middle Ages, there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs and in almost all these classes there were subordinate gradations. The modern society has not done away with class antagonism, but a complicated social stratification has been the result.

The term "Middle Class" implies the existence of a number of social layers in society, some above this intermediate group and some below it. It presumes the existence of a 'society with classes. The emergence of a society from the simplest one gives rise to the birth of human groups in it with different statuses. The position is a fluid one to begin with and social stratification takes place later on. The rise of a feeling of class consciousness is a still later growth and is made possible by the shattering of shackles—imperceptible so long as the issues are not raised in a clear form and perceptible when political freedom makes organization possible on the part of the dispossessed or possessionless classes.

Whether viewed historically or as a present-day phenomenon the middle class cannot be considered a homogeneous social layer. The break-up of the feudal economy created a distinction of division of labour as between the producer of raw materials and the small manufacturer. The small manufacturer and trader concentrated in towns created a somewhat cohesive intermediate social and functional group (*Mittle-stand*). The inhabitants of the towns united into self-conscious burghers for purposes of securing legal privileges and rights and bringing to an end restrictions imposed by the feudal landowners. This commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of the towns occupying as it did an intermediate status between the older privileged states on the one hand and on the other the serfs and peasants riveted to the land speeded up the transition from the mediaeval to the modern economy.

"The gradual transformation of this early 'intermediate estate' (*Mittle-stand*) into a 'middle class,' comprising a mixture of more or less heterogeneous elements, is a reflection not only of the decline of the older privileged estates but also of the tendency toward increasing complexity of social structure manifested in the successive stages of the unfolding of the capitalistic system."

Economically the status of a class may in main be determined by its economic position resulting from its share in the distribution of national wealth. The transfer of the concept of status into that of a class is the result of new ideologies introducing new cleavages in society, viz., the modes of production and with whom the means of production rest i.e., whether means of production are owned by the capitalist or by the society.

According to Marx, the modern bourgeoisie which constitutes the new middle class in present-day society is a privileged upper minority feeding on surplus value and state favouritism and drives its victims into the ranks of the proletariat. The new middle class therefore belongs to the same family groups as the new petit bourgeoisie of small investors, senior officials, administrators, and minor professional men. The economic importance of this social group has been increasing with the advance of capitalism.

To understand the middle class let us try to understand the basis on which social and economic stratification takes place.

"Social stratification," according to Sorokin, "means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very existence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influence among the members of a society."

Socio-economic stratification in a broad sense means simply the descriptive ordering of people into higher and lower categories with respect to some objective differential or differentia, primarily economic or at least quasi-economic in character. The strata thus formed may or may not form a cohesive group although Marx who reads history along a straight line believes so.

The basis of stratification can be economic, political, occupational, social, etc., and although any one of these may be having a predominating influence, class differentiation may be due to a combination of all these factors.

Stratification is something objective. The process of getting a living imposes upon certain functions, statuses and roles. Social and economic groupings and categories of people distinguished on the basis of occupation, power, income, standard of living, education, function, intelligence or other criteria are denoted by the term strata. Classes are psycho-social groupings, something that is essentially subjective in character, dependent upon class consciousness. A man's class is a part of his ego—a feeling on his part of belongingness to something, an identification with something larger than himself.

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The middle class has been considered to be bulwark against sudden changes in society. This class is the preserver of traditions. It believes in transition and not in change. This class which consists of several layers—the upper and the lower middle class—hobnobs with the capitalist and the proletariat. It is averse to sudden changes and has remarkable capacity for compromise. It can think but cannot act. It has divided

intellectual sympathies and is afraid of parting company with its ways of life. It suffers from a queer snugginess which savours of snobbery.

"It is a mixture of heterogeneous elements, some in undisguised conflict. The farmer desires a high protective tariff, but the artisan desires low commodity prices, while the industrialist and merchants export, the public official favours high salaries, the small shopkeeper and tradesman favour low taxes; as regards ways and social policy the salaried employees have the pronounced interests of those who are given work, but the small capitalists have the equally definite interest of those who give it."

The middle class has preferred security with even pittance to uncertain high incomes; it has cherished prestige to power; it has favoured stability to revolutionary progress. The intellectual proletariat—the doctors without patients, the lawyers without clients and the writers without readers—have lip-sympathy with the proletariat arising not out of conviction but born of a natural sense of frustration, and the spirit of rebellion; in this class clashes with the remnants of pretensions and ideals implanted in the impressionable years of academic training.

"While the dispirited lawyer or journalist or artist is seldom averse to airing his impatience with the common run of the middle class he shows little inclination to sacrifice his deeply ingrained sense of personal integrity and self-sufficiency to the rigid discipline of socialist organization and tactics. If pressed for his positive social ideals, he would subscribe to diluted co-operationism or anarchism, provided that his own scheme of values was left untouched or not infrequently he might disclaim any ideals In so far as such intellectualization evaluates in any formal point of view the tendency is towards vindication of the status quo."

The middle class has tried to steer a middle course in the midst of conflicting ideologies. In this attempt it has presented a spectacle of a man who seeks escape from his oppressor but who while in flight is recaptured and returned to his former master. This class may well remain in a state of indecision between surrender and resistance, but it will become apparent that merely nominal opposition to financial capital may not be essentially different from outright support and that the logic of the situation demands active co-operation with the workers.

Many writers in the thirties and forties of this century emphasised the importance of increased co-operation between labour and the so-called middle class as a means to peaceful and democratic change towards a socialised order. Fascism succeeded in Germany because of a lack of this type of co-operative arrangement. As socialism approached political power in Germany, declared Covy:

"It was immobilised by failure to get the support of the non-proletarian groups necessary for a democratic majority. The emphasis on the proletariat alienated the middle classes and peasants, who saw in socialism an expression only of proletarian interests."

The importance of alliance between the working class and the middle class so as to enlarge the appeal of the British Labour Party to the nation was pointed out by Prof. Laski in the following words:

"The Labour Party has got to make the man of science, the technician, the managerial class, recognise that the kind of society for which it stands offers them an opportunity, a power, a security, which they cannot attain under the present order. It has got to win for a planned democracy groups that have so far largely failed to recognise its claims, groups, moreover, upon whose contribution the success of a planned democracy in large part depends."

THE MIDDLE CLASS IN INDIA

In India the middle class has often been treated as synonymous with the educated middle class; persons who are not well-to-do enough to dispense with earning their own livelihood, are included in this classification. It is the most vocal and enlightened group of Indian society and yet it is the least organised one. A good percentage of the educated middle class in India is accounted for by employment in public service in which the workers are supposed to have no politics, that is they must keep their views to themselves and because, apart from the abnormal rise in prices since the last World War, conditions of work and emoluments were such as to give status, reasonably living wages, security and consequently contentment. Persons belonging to the liberal professions who had good incomes became leaders of men in Indian society. The middle class has been having prestige, position and even power in contemporary India. The last world depression led to an increase in the value of money-incomes of fixed-income group, but the growing un-employment amongst educated middle classes during this period led to a serious study by various provincial committees regarding the causes of widespread unemployment. The educational system the lack of industrial development and the desire to follow soft professions were considered to be the chief causes aggravating unemployment in this group. But the middle classes in India on account of the general prevalence of the joint family system were able to absorb the shock of educated unemployment amongst their ranks. The small zamindars, the small capitalists, the small enterprisers and the traders also constituted parts of the middle class lump in India. The middle class has been the preserver of India's tradition as well as the harbinger of the new light in the country. The democratic surge throughout the world exempted their class from a sort of antipathy growing against the rich and the sort of condescending sympathy that was developing in favour of the labouring class. The middle class derives its forte from this situation and a sort of middle class complex which was supposed to give to the people belonging to this class the best of both the worlds began to make the people of this class conscious of their special role in society. This middle class com-

plex may as well be called snobbery of the middle class because it began to give itself airs which prevented them subsequently from confessing their miserable plight when the economic tide turned against them during the last decade of rising prices and when this class found itself being ground between the two millstones of the rich capitalist and the labour class.

A middle class family in India is supposed to be one with an income varying within a range of Rs. 100 to Rs 400 according to *The Report on the Diet and Health Survey of Middle Class Families in Bombay City* conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute. Another enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Commerce in the form of *The Report of Enquiry into the Family Budgets of the Middle Class Employees of the Central Government* found the average monthly income per middle class family varying from Rs 159-6 in the province of Madras to Rs. 268-1 in Delhi. The report discovered a disequilibrium between income and expenditure everywhere. The deficit varied from Rs. 15-7 per family or Rs. 3-8 per consumption unit in the case of Delhi to Rs. 51-5 per family or Rs. 10-7 per consumption unit in the Punjab block and Rs. 10-2 per consumption unit in Bombay city. Deficits were met in many instances from previous savings made during the good times before the War or from temporary loans from relatives and friends.

The Eastern Economist's Index Number of the Middle Class cost of living in India has revealed distressing conclusions. The Index Number in the case of lower middle class families (income between Rs. 30 and Rs. 300 per month in August 1939) rose to 385.5 in July 1950 as against Bombay Working Class cost of living Index of 303.8. As the rise in incomes in the case of the middle class has not been proportionate to the increase in the cost of living, the burden has been borne by way of cuts in the consumption of those articles which constituted the difference in the living of the middle class and the labour, e.g., fall in the consumption of milk, milk products, oil and fats. The liquidation of this class is a loss which cannot be computed in economic terms, for the characteristics of the obliterated middle class cannot be transferred to the labour class into which it is being transformed. The higher income brackets have not escaped from the attritioning effects of high prices, and there have been increasing signs of uneasiness on the part of this section of Indian society too.

Income, however, is not a correct index of social and economic position. The question is not what a man's income is but what he derives from it. As a consequence of the high prices prevailing, a large section of what now constitutes the so-called middle class may in reality form a part of the proletariat as the merest daily labourer. In fact, economically the position of the labourer may be much better than persons of equal

income belonging to the middle class as the latter has to conform to a certain external standard of life which has made his position pitiable. The business community has been able to pass on the incidence of higher cost of production to the consumers, persons with variable incomes are able to shift the weight of higher prices on to the persons with fixed incomes. The middle class in India has consequently been squeezed between the double pressure of the manufacturing-cum-trading community and the wage-earning class. The question is how long can the middle class stand this double pressure. The middle class from the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal have been crushed as a consequence of partition. Thus the forces tending towards the liquidation of the middle class in India have been gathering force rather quickly.

The epitaph of the middle class is being written. The question is what attitude may be expected of this class in the crisis. It cannot afford to remain in a state of oscillation between surrender and resistance to the forces working against it indefinitely. Mere nominal opposition to these forces may not be different from outright support. The logic of the situation demands a positive attitude and determined action. The Government of the country will also have to follow a positive policy towards this class. Does the ship of the state need the stabilising ballast of the middle class? Can the cultural and social renaissance in the country be accomplished by permitting this class to be attritioned if not liquidated? Can the high tide of the growing power of labour forces be permitted to have their full sway? The attitude of the middle class and that of the State towards the above-mentioned questions is going to be the major determinants of the social and economic patterns of the future in the country.

India's middle class have made it possible for the ship of the country to move on even keel even in the midst of stormy seas. The demoralisation of this class would tend to unleash the forces of an undesirable revolution. It would be a great misfortune if timely notice of this portent is not taken widely. The caveat contained in the following lines taken from the *London Economist* points out succinctly the imperative-ness of the situation.

"In a normal society the ideals of youth fade away with age and family cares and a secure job. But in an inflation even the able find themselves chasing the pot at the end of the rainbow. No matter how hard they work, no matter how many promotions they receive, taxes and cost of living seem to go up as quickly as their pay, while the average number of the middle class faces a low squeeze of all his standards, a slow destruction of all his hopes for his own future and those of his sons. When the shop-keeper flourishes and the clerk starves, revolution is round the corner, for the educated middle class will tolerate only so much."

THE TRAGEDY OF A WALL

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

A few months ago I had occasion to go and see the sanatorium at Gorakhpur and stayed there for a fortnight at the suggestion of Shri Mahavir Prasadji Poddar. I knew there were a few sites round about Gorakhpur associated with the life of Lord Buddha, but it was a pleasant surprise to hear that the sacred birth-place of Mahatma Kabir was only about fifteen miles away. It is called Magahar, one of the smaller stations on the O. T. Railway. Kabir's tomb is about half a mile from the station; one can even see from the train white structures clustering round the place. The village of Magahar is close by where weavers have been plying their trade since olden times.

I have loved and revered the personality of Kabir since my childhood. His poems are simple but deeply suggestive. Not only was he a saint who had attained the final beatitude but a great synthesizer, one who had striven with might and main to bring amity between the Hindus and the Muslims and to rescue them from the evils of bigotry and fanaticism.

Naturally I wanted to go and pay my respects at Kabir's tomb and one day found myself at the place. It is said when Kabir died, the Hindus and Muslims quarrelled among themselves over the final rites of his remains. The Muslims wanted to bury them, the Hindus to cremate them. Finally, happening to lift his shroud, they found that two flowers were all that remained of his mortal frame. The Hindus took one, the Muslims the other and both erected shrines over them in accordance with their respective customs. The two memorials, one a Temple and the other a Masjid, are still standing, places of daily worship and prayer.

First, I went to the Hindu temple, and found two Kabirpanthis engaged in a religious discussion. I learned that every evening poems are recited from Kabir in the temple. Once a year, on the full-moon day of Aghrahan, Mahant Rambilas Dasji of Benares comes to Magahar and a great festival is held which is called Bhandara. I sat in the temple for some time and then expressed a wish to go to the Masjid.

"There is no way from here to the mosque, Sir!" I was informed.

I exclaimed in surprise, "Why, how is that?"

"There is a wall in between."

"And why a wall between two such places as these?"

"Please don't ask that, Babuji! The wall has been there since very long."

"Isn't there even a wicket gate to let one pass, from one shrine to the other?"

"No, Sir, what good would a gate be? We don't go there at all."

I felt very grieved to hear this. There are both Hindus and Musalmans among the followers of Kabir who had so tirelessly laboured to bring the two communities together. All that effort has been in vain: a dark wall stands erect between them.

I came out of the temple and wended my way to the Masjid. Entering the shrine, I chatted with a Muslim follower of the saint and learned that here too they held a great Bhandara once a year.

"Of course you all, Hindus and Musalmans, must be eating together on the occasion of the festival," I naively asked.

"Oh no! We send flour, dal, rice, sugar and other things to the temple. All the cooking is done there."

"Then the Hindus too must be sending the same things to you at your own festival."

"No, they send us of the feast ready cooked."

"Now, how is that? Why can't the Hindus eat food prepared by you? Are you not both followers of Kabir?"

"That is right, we are both followers of Kabir. None of us ever takes meat or fish, but the Hindus will not eat food of our cooking. We don't object to eat theirs."

So even the followers of the great Kabir keep to this don't-touchism! It was very sad to hear this. The terrible chasm of don't-touchism that separates the two communities has at last cleft this land of ours in two and verily a wall has been raised between them.

I was curious to know whether the wall had always been there, and questioned my friend.

"No," he said. "There was no wall at first. But always there were quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims. So about eighty years ago, an English officer raised this wall between the two shrines."

How very symbolic! It was an English officer who raised the wall between the Hindu and Muslim followers of Kabir at Magahar! Eighty years later an English Governor-General raised a political wall between the Hindus and Muslims of the whole country, to rend it in two. Here too no door is to be seen in between! Did not that wall at Magahar rising eighty years ago lay the foundations for a future Pakistan? At least I felt it so. Oh the tragedy of it all!





POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN SANSKRIT In the University of Calcutta

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

INTRODUCTORY

As certain changes are going to be made in the near future in the University of Calcutta, likely affecting, among others, the Department of Sanskrit, I may, as a life-long student and lover of Sanskrit and also as a retired Head of the Department of Sanskrit, offer here a criticism on the administration and teaching of the department and make some suggestions which may be considered by the authorities concerned.

Sanskrit, though originally a language of the land, is no longer confined to it, but owing to its intrinsic merits it is studied all over the advanced countries of the world making tremendous progress in its various branches, which can in no way be ignored by a real student of it.

METHODS OF TEACHING

When this department was opened more than three and a half decades ago, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee seems to have thought that neither of the two methods of teaching, indigenous or traditional and modern, should be ignored, but both of them should be given their proper places in the University. Thus in spite of the fact that there was such an institution for Sanskrit education, as the Sanskrit College, so well-known in the country, he created this department in the University and appointed two distinct classes of teachers, one belonging to the orthodox group trained on the traditional line, among them being some renowned Pandits of the Sanskrit College, and the other knowing English, in other words, some M.A.s in Sanskrit, who were supposed only for their knowledge of English to have been familiar, or to become so gradually with the modern method. At first the teaching work of these latter class teachers was very light, being for one or two hours a week, as they were mainly advised by the great architect of the Post-Graduate studies, I mean, Sir Asutosh, first to prepare themselves, so that they might do full justice to their students by their extensive and intensive studies, specially in modern researches on Sanskrit and Sanskritic subjects.

Having arranged thus Sir Asutosh entertained a hope that students even from Oxford would come to this University to learn Sanskrit. But this pious hope of his is not yet fulfilled, nor is there any possibility of its being so, as the present condition shows.

UNSCIENTIFIC METHODS OF TEACHING

Our Sanskrit students are generally not made acquainted with the modern researches of their sub-

jects. Because most of the teachers who were meant specially for the department and were supposed to have been familiar with the subject are in reality not so, nor have they made any serious attempt for becoming so. Consequently in this respect there is, in fact, no difference between the orthodox and modern classes of teachers. I am afraid the majority of the members of the teaching staff of the department are indifferent to the question. And so, speaking truly, the traditional method, too, is not followed properly. Again, the two distinct classes of teachers noted above do not or cannot work harmoniously. For only that teacher who is fully conversant with both the methods referred to above can teach a student well and adequately, but if the same subject is taught by different teachers quite in two different methods the consequence cannot be a good one.

Owing to such defects, the department cannot be regarded as imparting the knowledge either of a University or of a Sanskrit Pathasala.

PRAKRIT AS ESSENTIAL TO SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP

In the very beginning Sir Asutosh introduced into the Sanskrit Department also the study of Prakrit, and this shows his deep linguistic insight even at that time. Apart from the question of the high poetic or literary excellence of Prakrit I shall touch only a few other points with regard to its importance and utility. Now-a-days in our University, Prakrit is much neglected among the so-called Sanskritists, but that was not the case with our old teachers. The great Sanskrit poet Banabhatta could not begin his *Harsacharita* composed in Sanskrit, without praising first Prakrit poems, such as *Setubandha* of Pravarasena, and the *Gathasaptasati* of Satavahana. The renowned Sanskrit poets, such as Subandhu in the *Vasavadatta*, Banabhatta in the *Harsacharita*, Dandin in the *Kavyadarsa*, and Dhananjaya in the *Dasarupaka* enthusiastically extol the *Brihat-katha* (Great Story) of Gunadhya, originally composed in a Prakrit called *Paishachi*. Unfortunately, it is now extinct. But there are three reductions of this great work in Sanskrit by old teachers. Unlike the present time, none was in the past regarded as a Sanskritist without the knowledge of Prakrit. Prakrit was evidently in old days a compulsory subject for a Sanskrit student. It is to be noted that Sanskrit dramas are composed not exclusively in Sanskrit, but partly also in Prakrit, and

sometimes more than one kind of Prakrits are employed therein. The author of the *Sahityadarpana*, Visvanatha Kaviraja, who was regarded as 'the Helmsman in the Ocean of Literature,' (*Sahityarnava-karnadhara*) knew not less than eighteen languages, and extols himself, poetically saying of the fact that he was a devoted master of eighteen languages just like a paramour much attached to a number of his courtesans, of these eighteen languages except one, i.e., Sanskrit, all others were Prakrit. His father, the author of the *Bhasarnava* (the Ocean of Languages) was also a master of varieties of Prakrit. The renowned poet Rajasekhara was famous as a master of all languages (*Sarvabhasachaura*, i.e., *Sarvabhasachatura*) including, of course, different kinds of Prakrit along with Sanskrit. Celebrated authors of Sanskrit grammar are found also to have been the authors of Prakrit grammars, such as Hemachandra, Kramadivara, and Purusottama.

Our rhetoric literature in Sanskrit also shows that one devoid of the knowledge of Prakrit is not thoroughly conversant with that branch of literature.

The importance of Prakrit can in no way be ignored. One may become a great Vedantist or a Mimamsist without the least knowledge of Prakrit, but it may sound strange to some that without the knowledge of Prakrit a Sanskritist is no Sanskritist in fact, for such a person cannot fully or accurately explain numerous points in the Sanskrit texts before him. Often one takes recourse to such statements as *arsaprayoga* 'employment of the Sages,' as beyond the range of rules of an ordinary grammar, or *Chhandasa* 'Vedic' meaning thereby that like a Vedic speech, the particular point cannot be restricted by ordinary rules of a grammar.

Scholars know that even the speech of the Rig-veda and the Upanishada is full of Prakritism or dialectal mixture. As regards the language of the Epics, Puranas, Tantras, etc., the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit is tremendous.

WRONG METHOD OF TEACHING SANSKRIT DRAMAS

In this connexion I should like to point out a most defective method of teaching our Sanskrit dramas even in some of the University classes. It will be seen that the Prakrit portions of a drama are taught by teachers not reading the original Prakrits, but the corresponding Sanskrit *chhayas*, i.e., approximate Sanskrit renderings. And this is obviously due to the utter negligence of teachers for Prakrit. Consequently the students, though they may come out successful in their examinations even with First Class, will hardly be able to teach the subject adequately, when they will be employed as teachers in a college in future. Thus there will follow an uninterrupted tradition of teaching which is detrimental to Sanskrit learning.

Besides, it is evident that when a thing is devoid

of its own state it can in no way keep its own merits. If milk coagulates, it invariably changes its taste. Similarly if Prakrit is rendered into Sanskrit the former loses all its beauty and charm, it cannot be expressed in words, but is to be felt only by one who has the deep insight into the subject, just like the difference of the sweetness of such things as milk, sugar, honey, etc.

Here the poetical remark of the great Prakritist Rajasekhara as in the prologue to his *Karpuramanjari* may be quoted:

"The composition in Sanskrit is harsh, while that in Prakrit is tender; the difference between them is just like that between a man and a woman."

Now let one form one's own estimate regarding the difference between the originals and their corresponding *chhayas* in Sanskrit dramas with which we are concerned here.

In this actual state of things in the University, I am much surprised to see in the revised syllabus of the department that while such a subject as the "general principles of *Indian Politics*" is made a compulsory one for all the students, Prakrit is ignored altogether, though, it may be noted in this connexion that it is a compulsory subject in different Universities here in the country and abroad.

It may also be observed that by not making Prakrit a compulsory subject of studies Buddhist Sanskrit texts, so many in number, such as the *Mahavastu*, etc., various inscriptions and documents are simply made sealed books to most of our students. We cannot also allow our students to remain ignorant of the canonical literature of the Jains, composed in Prakrit. The authorities may now think over the matter calmly and carefully about my insistence on the value and importance of Prakrit as a subject to be taught along with Sanskrit in our University.

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

It is quite befitting for our country that we have the provision for teaching the Vedic literature. But it is to be regretted that not a single Vedic scholar worth special mention has yet been produced in the province after the establishment of the department.

That no student can here make a *padapatha* from the *Samhita-patha*, and vice-versa, nor is he able to recite a single line with proper accents from the Rig-veda which is one of his text-books, is to be much regretted, thinking specially that ours is an Indian University, students reading here are Indian and the subject taught is also Indian.

THE MODERN INTERPRETATION

Our students must first know how we the Indians interpret our Vedas, but undoubtedly they require something more without which they cannot do. They

must not be allowed to remain ignorant of the modern interpretation put on the Vedic words by Savants, both of the Orient and the Occident. One may or may not accept such interpretation as always true, but one must know what all views really are, and they must either accept or refute them by advancing reasonable arguments.

THE IDEAS OF VEDIC SACRIFICES

A considerable portion of the Rigveda with the commentary of Sayana dealing with different Vedic rites or sacrifices is prescribed as compulsory for all the students of the different groups, specially for those of the B or Vedic group. In order to give them some ideas of old sacrifices there are collected in the department some Vedic utensils, so that a teacher may deliver some lectures on them demonstrating therewith, so far as possible. There is no want of such a competent teacher yet this lecturing is now unfortunately stopped and as it appears under the present circumstances all the utensils will ere long be removed from the Sanskrit department to that of Anthropology.

THE AVESTA

Again so far as Sanskrit and specially the Vedic Sanskrit is concerned, our students cannot shut up their eyes to the language of the Avesta. And so a few years back, a small text-book of it was prescribed at least in the Vedic group, but unfortunately in the revised syllabus it is cancelled to the immense loss to the students. This among other things clearly shows that the department has now begun to follow a regressive course. Authorities should, therefore, keep a cautious eye on it. In the field of knowledge such consideration of something as being Indian or non-Indian, or Aryan and Mlechha and action, in accordance with it, of accepting or rejecting that thing are simply suicidal.

At least I can in no way comprehend what harm can the Avesta as a language do to Sanskrit or a Sanskrit student.

THE SYLLABUS

As regards the syllabus in general it requires much modification, but here only a few points may be touched refraining from prolixity:

(i) *Vedanta*: One may observe here that though there are so many systems of Vedanta only those of Sankara and Ramanuja are represented in the syllabus, there being even no mention whatsoever of others. Consequently the students are deprived of the benefit of knowing the origin, growth and mutual relation or comparative views of all of them.

(ii) *Buddhist and Jain Logics*: In the Nyaya-Vaisesika group, so far as the Indian logic is concerned a glaring omission is made by completely ignoring the Buddhist and Jain logics, the contributions of which are so great and are for so much glory of the country. It is to be regretted that an Indian student of Indian logic should know absolutely nothing of them.

(iii) *Sanskrit Grammar*: As regards Sanskrit grammar, though the syllabus is high-sounding, it will be admitted on all hands that the teaching of the subject in the department is not satisfactory at all, and it is well-known in the University circle, and felt acutely by the students themselves. Certainly it is due not so much to anything else as to the text-book prescribed for it. The Board may, therefore, consider if the defect can be removed by recommending the *Kasika* in place of the present book. Undoubtedly the former will enable a student to have a firm footing in the subject, helping him thereby much in a very easy way in understanding Panini, which can in no way be overlooked, as it is not merely a grammar but also a rich mine of valuables.

It may be suggested that in preparing the syllabus, attention should first be paid more to the detailed subjects to be studied than to the text-books. This will be more helpful both to the teachers and the students alike. And it goes without saying that in making the syllabus specially with reference to Indian philosophy, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, the well-known author of the *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy in the University*, may be followed with much benefit.

TIBETAN AND CHINESE IN RELATION TO SANSKRIT

As a Sanskritist I remember here again Sir Asutosh for his introduction of Tibetan and Chinese into the University, sowing thereby a seed of restoration of the invaluable treasure of the Sanskrit lore in most cases now lost in its original form, but fortunately still lying mainly in Tibetan and Chinese. This fact may not generally be known to most of us, but let one cast a glance on Bunio Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), and P. Cordier's *Catalogue of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur*, i.e., the Speeches of the Buddha himself and of those of the old Buddhist teachers dealing mainly with religion and philosophy (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1909, 1915). There is a number of translations in Tibetan also of Sanskrit works on various secular subjects, such as *Kavya Alankara*, *Vyakarana*, *Nyaya*, etc. For instance, *Meghaduta*, *Kavyadarsa*, *Panini*, etc.

This Sanskrit treasure, though originally of India, is now of the world, as shown by its own position held over all the advanced lands of the world. No Indian can rest idle until and unless these works are restored, or retranslated, or their contents are made known in any way. Difficult is the work, no doubt, but the labours of modern scholars show that it is not absolutely impossible. One may refer here to the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu edited, annotated and translated into French by the late Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin utilizing among others the materials mainly from Tibetan and Chinese sources.

It is, therefore, our incumbent duty for getting

back our lost treasures from Tibetan and Chinese, to encourage and engage our young and energetic students, both of colleges and Sanskrit Pathshalas alike, for taking up, in right earnest, the studies of Tibetan and Chinese, and this is to be done in relation to Sanskrit.

Here, again, comes to my mind Sir Asutosh, as he himself gave the first start to such a work in the University. On December, 1921, Prof. Sylvain Levi as the first Visiting Professor, came to Santiniketan. The Visva-Bharati was formally established at that time. Sir Asutosh then placed Dr. P. C. Bagchi, then a lecturer in the Department of Indian History and Culture of the University, under him. Professor Levi trained him specially in Sino-Indian studies for a few years, Sir Asutosh meeting through the University all sorts of expenses for him and his publications as noted below. While in Paris with Prof. Levi he edited two old Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionaries (*Fan yu Tsa Ming* of Li Yen and *Fan yu Ts'in Tseu Wen* of yi-'I'sing). These dictionaries were mainly meant for the Chinese people who wanted to read Sanskrit. We have also much to learn from them. These two volumes are published by our University from Paris under the title: *Sino-Indica: Publications de l'Universite de Calcutta*. Besides, in the same series Dr. Bagchi wrote in French another two volumes entitled *Le Canon Buddhique en Chine* being the Catalogue of Buddhist saints in China.

We may think here over the nature of the work of translation in the past, and the number of men to whom the work was entrusted extending over centuries. It was simply surprising, yet it was finished. And if it was possible in that time why is it not to be so in the present? And if the Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian peoples having studied Sanskrit could translate the works into their respective languages, why cannot the Indian people do the similar work in the present days?

It goes without saying that the liberal help from the State is a great factor in such performances, without which no encouraging attempt can be made on such work in a large scale. Unfortunately neither the state nor the University pays any serious attention to it. But this condition of things should no longer be allowed to continue when the country is independent.

LANGUAGE CLASSES

It is now known to us all that language classes in Tibetan and Chinese are being held in the University. It is good undoubtedly. I feel inclined to believe that this has been done probably with a view to meeting the political, commercial, economical, or some similar requirements of the people. But the authorities of the present University and those who are interested in Sanskrit can never remain complacent until and unless there is the complete restoration from those sources of the lost Sanskrit works, referred to above.

A NOTE OF WARNING

In connection with the Tibetan and Chinese works I should like to strike a note of warning to the authorities of the University requesting them humbly to be careful about the keeping of the rare and valuable books in the Library. Once a big collection of the Chinese *Tripitaka* of the Sanghai edition was completely eaten up by moths and whiteants. Again, when I was directed to arrange the Tibetan works in Xylographs and manuscripts deposited in an obscure corner of the Darbhanga Buildings, they were found not to have been kept properly.

It is to be specially noted that there is in the University a number of Tibetan manuscripts, viz., of the *Prajnaparamitas* written in gold and silver. They are extremely rare. If they are somehow or other lost, there is hardly any hope to replace them in any way.

PRESERVATION OF A VIDYA (SCIENCE)

En passant it may be observed that if a most important, yet much neglected *vidya* or science is acquired from a foreign land it must be preserved by all possible means, so that none should take again the same trouble for its acquirement. The preservation of a particular branch of knowledge is nothing but to offer an opportunity to the man eager for acquisition of it, so that a school of teachers and students may be created to work properly. Here every one interested in the University will be glad to know that such a scholar with a study experience of about ten years, so far as the Sino-Sanskrit studies are concerned, is among the students of the Sanskrit department itself. He has recently returned from China where he went as a Government scholar. The University will be a gainer if such a scholar could be given a suitable appointment in the Department.

SINO-SANSKRIT STUDIES

In connection with the Sino-Sanskrit studies Sir Asutosh appointed here one Prof. Yamakami Sogen of Japan for delivering some lectures on Buddhism mainly from Chinese and Japanese sources. These lectures are embodied in a volume entitled *Systems of Buddhist Thoughts* and published (1912) by the University.

TIBETO-SANSKRIT STUDIES

A few years back in the University Tibeto-Sanskrit studies were taken up seriously and rather in a short time a few Tibeto-Sanskrit books were published therefrom, viz., Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* with both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions and *Hetutattvopadesa* of Jitari, a work on Buddhist logic, being restored in Sanskrit from Tibetan by containing both the versions.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that long before it, it is again owing to Sir Asutosh that two more Tibetan works one a grammar and the other a dictionary, viz., *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*

by H. B. Hanna (1912) and *An English-Tibetan Dictionary* by Lama Dawasamdub Kazi (1919) were published from the University.

FRENCH AND GERMAN

It is well-known that as in other subjects so in the field of Sanskrit, too, the contributions made by French and German scholars are by no means negligible. High scholarship even in Sanskrit is therefore not complete without the knowledge of those two languages. It is difficult to study Sanskrit thoroughly without keeping up-to-date information from the researches of foreign scholars. Therefore for a University student those two continental languages, at least one of them, must be made compulsory, without any further delay.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT

Here is a pertinent question and every one interested in the University would like to have an answer to it. Since the establishment of the department an enormous sum of money amounting to about fifty thousand a year is spent for its maintenance. But excepting the passing of some students in the M.A. examination what is the contribution of the department to Sanskrit learning taking the teachers individually or collectively? Has it produced a single page that can be considered as essential to or indispensable for learning Sanskrit, even just like Jacob's *Concordance to the Principal Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgita*, which is merely a mechanical work, not to speak of such monumental books as the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Williams? The public demands a reply.

THE WORKS PROPOSED AND UNDERTAKEN

One would also like to know as to what has become of the *Darsanamahakosa* or the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy in Sanskrit*. The scheme of it was formally presented to the President, Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts by Sir Radhakrishnan who declared: "If it is completed it will immortalize the University." Unfortunately it has been given up.

Similar is the fate also of some useful works that were undertaken, such as *Sankhya-yoga-kosa* and *Kalidasa-kosa*, i.e., (i) *A Concordance to Sankhya-Yoga*, and (ii) *A Dictionary of Kalidasa*.

These were being prepared by a Union of teachers and students, present and old, belonging to our University as well as to other institutions. There was no arrangement of any remuneration for this work, yet the output was considerable. Much enthusiasm was evinced specially by the students. But as ill luck would have it, these works could not progress much. If the schemes alluded to above are not commendable and as such are rejected, new ones could easily be made. But this, too, is not being done. We also hear nothing now about the already started *Asutosh Sanskrit Series*, nor of the manuscripts for which a separate man is

appointed. But let us hope that both of them are being continued.

We were discussing the achievement of the department through useful works by our teachers, which may justify their own appointment there. But there may not be any commendable or useful literary work produced by a teacher, yet his appointment may be quite justifiable if his teaching is of extraordinary quality. We should feel proud of such a teacher whom in the word of Yaska we may rightly style as a *nidhi-gopa* (protector of a treasure). But there are not many such teachers in the University.

TOO MANY TEACHERS

Many new part-time lecturers have recently been appointed though not a single new subject is added to the syllabus and naturally to accommodate all these old and new teachers, necessity was keenly felt to increase the number of classes to be taken by them even on Saturdays and for six hours a day in contravention of the time-honoured convention of the department, which was introduced solely for the benefit of students. Once the then President of the Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, having come to know that classes were then being held for *eighteen hours a week* strongly expressed his disapproval in the following words:

"Do you want to kill the students? Have you forgotten that they are Post-Graduate students? They are not only to attend classes, but also to make private studies by reading in the library! When will they do so?"

Comment is not necessary.*

CONSTANT CHANGE OF NECESSITY

As regards the necessity of the department there is a constant change. Applications are invited from candidates for a particular subject, but the appointment is invariably made for another subject. This has become a practice in the department, as is well-known in the University circle for the last few years. But why so?

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Finally, apart from the question of the acceptance of the modifications suggested above it may be taken into serious consideration, under the present circumstances, if the teaching of some of the subjects common to both the department and the Sanskrit College, such as *Veda-Vedanta*, *Nyaya-Vaisesika*, *Sankhya-Yoga* and *Smṛiti-Mīmāṃsa* can be arranged in the Sanskrit College only as there is hardly any remarkable difference in this respect in these two institutions. Now let the authorities and the old and new friends of the University ponder over calmly and seriously on what is really good for it and act accordingly, so that it may bring about the actual "Advancement of Learning" for which it stands.

* Since then the routine has been changed.

MECHANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

By "KISHAN"

MECHANISATION of agriculture began when man used his first primitive tool to grow crops. Animal power was introduced and machines were improved. With the invention of tractors, the designing and improvement of machinery took a new turn and this new turn has brought revolutionary progress in agriculture. Now-a-days by mechanisation of agriculture we generally mean this later stage of development, i.e., the use of power-driven machinery.

AIM OF MECHANISATION

Increase in economic efficiency is the primary aim of mechanisation. Efficiency is measured by the ratio of output to input. The main inputs in agriculture are measured in the form of land, labour and capital. Capital includes outlay on homesteads, livestock, deadstock, fertilizers, seeds, irrigation facilities, machinery, etc. All these affect output directly as also indirectly by affecting land and labour. The last two also affect the output directly. Let us see how far are these affected by mechanisation.

It is still a debatable point whether mechanisation in agriculture increases the output per unit of land. It has been seen that lands heavily infested with weeds yield better when tilled with power-driven machinery. This is, however, not the case when weed infestation is not very heavy. On the other hand, mechanised farms being large farms, and the farming system being extensive, the yield per unit of land is lower than small farms where farming system is usually intensive. This has been shown in a recent survey in England and Wales. In India in absence of proper statistics we may tentatively conclude that, keeping other factors, such as manuring, irrigation, use of seeds and weed control constant, mechanisation alone does not affect the output per unit of land.

Output per unit of labour is, however, strikingly affected. By utilising the high power of tractors and with the help of time and labour saving devices of modern implements one can do the work of many. The requirement of labour is cut down. Hence the output per unit of labour is increased considerably; that means increase in the efficiency of labour.

On the other hand, output per unit of capital is lowered since the gross output remains the same whereas capital investment increases very much due to the use of costly machinery and increased expenditure in its running, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest.

If the saving due to increase in efficiency of labour is more than the extra expenditure incurred on run-

ning, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest, mechanisation will be financially successful. Otherwise it will fail.

ESSENTIAL PRE-REQUISITES

The factors which can bring about this condition are, therefore, essential pre-requisites for the success of mechanisation. Low pressure of population, scarcity of labour, high wage level and high economic standard are some of these. In addition, the people should be enterprising and mechanically minded. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Argentina and Russia, mechanisation is successful for these reasons.

In densely populated European countries like Germany and U.K., high industrial development has created shortages in agricultural workers. In thickly populated countries industrial development brings about conditions suitable for mechanisation. In U.S.A., there is vast land compared to its population and industries are also highly developed. The result is that mechanisation has reached a very high stage of development in that country.

CONDITIONS IN INDIA

India is thickly populated. Absence of suitable occupation in other directions during the last 200 years has compelled most of the ever-growing population to work on land. Hence we find the small scattered holdings of peasants who are hardly productively employed more than half the period in a year. People are backward educationally. Low economic standard has kept the general mass far away from the modern scientific achievements. That is why they are not mechanically minded. Physical and mental impoverishment have left them anything but enterprising. Due to inflation wage level is rising. Labour is very dear. People who farm by hired labour have been hard hit. Those who have got large blocks of lands are now in search for tractors. The peasants who work their own land do not pay for labour in cash and therefore do not feel the bad effect of increasing wage so much. The condition is, therefore, favourable to mechanisation but the obstacles, such as overpopulation in agriculture, low average income and absence of mechanical mindedness have yet to be overcome.

OVERPOPULATION IN AGRICULTURE

Collective farming on co-operative lines is sometimes the remedy suggested for small holdings. Those who have attempted consolidation of holdings in India, know the difficulties due to social customs, ignorance and illiteracy. Then again, the introduction of co-operative farming particularly on mechanised lines will

increase the efficiency of labourers thereby decreasing considerably the number of men required for farming the consolidated block. Either all of them will work and derive their income from this consolidated block, meaning thereby, that each individual owner does not gain much in the form of increased income, or a very small number of men will derive increased income at the cost of others. The question is where to find the employment for these displaced persons. If it could not be found, general introduction of mechanised farm on co-operative lines may not succeed. Russia is often cited as an example of the success of mechanisation on co-operative lines. In Russia, however, there is enough land to keep the whole population fully occupied in agriculture alone. In India even if all the available land is ploughed up, it will not raise the average holding appreciably.

The alternative suggestion is to go in for industrialisation (both factory and cottage) to absorb persons displaced from the land. At present in India roughly 69 p.c. of the population depend on agriculture for sustenance. England with less pressure of population only engage 6 p.c. of the population in this line. To reach the standard of mechanisation of England, and that is not very high compared to other advanced countries, over 60 p.c. of our population should be employed elsewhere. And 60 p.c. of our teeming millions is a fairly large number for our industry to absorb within the next 100 years. Still this is the only line of approach to bring about a radical solution of our problem, the problem of unemployment which is frustrating all our attempts for agricultural progress in this country.

TECHNICAL EFFICIENCY OF MACHINES

Success of mechanisation depends to a great extent on the technical efficiency of the machines, since on it, depends the extent of labour that can be cut down for a given work. Machines that are on the market are mostly designed to suit the country of manufacturers and therefore fit in well with their crops, system of cropping and the environmental conditions. These differ widely from what we find in many parts of India. As such many of these machineries cannot cut down labour to the extent they should do. There are certain distinct stages of operation from the time a land is ploughed up till the crop is made ready for marketing. These distinct stages are broadly: preparation of the land, sowing, intercultivation, harvesting and post-harvesting operations. The nature of operation depends on the type of crop and the local practice of growing it. The latter in most cases is the product of environment. Requirement of labour also differs in different stages according to above. It is generally high for intercultivation and harvesting stages. For certain crops sowing and post-harvesting operations also require a fairly large number of labourers. The machines that are available at present can fairly efficiently cut

down the labour required for preparation of land and sowing. In some cases harvesting and post-harvesting work can also be done mechanically quite efficiently. In many cases the present mechanical aid can do very little to replace manual labour in sufficient numbers. Take for instance, the crop of jute grown so widely in Bengal. Weeding, harvesting and post-harvesting work cannot be done mechanically for want of suitable machines. In this particular crop, expenditure for those works will account for 90 per cent of the total expenditure on labour head. Similarly in the case of transplanted *aman* paddy mechanical help can do very little to reduce puddling and transplanting cost. At the time of harvesting, if the land goes dry, machines can be used but that not without difficulty. In the case of *aus* paddy mechanical intercultivation work will not be possible unless a suitable drill is designed and the crop is sown in rows instead of broadcasting it. Then again, at the time of harvesting *aus* paddy, there is usually rain and the land remains too wet to receive any heavy machinery. In Bengal, with the present machinery and with the present system of cropping, a very high level of efficiency in general, cannot be expected since the performance of the machines with regard to two of the major crops, paddy and jute, is low.

To be efficient mechanically either such crops should be grown as fit in with the present machinery, or cropping system and designing of the machines should be so altered that crops, cropping system and the machines fit in with each other. To do that extensive field trials and research work are necessary. The urgency of this line of work cannot be over-emphasised since it is the high performance of the machines which can increase the output of work per unit of labour, so essential to make mechanisation financially successful.

DECREASE IN CAPITAL OUTLAY

It has been said before that mechanisation decreases the output per unit of capital. Every attempt, therefore, should be made to decrease the capital outlay. The price of tractors and machinery should be lowered. At present the price of tractors and machinery is very high in the world market. Over and above a heavy amount is paid as freight, duty, clearing and insurance charges, in addition to the profit charged by the local dealers. All these sometimes increase the cost by over 60 to 70 per cent. Development of industry to manufacture these in India will cut down these costs and will thus help towards mechanisation with these costly machines, every attempt should be made to select only those which can be put to economic use. At present the public has to depend entirely on the dealers and therefore machines are sold mostly on advertisement and salesmanship.

Investigations, therefore, should be made to find out the suitability of machines of every kind and make that are on the market so that the ordinary public may not suffer from wrong selection. In U. K., the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering is meant for these purposes. The machines which have been purchased should be maintained properly so that they may not fail when needed. Agricultural machinery work under rough and difficult conditions. Breakdown is, therefore, natural, particularly in our country where trained and skilled hands are so few. This occurs usually when the machines are at work and that is in busy seasons when they are needed most. Quick repair is, therefore, of utmost importance. This greatly depends on the ready availability of spare parts. While in advanced countries there are spare parts and repair shops almost in all county towns, in India this facility is available only in two or three important cities. One has to wait several weeks before one can get the help. Sometimes, and this happens fairly frequently, the part required is not in stock and in such cases one has no alternative but to keep the machine idle for several months. The position, therefore, should be improved by making spare parts and repair services available in at least all the provincial capitals. Incidentally, it may be said, that the development of tractor and machine industry will solve the problem of spare parts.

MECHANISATION IN SMALL HOLDINGS

As India is a country of peasant farmers there is often the idea of introducing baby tractors and equipments suitable for their small holdings. Several types of such machines are on the market. Most of these, if not all, depend on petrol for fuel supply. This means that the running cost is tremendously high in addition to the very high capital cost per unit of land. The cultivator, however, does not gain much by increasing all these costs. He reduces the labour cost and that mostly on account of preparation of land. For sowing intercultivation and harvesting the crops he usually grows, he will have to depend on manual labour. Furthermore, a peasant who is farming on subsistence level does not usually engage hired labour and therefore there will be no visible saving from mechanisation. After all a cultivator who is already under-employed does not gain anything by the help of costly time and labour saving devices. On the other hand, these small machines are suitable for market-garden crops. When such gardens are near large consuming centres the

value of crops is high and at the same time labour is very dear. Higher capital and running costs, therefore, can be justified in such cases. The use of small machines, therefore, may be successful in market gardens but not in small holdings of the peasants which are usually grain farms.

SPHERES OF SUCCESS OF MECHANISATION

From what has been said before it appears that in general we will be at a low level of efficiency if mechanisation is adopted as such. There are, however, certain spheres where mechanisation will be of immense value. The big farms, which grow specially sugarcane, cotton, potato, wheat and big livestock farms which grow fodder, can very profitably go in for mechanisation. Machines for these crops will fairly efficiently cut down labour requirement and therefore will increase considerably the output of work per unit of labour.

There are wasteland areas which remain uncultivated since in most cases reclamation of these lands without proper mechanical aid is either impossible or involve heavy expenditures. Machines will do them at a very low cost but their job will be finished as soon as the land is reclaimed. It is, therefore, neither possible nor advisable for individual owners to buy these sets of machinery unless the area owned is large enough for the machines to be used for several years. Government and private parties can buy these sets of machinery and hire them out to the public. They will thus render a great national service and at the same time will receive good financial returns.

CONCLUSION

The economic aspect of mechanisation is sometimes overlooked. Mechanised agriculture is recommended very often since advanced countries have adopted it. It is forgotten that these countries have adopted it only because of economic reasons. It is primarily a natural consequence and not a cause. If in India conditions are made favourable, mechanisation will come in automatically. The main obstacles are under-employment in agriculture, low average income, low technical efficiency of imported machinery, high capital cost and running expenditure, absence of quick repair service, absence of trained men and absence of mechanical-mindedness amongst the general mass. Development of industry alone will remove the major obstacles. Other obstacles are not difficult to remove, if the people so desire.



COURTALLUM
Where Lord Vishnu Turned Lord Shiva

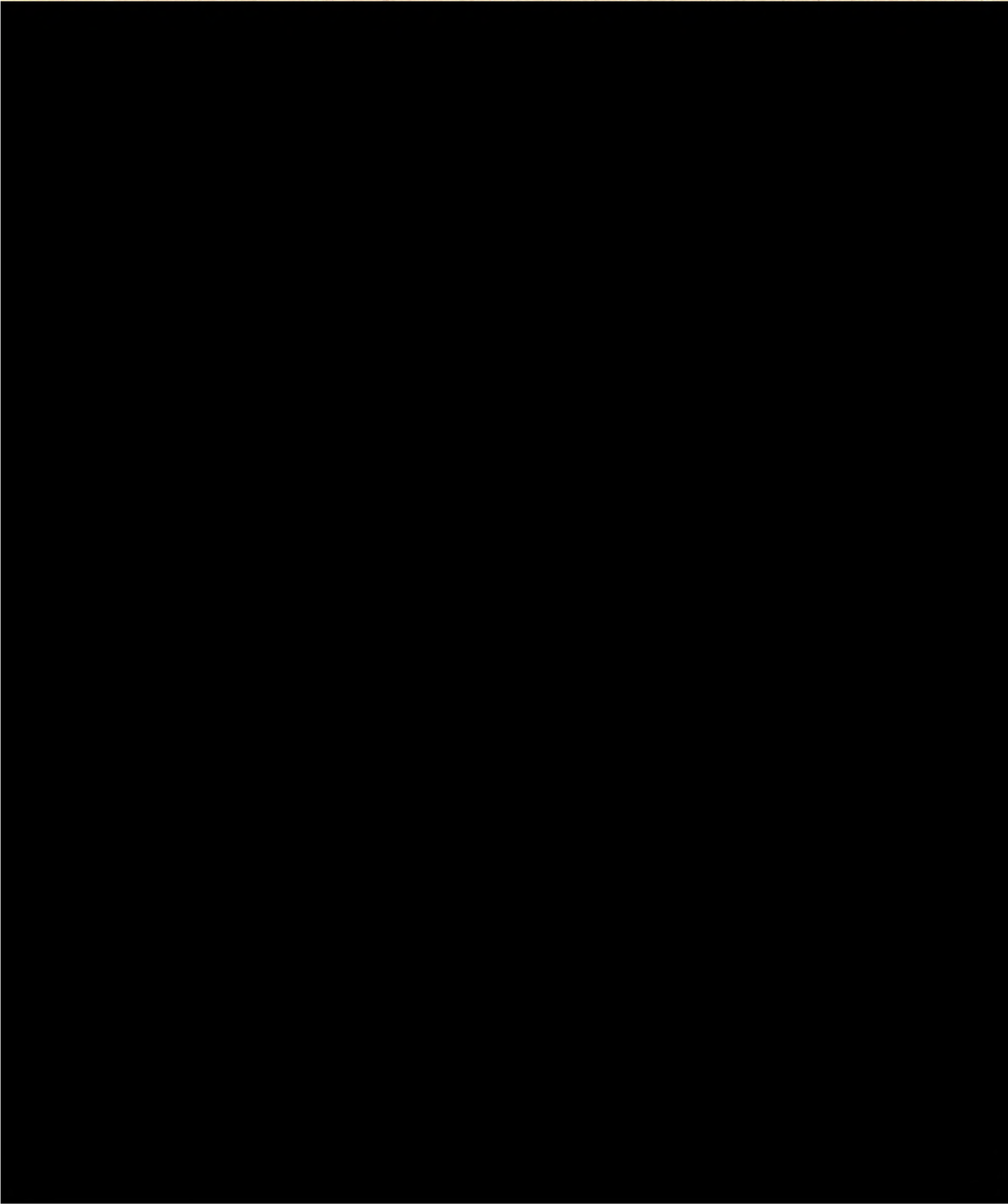
By O. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

COURTALLUM, a very ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage Agastya was refused entry into the shrine. With much

waterfalls—the bewitching beauty of this place. During the season which generally lasts from July to September, there is a considerable influx of visitors from all parts of Madras State and the Union of Travancore and Cochin. The Chittar (little river) or in its Sanskrit form, *Chitra Nadi* (beautiful river), being a tributary well, the famous Christian missionary, who said, “It may be asserted without risk of exaggeration that Courtallum is the finest freshwater bathing place in the world.”

PICTURESQUE SCENERY

The jungle scenery which abounds in this place is



foreign tourist traffic and to show to the foreign tourists some climate. However, amenities at present available

glacial periods into less cold and somewhat dry climatic cycles.

The most interesting climatic phenomenon has been that which occurred at the end of the glacial period but before the dawn of human history. This intermontane valley at that time had become a big lake of huge

flank the main river throughout its length in the valley.

Since the day the river was diverted into the main channel the valley has practically become free from malaria.

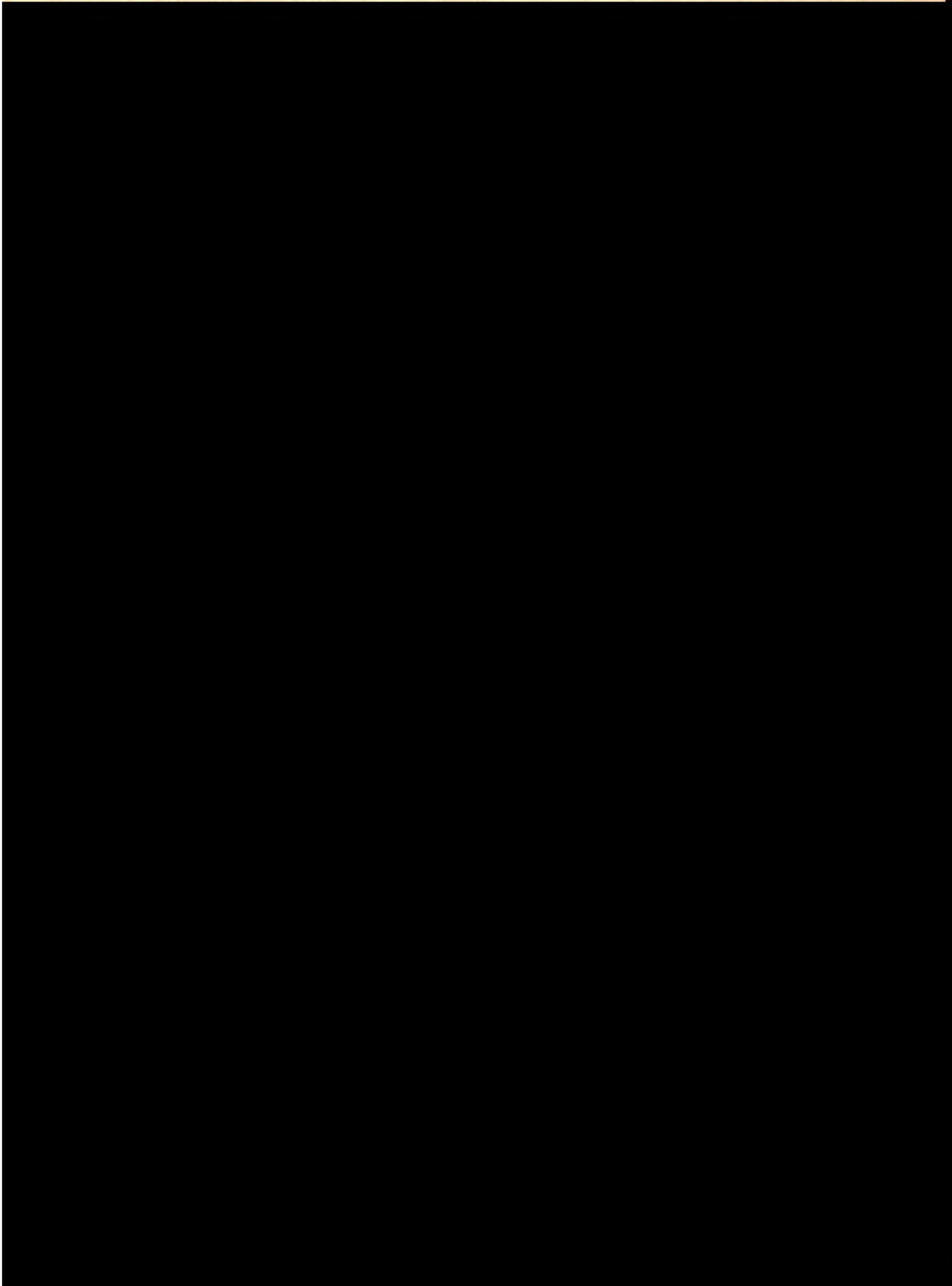
It was in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., that the modern type of climate congenial to the cultural and material progress of the Kashmiri really began.

In the middle of the eighth century it rained so heavily in the Valley that the river Jhelum very often went in spate; the small lakes of the Valley spread in size; the villages were flooded with water; most of the

when the whole of Ram Munshi Bagh became converted into a virtual lake. Even the ground floor of the Amar Singh Club remained submerged under water, five feet deep.

In May 1941 it was feverishly hot. In November 1942

Scientists like Humphrey, Tyndall, Chamberlain, Fusch, Kraft, Wegener, Brook, Huntington, Visher and Bruckner have advanced their theories regarding changes of climates in the past and in the present but Bruckner's observations have been most popular. According to him,



disabilities helped by artificial equipments as limbs, hearing aids, etc. At the Occupational Therapy Workshop various handicrafts are taught to disabled patients. Paralytics are made to work on the treadle or bicycle saw or to prepare toys out of fret wood. Polio-affected children are given at first beads to string, cloth rags to make dolls and toys, such as Rabbits, Toddy, Bears, etc., out of them. Some are able to weave braid rags and mats after gaining

their students in their class rooms either instructing them in handicrafts or technical lessons in Occupational Therapy subjects. When Mrs. Nimbkar is not at the School or Workshop, she is found outside with patients searching for them some suitable employers who can offer them work and pay them good remunerations.

Mrs. Nimbkar has much work ahead. At present, the financial aspects of the school and workshop are

BRITAIN MEETS SHORTAGE OF SKILLED LABOUR

By HAROLD HUTCHINSON,

British Industrial Correspondent and BBC Economic Analyst

EXPANSION of industrial production in Britain since the war to about 50 per cent above 1938 has taxed the national resources of manpower—as well as raw materials—to the limit. The three-year rearmament pro-

themselves, where any suitable man can get an intensive training and emerge a skilled worker.

The courses are drawn up with the help of employers and trade unions representing the skilled workers, and both sides of industry recognise the trainees as having served the



with some training in industry, and who are anxious to become craftsmen, can wholly qualify for most trades in 12 months; some can become proficient in less time. A few trades require a two-year course.

Training is, therefore, open to anyone in those jobs where there is a shortage of labour—for example, draughtsmen, electrical engineers, turners and fitters, instrument makers, heating and ventilating engineers, carpenters, and so on. Needs differ slightly in different parts of Britain, and the scheme is flexible enough to allow a fairly quick switch in the nature and method of the training available.

ALLOWANCES PAID

At present about 4,000 men can be trained simultaneously at Government centres, but not all complete their training at the centre. Many proceed from

the centres to factories for the final part of the course, so that the number of unskilled men being turned into craftsmen is always considerably greater than the number of places in the training centres.

All men accepted for training agree to take jobs in certain selected industries, and during training they are paid allowances according to age and need. The maximum amount is just slightly less than the basic skilled wage for the industry concerned.

The range of training available to men from the Forces is very much wider than this specialised scheme, which was designed to meet an emergency demand. About 80 courses are open to men leaving the Services. In 25 crafts where the demand for skilled workers is very limited, training is given only to disabled men and women. These are all crafts in which it has been found that disabled workers can succeed.

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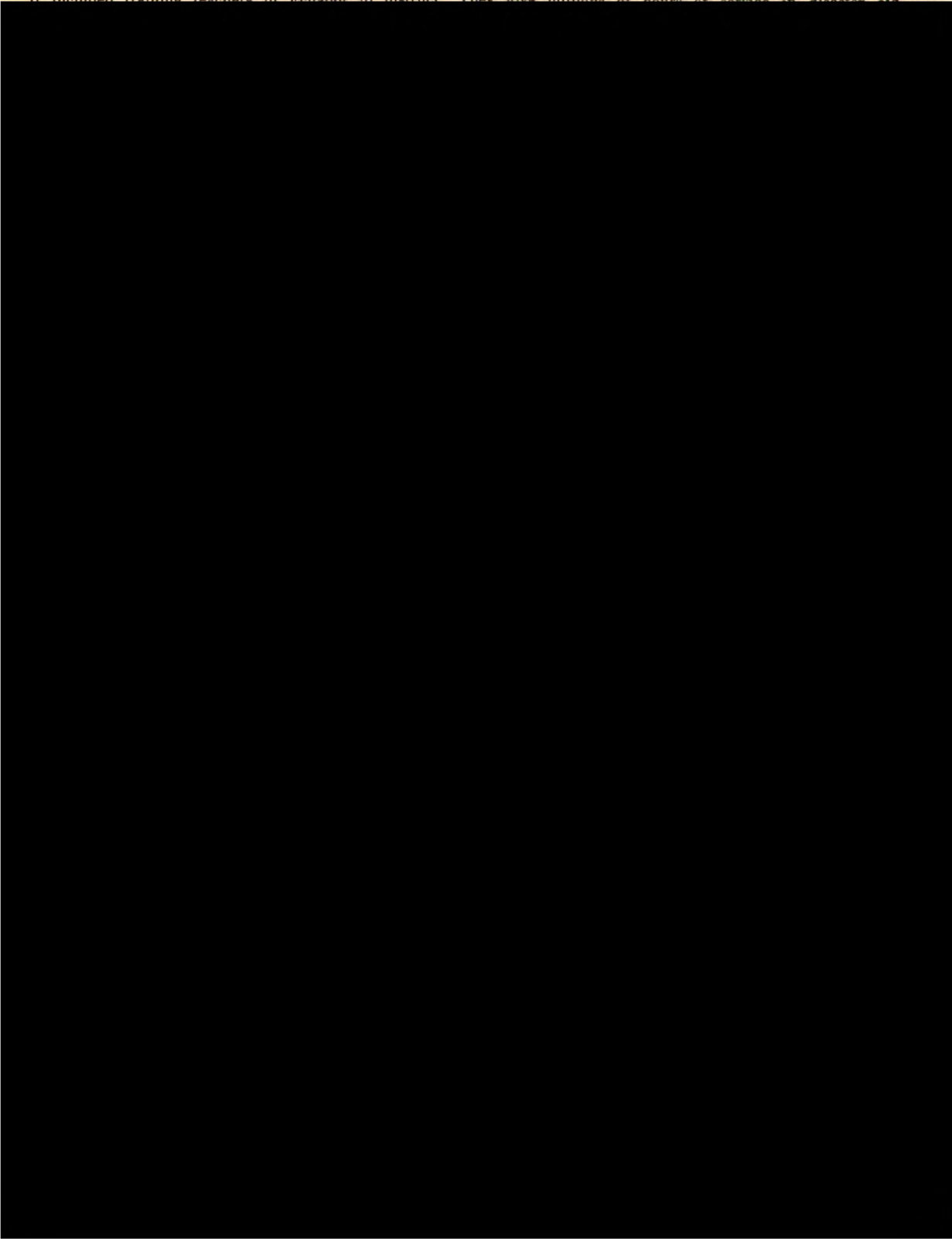
Red Cross last year, led a list of high-ranking Government officials participating in the program. Travelling from Hollywood to the Nation's Capital were the stars of the motion picture "Father of the Bride"—Spencer

quakes in Ecuador and Peru, and typhoons in the Philippine Republic.

The American Red Cross maintains a close liaison with the United Nations and the League of Red Cross Societies in 67 other nations. The United Nations named the international League to co-ordinate all Red Cross aid to the war refugees in Korea. Already this aid has



approximately \$1,273,300. for the American Red Cross as unpaid volunteers.
It included training teachers in Ecuador to instruct. They give millions of hours of service in disaster aid.



DANCE IN EDUCATION

By Miss KAPILA MALIK, M.A. (Delhi), M.A. (Michigan),
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EXPERIMENTS in the technique and content of education are taking place all over the world and, perhaps, the civilization of tomorrow will be born out of a new orientation of education rather than from the staggering discoveries of science. The aesthetic element in education needs to be given its proper place in our school curriculum so that all forms of expression and growth of personality are available to children. In aesthetic education the dance occupies a very important place and this is increasingly recognised by the leading educationists in many countries.

In his well-known book *Foundation of American Education*, Prof. Rugg emphasizes the Creative Act as one of the most important foundations of education. Tracing the aesthetic revolution in American education from the sixteenth century, he says:

"The creative teachers will find no more profound revelation of concepts that will rebuild their school than those of the Modern Dance."

According to him, the creative art is based on three assumptions regarding the human being: Firstly, expressive and appreciative acts take place through any medium with the experience of the human being, such as words in poetry, the movements of the body in dance, the use of form and colour in painting and so on. Secondly, every human being has within himself some potential capacity to express himself in one or another medium and to respond appreciatively; from this follows the concept of 'man as artist' which is the goal of aesthetic education and which assumes that every child under effective educational conditions can grow to the maximum of his capacity, both to express himself and to appreciate his surroundings aesthetically. Lastly, according to Prof. Rugg:

"There are vast differences among the people in sensitivity and in potential capacity . . . and the creative and appreciative capacities follow the law of distribution that has been well-established for the anthropometrical and mental traits, intelligentsia, temperament and emotional dietetics."

These three basic assumptions are accepted expressly or implicitly by every dancer and dance educator. At a time when we in India seem to be at the threshold of introducing the Creative Arts into our school curricula, it is well to examine the ideas and values of those who have already introduced these into their educational systems. The above assumptions of Prof. Rugg are important in so far as they recognise the need of the individual to be creative, expressive and appreciative of the 'aesthetic' element in life. Unless this is granted we cannot launch any further arguments because the dance is not entirely an essential part of subject-matter and skill learning in formal education.

With these general observations we may proceed to examine the value of the dance in education from various

standpoints. We have somehow stopped thinking of the Arts and of the Dance in particular as an educational medium. It is for us something which we are entertained by and which remains the business of select groups of professionals: it forms no part of our daily life, and it almost sound strange to consider the dance and its value in individual (personal, subjective and emotional) and group (social, cultural and democratic) education; but it is time that we gave up our limited, narrow ideas of the dance as a technique or skill on the one hand and a divine madness on the other. We are already trying to broaden its sphere and it will be worthwhile here to study its value as physical, spiritual, intellectual and emotional experience.

Let us examine here a few of these values of the dance and see what a fine medium it can be for the education of the individual as a balanced integrated personality. It will bring out the acute need for considering the dance as an important force in education rather than as a specialized art—meant only for a select few. It will show us the need for the introduction and production of dance education in our present-day educational institutions.

Since the physical form of the human being is the instrument, let us first begin with the physical consequences and the educational level. Dancing is certainly organically stimulating, developing heart, lungs and digestive processes and other bodily functions to high levels of power and efficiency. For dancing feeds all-round development and this is very different from other large muscle activities; its superiority in this respect is enormous. Unlike games or sports, for example, dance does not require actors to exert their powers to abnormal limits of performance. As the famous American dancer, Martha Graham, said once:

"Artistry lies in restraint as much as in expression and the ideal of technique is the absence of strain; it is the rhythmic building of the body to a perfect form."

Games and sports need not aim at straining oneself to the utmost capacity. When indulged in proper restraint and right proportions these activities serve a very useful purpose, but the spirit of breaking records is too deeply ingrained in the pursuit of games and sports. In dancing, on the other hand, to break a record would be completely inimical to its spirit. Even if dance is not superior to games in organic development, it unquestionably has more desirable effects on the symmetry of the body and the beauty of facial expression. Sports sometimes develop athletic bodies unsymmetrically, occasionally to deformity. Dance, on the other hand, develops exquisitely proportioned as well as powerful bodies. Immensely more important is the idea of balance that is manifest in the dance. Unlike sports, it bears in mind the masculine and feminine rhythms of the human body. In a word men dance like men and women like themselves. The nineteenth century idea

in India of calling dancers effeminate is of course wrong, though it is not uncommon to see a conspicuously 'masculine woman' as a result of sports or physical education. An exquisite form and a graceful expression are the prime consequences of proper dance training.

Finally, dance is an artistic art form and a means of self-expression; the body, the human form, is only a means to an end, not the end itself; it is a method of communication between independent microcosms which utilize large and small muscles in rhythmic movements, to convey feelings and ideas. It is as Martha Graham has said, 'an animate composition in space.'

"Dancing is movement made significant: techniques used to express spiritual content."

In this respect dancing is more important than sports in the educational system. It has advantages over strenuous gymnastics not only as a physical exercise but also as a true education in something beyond the form and techniques of the good physical figure. It combines in itself all that the typical education connotes and much more. Its great value as a corrective in physical and mental therapy has been emphasized both by doctors and educators. Elwood Murry's study of speech training as a Mental Hygiene method emphasizes the fact that mal-adjusted children have been cured through the dance.

But dancing is not merely a superior physical training for the growing youth, it is important as a tool for the growth of social virtues in education. Through the poised figure dance promotes courage, initiative, perseverance and creativeness in man; beauty, grace, generosity, sympathy and sacrifice in woman.

Certainly the dance can be a tremendously potent tool to develop co-operative practice and spirit. Due to professional jealousies, our dance groups have not proved this so far, but we know that competition is abhorred by sincere dancers. The very fact of co-ordinated movements among several dancers acting as a unit show the possibilities of reaching exciting heights of perfection and joy.

Dancing provides excellent opportunities for group work and experience in democratic method. It fulfils its function in the curricula of democratic schools because it serves as a laboratory in democratic living for the youth of a nation. It serves as an ideal tool in forming wonderful group habits: in it they exercise not only their right to freedom of expression but also the responsibility of respecting the right of others and the cheerful assumption of obligations that are entailed in any group activity.

We in India should realize the need of initiating such a group activity as dancing more than any other people of the world. In a new system of education required by a free and creative India we need this type of a socializing influence. Dance teaching accomplishes a great deal in the informal set-up where the give-and-take of ideas between the student and teacher is much greater and much less inhibited than in the classes of formal academic studies. Even more is 'dance' a tool in the inculcation of cultural ideas, in the achievement of a higher civilization, in the

promotion of national and international relationships between different cultures. Dance has no age, it only demands a new freedom in all departments of living. It has always been the great responsibility of the arts and the artists of any civilization to hold up before the people all that is noble and not decadent, all that is beautiful and not ugly. After literature, dance has striven to do this. The Oriental and Greek dances of Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan, Simkie's Indian dancing, and Uday Shankar with his stamp of the ballet are enough to show much can be accomplished in bridging gaps and chasms between cultures. Students can easily break the narrow domestic walls of nationalism in their minds if they learn and practise national and international dances, folk, or classical. The universal language of the dance has only humanity behind it; there are no passports, no visas, no conflicts, no strifes.

Dancing above all is the perfect medium for the development of the total personality—the intellect, the mind and the spirit—teaching logic and discipline. It is a means of giving each individual an opportunity for the expression of his conflicts, of his ideas, of his intellectual beliefs and doubts; it aids every person in reaching his full status as an individual. In his *Rhythmic Art and Education*, Jacques Dalcroze has offered sound advice to the teachers:

"The main thing to remember is that the function of parents and teachers is to strengthen and develop the child in such a fashion that the mind and the body form a perfect instrument wherein to play the song of life. . . . It was my wish to manifest the power of rhythmic gymnastics in transforming the mind along the lives of greater self-possession, stronger power of imagination, more constant mental concentration."

Creative work in dance is one way of assisting a person in the development of his unique personality. For dance is today not only a group activity, but also a highly individualized form of expression. Working in the medium of movement each person may make up a dance in his own way about whatever seems significant in his experience. To compose in dance, the artist examines his ideas and probes to their essential meanings; by organising movement in time and space with the use of his reason and logic he makes them objective. In this process he may find both intellectual and emotional resolution of conflict. He can be helped to face his own problems and develop constructive ways of attaching problems. Dance, thus, can focus our attention upon the unrealised potentialities of our being: its introduction in education means the imparting of some of this to the average child.

The foregoing are the values of the 'dance' in the very broad and universal sense of 'education.' The individual is enriched by it physically, intellectually, and socially. Let us now for a moment look into the values of the dance in the educational curriculum itself and see how it can be of help there. It will continue to serve all the functions described above and many more in the academic training of the individual.

In this age of fragmentation in all spheres of life, literature, arts, natural sciences and social sciences and above all in the human psyche itself, we have made compartments and departments through our over-specialization. Everything is split and analysed to the electron and proton stage and even beyond. The analytic process is realizing the acute need for synthesis, and for integration. The need for co-relating knowledge and synthesising the various strands and aspects of our modern existence is only too great. Life is a combination of all these parts and art aims at synthesising and organising the chaos of life into an harmonic pattern. Dance aims at the perception of this harmony in a very humble and yet successful way and this harmony through movements is not out of reach for the average individual who finds poetry and literature beyond his grasp. Being the most accessible of the arts and utilising the human form alone as its instrument, the dance can co-relate any field of knowledge.

As a matter of fact, dancing by its very nature is a training in co-relation and perception of links between the various arts and forms of knowledge. Literature forms an essential background to dancing. Both the arts derive their inspiration from human life and human personality. Dance works with the materials that literature provides through rhythmic forms and movements. Without the rich background provided by literature dancing would fall to the level of sheer physical gymnastics or cheap night-club dancing. What is true of literature is even more true of music. The two art forms have developed hand in hand from their very inception; they are inseparable and each loses by the absence of the other. Interpreting and enacting musical themes is most important in the dance, and the understanding of rhythm in music can be best understood through movements in dancing. As for sculpture, the first inspiration of a sculptor must have been a dancing figure. The aim of sculpture is to recapture a moment of life in dance and movement. The impulse behind the two arts is almost identical. Dance can teach balance and sense of proportion through painting and sculpture, and painting and sculpture can teach life-movement through dance. All arts come to the dance not only for visual imagery but also for kinesthetic sense of line movement and grouping which dance alone can give, dealing with the entire body as it does.

The integrating values of the dance are, however, not at all restricted to the arts only. Dance serves as a medium to integrate other forms of learning. Through dancing, history and geography can be communicated successfully to the pre-school and elementary school child. The entire process of learning can be made so much more meaningful, so much more lively and interesting through the medium of the dance. If this integrated training is provided in the formative years of a child's development, we will have given the child a very useful skill to perceive the unity and co-relation between the things he learns and does in later years. Dance provides the platform where all can mingle and blend. Since it does not claim to

stand by itself it draws from the great and vast sources of all knowledge and experience the great vistas of thought and emotion and it expresses through the most accessible of media the human form, much of what is artistic and aesthetic in life. The full richness of its character gives it the possibilities of multiple dimensions and as such it becomes more than a foundation of 'good education.'

In India where we are not used to teaching the dance as part of the educational curriculum many readers will particularly ask the question, 'What style of dancing are you going to introduce in the schools and what are you going to teach them?' This is exactly where we must have our aims clearly defined before we begin to confuse the students regarding such dance education and its value.

Learning techniques and the particular classical styles of dancing like the Bharatanatyam, Kathakali or the Kathak is very different from the type of dancing that has been proposed here; these styles, excellent and perfect in themselves, aim at the professional perfection of the Art-form, whether attempted by amateurs or professionals. Their teaching aims at perfect imitation and understanding of the technique which is a highly specialised subject in itself.

For our purposes we need a new type of dancing, where there is very little of the imitative and the repetitive, and where the individual is only made aware of his potentialities and is given a language to express himself. It is thus more for the purposes of fulfilling the individual's need as a person than his accomplishment as a renowned dancer. The student must not be presented these dual aims, because not all will become professional dancers through this process. We must keep clearly in mind where the educational process of creative dancing and learning ends and where the professional begins. We, in India, will have to develop our imagination more and not confine ourselves to the teaching of things that have been handed down to us century after century. This new educational dance will not become like the Uday Shankar style where one man created and others followed blindly. We will completely defeat our purpose by doing this. Our dance teachers will need to be trained so that they impart only the basic skills to the student and make him aware of the scope for force and creative expression in which he experimented to derive artistic satisfaction. To inculcate all the values mentioned earlier, the teacher will have to draw from the sources of the already existing dance styles and present these in a way so that all the personal, individual, social and cultural values evolve out of this teaching. Folk dances, for example, are a very fine way of inculcating group feeling and organisation. Individual dance themes can be worked out for the intellectual and subjective values of the dance and the student can learn to express himself through this medium.

It might be said in conclusion that a dance programme with the above values in mind should be planned according to the needs of a cultural group, for educational values as described above rather than

for professional goals, with the intent of expressing that culture in a manner which can be universally understood. The benefit of the dance for educational purposes lies in the practice of present-day dance styles and forms which help to further the growth and development of an understanding of the twentieth century arts and the inter-relationship of the individual to other subjects and to society. It is the teacher's duty to prepare the dance student for complete awareness of movement—movement as an experience of the individual and in relation to a group. Further, the dance should aim mainly at enriching the student's

imaginative powers which do not necessarily have to find expression in dance, but which can be of assistance in related artistic activity. The achievement of this goal should be kept in mind when we focus on the student whom we wish to introduce to the dance. Such a proper emphasis on the educational dance would produce a most responsive generation possessing artistic appreciation. Von Laban is right when he says :

"The educative value of the dance is made apparent through healthy mastery of movement and by enhancement of personal and social harmony promoted by the exact movement observation."

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REVERENCE FOR LIFE

Monument to Gandhiji

By DR. I. E. J. DAVID

A party of men and women were having a picnic. They went swimming. All were caught in a fierce current which was carrying them to their death-bed at the bottom of the sea. One of them, a young man, barely twenty years old, battled the waves and brought one by one, seven of them, to the shore, and when he rescued the last one, he himself was exhausted and was carried away by the waves and was drowned, and fishermen later brought the dead body to the shore. He was the only child of his widowed mother and his body was embalmed and sent to her. The same night of this tragedy, the party rescued, attended a grand dance totally wanting in heart, feeling and reverence to one who laid down his life for them. Society was so shocked, that they were boycotted by all decent men and women. To cover their shame and disgrace they built a monument, a beautiful arch, in memory of the lad, which now stands, as a monument not only to the self-sacrifice of a mother's only son, but a monument to the heartlessness and irreverence of man for man.

I know a graveyard. There stands a most beautiful, exquisite and a costly statue, a monument over a young woman's grave. This monument was built by the man who betrayed her and made her last years a tragedy.

There was a man, called "The naked fakir," whose earthly possessions consisted of a loin cloth, and he lived in a hut. He was the greatest man of our times. He died that a nation might be reborn and live. He was

assassinated. He was betrayed, not only by the man who murdered him, but by a whole Nation, who cast his teachings to the four winds, and instead are building sky-high monuments, temples, pillars, and museums worth tens of lacs which should go to schools, hospitals, the sick, the hungry, the naked and the man in need. They wear his cap, the symbol of sacrifice and humility, but which today is stained with the blood, corruption, arrogance and hypocrisy. His name is always on their lips and his portraits hang everywhere. With these monuments of their betrayal they think they revere him.

There was a man, and what a man! He was betrayed and was crucified. The traitor had at least the decency to hang himself. The monument to His memory lives in the hearts of men, and in the Cross—just two pieces of wood. But sometimes the monument to Christ takes the form of "Police Action" in Korea, Atom Bombs in Japan and concentration camps and scorched earth and firing squads in Europe, while the monuments to Gandhiji are hypocritical white caps, the black market, communalism, sectarianism, provincialism, arrogant imperialism and intolerance of language and "culture", and feuds and treachery within the ranks, and above all lack of reverence of man for man, and the forgetfulness of the fact that all men are created equal in the sight of God and have equal rights.

Nagpur



THE BANK RATE IN INDIA.

By PROF. V. N. HUKKU, M.COM.

THE decision of the Reserve Bank of India about raising the Bank rate from 3 per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent with effect from the 15th November, 1951 was received as a shock in the Money market of India. It will be a historical event in the life history of the Reserve Bank of India. (Though not quite unexpected, it is really a remarkable action on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to remove the rust from the stationary and stagnant Bank rate which remained pegged at 3 per cent, since the 28th November, 1935.) The increase in the Bank rate in India cannot be considered to be a novelty. In the recent past, a number of countries in the Western world have endeavoured to combat 'inflation monster' which has attacked almost all the nations with a terrible blow. The following are the names of a few countries where the Bank rate has been raised:

Name	Past Bank Rate	Present Bank Rate
1. Belgium	$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent
2. Canada	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "	2 "
3. Denmark	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "	5 "
4. France	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	4 "
5. Finland	$5\frac{1}{4}$ "	$7\frac{1}{4}$ "
6. Netherlands	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	4 "
7. Sweden	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "	3 "
8. United Kingdom	2 "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
9. United States of America	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
10. West Germany	4 "	6 "

The change in the Bank rate in the United Kingdom and France is also notable. In the United Kingdom the Bank rate has remained almost unchanged since 1932. The Bank rate as it prevailed in France before 11th October, 1951 was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from which it was raised to 3 per cent. No sooner had the Bank rate been raised by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by the Bank of England from the 7th November, 1951, the Bank of France decided in favour of raising the Bank rate once again from 3 per cent to 4 per cent within one month's time.

The Bank rate indicates somewhat different significance in India. The Bank rate is the minimum rate at which the central banks discount first class bills of exchange and make advances to the commercial banks on the approved securities. (In India, however, under the peculiar circumstances of the absence of an organised bill market, the Bank rate has truly been considered to be the rate at which accommodation is made available to the scheduled banks.) The Bank rate or the discount rate as it is popularly known in some countries was a common principal weapon for credit control right from the times even before the World War I, during the era of International Gold Standard. Since after the liquidation of the Gold Standard it receded to the background giving importance to other

weapons, viz., open market operations, moral persuasion, direct action and rationing of credit, etc. The birth of the International Monetary Fund has once again added some importance to the effectiveness of the Bank rate.

Dealing back with our own case in India, we have reasons to believe of the ineffectiveness and a dormant influence of the Bank rate over the credit structure in the country since the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India. (The main reasons for its ineffectiveness were the lack of a close contact between the Reserve Bank and the Commercial banks and the indifference of the latter in respect of approaching the former for financial assistance.) It must not, however, be left out to be mentioned that the effectiveness of the Bank rate depends to a considerable extent upon the extent to which the scheduled banks depend upon the Reserve Bank. Moreover, the easy money conditions prevailing in the country and the Imperial Bank of India rate were also obstacles to the influence of the Bank rate. The Imperial Bank of India who has been working in close association with the Reserve Bank of India as the latter's agent, since the latter's establishment, has maintained the lending rate at a level of (lower than the Bank rate) $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent against Government Securities worth Rs. 5 lakhs or over and at 3 per cent for those worth less than Rs. 5 lakhs. During the last busy season the Imperial Bank of India could not face the heavy demand of loans and it had to raise the lending rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The increase in the lending rate of the Imperial Bank of India transferred the pressure on to the Reserve Bank. The hundi rate of the Imperial Bank of India which after a fall from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 3 per cent in November, 1935, rose to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in January, 1949, and prevailing at 4 per cent in 1951 together with an all-round increase in the lending rates, again gave an impetus to the Bank rate in India. (Consequently, with a view to contract credit expansion and curb the inflationary trend, the Reserve Bank of India finally resolved to raise the Bank rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was not a mutually consulted plan with the Bank of England but it was a mere coincidence by chance that the increase in the Bank rate in India followed the increase of the Bank rate in England immediately.) A statement has been issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India conveying the decision to stop buying of the Government Securities (as the Reserve Bank has been usually doing in the past) in the ensuing busy season except in certain emergencies. The usual practice, adopted by the scheduled banks, was to sell the Government Securities to the Reserve Bank of India in order to increase their lending resources. The expansion of credit, though made through the assistance of the

Reserve Bank of India, remained almost out of the latter's control. Thus while the advances made by the scheduled banks rose tremendously to about Rs. 583 crores their investment in Government Securities declined heavily. The holding of the Government Securities with the Reserve Bank of India stood at approximately Rs. 468 crores as on 16th November, 1951.

The underlying idea which has caused an increase in the Bank rate is to bring about a cessation of the cheap money conditions which have been ruling in the country for the last sixteen years and even more. This increase in the Bank rate has been so designed as to make the bank credit dearer and to discourage the establishment of weak industrial units. The general consequences of a dearer bank credit reflect upon the cost of holding goods and the amount of the deposit of the savings with the banks.

The immediate effect of a change in the Bank rate was visible on the Indian Stock Exchanges, wherein the change was received as a stunning blow to the operators. The change in the Bank rates in the United Kingdom and France was enough to indicate the adoption of a similar action by the Reserve Bank of India, but the speculators could not foresee the haste with which the decision was given. The greatest effect of the Bank rate in connection with the Stock Exchange Securities can be judged from the changes in the values of the 3 per cent Conversion Loan (1936) and the 3 per cent 1970-75 Loan. The former which was issued in 1946 to replace the 3½ per cent Non-terminable Loan stood at Rs. 92-11 on the 13th November, 1951. For the first time its price went down to Rs. 82-8 thereby increasing the yield from 3.24 per cent to 3.63 per cent. The latter one which stood at Rs. 92-14 on the 13th November, 1951, slid down to Rs. 88-4 thereby increasing the yield from 3.44 per cent to 3.75 per cent. Other Government Papers also witnessed a depreciation in value due to the announcement of the policy of the Reserve Bank of India to abstain from dealing in the Government Paper. Not only the Government Securities but others also suffered a fall in value like Tata industrials which were quoted at about Rs. 60, lower, soon after the declaration of an increase in the Bank rate.

The change in the Bank rate, according to the economic principles, caused an increase in the general lending rates of the banks in the country by ½ per cent. The Imperial Bank of India *hundi* rate immediately rose from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent and thereafter to 4 per cent, while its rate for call loans to banks against Government Securities for sums of over Rs. 5 lakhs underwent a meagre rise from 2½ per cent to 3 per cent.

I fully endorse the views of Shree L. S. Vaidyanathan, Manager of the Oriental Government Life Assurance Company, Ltd., in connection with the effect

of the change in the Bank rate on the insurance business of the country. He opines that the already invested funds especially in case of the old established insurance companies will undergo a depreciation due to a fall in the value of Government Securities (though the yield will become greater). As far as the amount of premium to be realised on the existing contracts as well as that on the new business contracts to be made, it would give benefit to the insurance companies on account of a higher yield brought about in the Government Securities due to a fall in their market value.

Despite the virtues contained in the Bank rate there is no dearth of criticism against it. There has been vehement criticism that an increase in Bank rate would bring about an increase in the cost of production to the industries through an increase in the rate of lending by other banks in the country. It has been further pointed out that the high rates prevailing in the market will assist the 'Shylock' of the Money market to increase the lending rates, thereby making agricultural finance more expensive and ultimately it will lead to an increase in the cost of production of goods. It can safely be said in this connection that although the increase in the rate of interest influences the cost of production, changes in it, as it bears a nominal proportion to the entire cost, would not materially affect the production. It would, on the other hand, reduce the speculative demand and would lower the price level by making the holding of goods dearer.

Those who want to accuse the Reserve Bank for having brought about a sudden fall in the gilt-edged market thereby shaking confidence in it, should be convinced that the Reserve Bank has not totally abandoned to deal in them, hence there is no question of a show-down to the prestige of the Government. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India stated in a meeting of the representatives of several scheduled banks in Calcutta on the 19th November, 1951:

"The Reserve Bank was responsible for the maintenance of the financial credit of the Government of India; and, if the circumstances justified, they would, of course, take appropriate measures to maintain the Government's credit. The time and stage at which such measures might be necessary would, however, be determined by the Reserve Bank in the light of developments in the Money market, which they were carefully watching."

It was however not very wise on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to declare its decision in such a way regarding dealings in the Government Securities as it has led to great bearish sentiment in the market. However, this change in the Bank rate would bring about cherished results. It is yet to be seen as to how much it will affect the conditions. The future is pregnant with possibilities and we may hope for favourable disinflationary economic conditions in the country.

THE MECHANISM OF HEREDITY

By MRIDULA DUTT

WHEN Leeuwenhoek and Robert Hooke and the brothers Jantzen fell in with the newest craze of making optical lenses and peering through them at the world around them they filled ecstatic paragraphs on the marvellous order in a bee's wing, in the eye of a fly, and in the circulation of blood in the toad's tail. The wondrous tracery of tissues in a plant section held them in thrall and for a long time its cell inclusions were unaesthetic hindrances to be put up with in one's rapturous contemplation of the subtle and precise hand of the Infinite. Two centuries later the nucleus, a small grey mass in the less dense jelly of the cytoplasm has come into its own and has rapidly undergone many vicissitudes of fame and disgrace. It has been called the brain of the cell, the bearer of heredity, subsequently shorn of much of its glory, it has had its separate functions taken apart, doubted, some of them restored, while some have been relegated to other structures in the cytoplasm. As a strange finale, a particular view as to the exact role of the nucleus in heredity has become tangled up with the political ideology of a nation, and the well-being of a scientist may depend on the specific functions he is willing to assign to the nucleus.

As in everything else the life history in a species follows a cycle and it is difficult to put one's finger on where anything may be said to begin. Thus the problem as to which comes before, the egg or the chicken, has not been solved to this day. In the pursuit of the why and wherefore in Heredity, or the principle that like begets like, this problem is simplified in that it is known that the male contributes the knob or head of a single sperm towards the creation of a new individual and this knob is simply or mainly the nucleus. The nucleus must then in its tiny frame carry all the aptitudes that will tend to make a son the "spitting image of his father." The cytoplasm in the female and perhaps races of that of the male also contribute their quota, but they are never the necessary and vital characters without which an individual cannot exist. Thus one nucleus, a microscopic drop of protein jelly, may be said to be one individual in capsule form. The individual it will stimulate into being will be considerably modified by its environment. This is seen in a pair of monozygotic twins, sharing the same nuclear material, who grow up away from each other. They may share many traits, such as a taste for music and a dislike for cheese, but one twin may smoke while the other does not, and this habit can directly be put down as due to environment.

A son will resemble his parents to a certain extent and may differ from them in respect of others. Often, quite unexpected characters will crop up in a sibling.

Even when considered against a foundation of Mendelian law and the cytology of chromosomes, it is largely a matter of chance which form the offspring will take depending on its genetic exchanges before chromosome division, and the breeder can but cross his fingers and hope for the best. This uncertainty is exemplified in the familiar story of the Beautiful Lady who once said to Bernard Shaw, "If we married we should have wonderful children with your brains and my looks;" whereupon Shaw with his customary gallantry, replied, "And what if they have my looks and your brains."

Mendel's clear and specific laws were derived out of the chaos of this variation. Working on a simple clear well-thought-out and far-reaching experiment covering four generations of inheritance he was able to coax out from a wealth of detail the working principle behind the distribution of each pair of segregating allelomorphs. His ratios were later correlated to the exact number of combinations found between the two types of four gametes produced by each parent during sexual reproduction. His laws correspond with the behaviour of the chromosome system,—the biological basis of distribution of character, and any variation from the original ratio can be traced to the modifications of genes which obtain in the chromosome complex in question. When two strains of Red and White flowers when crossed give approximately 15 Reds to 1 White in the third generation, or 9 Reds to 6 Pinks to 1 White or two Whites crossed give 1 Red in every sixteen, the breeder can infer the genotypes involved and plan his future crosses accordingly. Mendel's law has stood the test of Time and of Scientists because it is simply a statement of observed fact, while only a fraction of Galton's law or the voluminous theories of Weismann, Darwin or Lamarck find acceptance and even those not on the grounds offered by their sponsors. They have, however, served to direct men's minds to what is now the science of Genetics, and but for them Mendel might never have been.

Mendel's character determinants are now identified as the genes borne along chromosomes, and they are both found to share the following traits in common, exemplified in the following casts. The daughter of an Anglo-Indian mother and an Indian father, both with dark eyes, is born with eyes blue like her maternal grandmother. In the case of Jews who were a mixture of Amorite, Hittite and Philistine strains at the time of the return to the Promised Land, and who also picked up Arab blood on the way, the Hittite nose has prevailed over all other types and is the most characteristic feature of a Jew anywhere in the world. The Hittite nose has

also prevailed in crosses with Greeks possessing classical features. The gene thus remains quite unchanged both in the dominant and recessive state. Each gene retains its own character in spite of all admixture with foreign protoplasm, and the recessive has been known to emerge unhurt and smiling after 350 generations of suppression, when restored to its homozygous state in *Drosophila*. In the life history of an individual the gene retains its essential nature through all changes of growth, development, chromosome balance and modes of reproduction—unless of course it mutates, and then it is no longer the same gene but a new unit in inheritance.

Observation of the constancy of the gene in action and reproduction through several cell generations as also the continuity it maintains in the life cycle of an individual from daughter cell to mature cell to daughter cell again, brings home the tremendous fact that it must have thus been continuously kept on the move through an unbroken series of cell generations, reaching down through time right back to the momentous occasion when Life on this Earth breathed its first. The basic unchanged genes are therefore as old as the hills, if not older.

Higher forms of life have acquired new characters as they have gradually evolved from their ancestors. This change, however, must not be measured in terms of our human span of life. A mural of the Saffron Crocus painted in Mexico 3000 years ago shows precisely the same characters as those of its descendants of the 20th century. Yet that Crocus had already evolved to its particular form from the primaeval slime. Date palms have not mutated a great deal since the time of the Pharaohs, yet the number of cell generations they have passed through must be legion. Small mutations are constantly occurring, but they have to happen in the germinal line in order to be passed on. Certain mutations are found to occur again and again in populations under observation, e.g., mutations of red eye in *Drosophila* and the change from red to white grain in wheat. This mutation within a gene is not random and takes place within certain limits. Thus red eye never mutates to green, a colour common in insects. Once a gene mutates it becomes stable in inheritance. Mutants are usually recessive and usually harmful. It may be as Morgan points out that the useful mutations escape our eye. Wild populations are usually so balanced that any change is probably for the worse. Man has tried his hand at mutation, and temperature treatments and radiations are found to give the desired results, but the organism so treated usually survives in an undermined state of health. Artificial mutations are in the nature of hits in the dark as there is no knowing what character will be affected and how. A gene mutates as a result of interaction with the environment, and the environment does not affect all genes at a time nor even both alleles together. Mutation is thus quite unpredictable and hardly ever adaptive. Many mutations are known which are lethal and are

prevented from killing the organism by simply being under the firm thumb of a beneficial dominant. There is also the consideration that in highly specialized social groups the preservation of all types has an ethical significance and man tends less to keep his stock pure by putting the tubercular or the leprous man out in the wilderness to perish. What is to the savage a physically weak type may have more value to the group as a whole than the average. Thus Shelley and Handel, Pope and Swift, Lamb and de Maupassant, Van Gogh and Elizabeth Browning could hardly have been fit types in the Darwinian sense.

Radiations issuing from the earth's crust can cause mutation at a slow rate. The first case of the harmful effects of artificial atomic fission is now known. A Japanese school girl has been found to have developed cataract in her eye, four years after the blast. The poison is acting slowly and cases of mutation in human inheritance are not yet known. Carrying further this idea of mutations in humans as a result of radio-active weapons used in warfare, Aldous Huxley has conjured up a nightmare world in which monstrous babies constantly crop up and the more monstrous ones are massacred in a public ceremony. Abnormalities such as seven or eight fingers or even fingers on the chest are politely ignored as the usual thing.

The genes are borne in linear sequences in the chromosomes, which protect them from direct exposure to the cytoplasm by embedding them in a matrix and providing protective caps at the end. The centromere, a differentiated body in the chromosome, regulates the movements of chromosomes during pairing and division as the nucleus is then in a disintegrated state. The gene chains cannot remain exposed in the cytoplasm, and if a chain gets broken it seeks to be joined linearly to another chain, and if it cannot it curls up and disintegrates. If such a chain possesses a piece of the centromere, it can go through division and persist as a separate chromosome in the complex. Translocations, inversions, and loss of or addition of parts are constant occurrence in hybrid protoplasm.

Life utilizes two substances to give expression to itself and maintain its continuity. These are proteins and nucleic acids together forming the stuff which has conjured up movement out of the inanimate, and gaining from complexity to further complexity, has at last created the mind of man,—the highest point as yet reached in evolution. Proteins sufficiently complex are elsewhere found able to maintain themselves as autonomous systems such as found in viruses. The chromosome string is built up of fibrous protein, of two degrees of complexity Eu,—and heterocromatin, and in these the genes reside. Certain localized sites of basic protein dotted along the string synthesize deoxyribose nucleic acid from the ribose nucleic acid of the cytoplasm. These sites become more and more visible as division approaches, the chromosome coils at the same time,

and by middivision is a dense spiral bundle of nucleic acid, not breakable even by ionizing particles.

During cell growth and differentiation the genes act rather like enzymes, by speeding up processes without being used up themselves. The dormant egg is roused to resume growth and differentiation when the new chromosomes from the male cell come in, and the gene quota is sufficient unto launching yet another individual out on the voyage of Life. The cytoplasm of the egg is already zonated and differentiated and institutes a series of interactions on certain genes which then form products to regulate the cytoplasm, and these in turn react back on the genes. The cytoplasm starts the cycle moving towards the differentiation of parts by first being differentiated itself, but its own differentiation had probably been arranged by the nucleus of the egg mother cell. Thus it is that although all genes are present in every part of the cell, sometimes in duplicate or triplicate in parts of the same organism, yet their effects are differential in different parts according to the hormones and enzymes released by them in each direction at the embryonic stage, which has shaped future development.

Each gene gives rise to another during the growth of a new chromosome and as a gene molecule is too complex to split into two and yet retain its essential structure it is probable that each molecule promotes the growth of a like particle outside of itself. The genes are, however, not identical with the particles.

The process of mutation cannot satisfactorily account for the growth of new characters nor of adaptive additions or changes. Darlington and Mather have worked out a system in which new characters may be realized, not as sudden acquisitions, but through a process of gradual accumulation and incorporation into the germinal line. The beginnings of a new character such as a larger and more highly coloured standard in a papilionaceous flower, first occurs in the simple unspecific plasmagenes of the cytoplasm which may even be left out of inheritance without injury. The next stage occurs in the more specific heterochromatin genes whose effects are not sharp and distinctive, but graded and quantitative. Lastly, it is incorporated as a complex heritable element of euchromatin, showing visible "factors" in test crosses. The usual belief is that euchromatin degenerates to heterochromatin and the latter is inert. Wright's system of gene activity assumes that nuclear genes migrate to cytoplasm to form plasmagenes. Darlington's system provides for a gradual building up of stable characters which is not unlike in concept to Darwin's pangenesis.

A gene when present may differ in its expressivity in as to whether it is heterozygous or homozygous, dominant or recessive, one of a number of allelomorphs or whether simply of low penetrance, even in the homozygous state. Nearby genes also influence each other's expression, and the diffuse action of polygenes, which Darlington identifies with heterochromatin, is quite

characteristic. They, as also certain other well-known genes, show position effect to a marked degree.

In the drama of nuclear division which provides the key to the nature of inheritance, the strings of genes known as chromosomes act as units. Genes are borne in a fixed sequence and this sequence is very important for the process of division to be smooth and exact. Changes in gene order have their repercussions on the offspring who may lack in or have more of certain characters and will thus be unbalanced. If sequences are similarly changed in both homologues no harmful effect is seen and division runs its course without incident. Some chromosomes do not allow their parts to break away and join up with another, all characters are closely linked in inheritance, and the whole chromosome acts as a super gene. Increase of cell number is effected by the cytoplasm cleaving into two and the longitudinal halves of chromosome migrating to each of the daughter cells. Each cell is exactly like its predecessor. In meiosis, the diversion specialized for sexually reproducing organisms, distribution of nuclear material takes quite a different direction.

Each organism here is composed of two similar sets of chromosomes, all of which have attained a perfect balance and harmony with each other. Partial loss or addition to genomes is found to throw development out of gear. Addition of another pair of complete sets does not, however, disturb the balance and indeed the organism shows an improved though certainly not changed phenotype, as undesirable recessives are all the more effectively gagged. Balance in division is thus essentially between two allelomorphs and the various movements of division are based on attraction and repulsion between a pair. Triploids or very dissimilar chromosome sets cannot survive the rigorous test of meiotic division, and many useful plan hybrids have to be propagated vegetatively. Meiosis not only entails halving of the chromosome number and precise distribution of the genes, so that the new cells do not lack in any but it also provides for the exchange of allelomorphs between the two genomes, thereby shuffling the genic material to some extent each time and ensuring variation. The number of possible variations at each division corresponds to Mendel's laws. Meiosis runs its course by first staging an attraction of homologues resulting in gene specific pairing, then in breakage at corresponding loci in paired homologues and rejoining of broken ends in such a manner that each string joins up with its homologue. Then there is repulsion which spaces out the chromosomes, or their split halves the chromatids. The next phase of attraction is of the organized nuclear sap called the spindle body, for the centromeres. The centromeres drag down the chromatid arms to the equator of the spindle and then neatly arrange themselves along it, homologues facing each other. Then there is either further repulsion between the homologues or attraction of the centromeres for the spindle poles, or

both, and homologues separate to the poles. The next division is mitotic during which the centromere splits and the paired chromatids are dragged away in opposite directions to be included in the two new cells. Four such cells or gametes are formed at each meiosis and each of two of such pairs differ in character from their parents and from each other.

It is not clear what forces regulate the flow of such a precise and by no means simple sequence of movements, and electricity, hydrodynamics, diffusion, and tactoid growth and hydration have been offered as explanations. This most delicate of all vital phenomena, the exact splitting up of germinal material, nevertheless follows the everyday laws of physics and chemistry.

The quantitative division of the cytoplasm in contrast to the qualitative one of the chromosomes serves to emphasize the difference between the two kinds of genes. Any number of plasmagenes may be included in a daughter cell. All plasmagenes are in a sense homologues and one more or less in the genome does not upset balance as in the case of the nuclear genes.

The importance of chromosome balance can be realized in the beautifully simple mechanism there exists for the determination of sex, though it is not in the Mendelian sense a heritable character. The whole of the sex chromosome with its linked characters, acts as a unit in inheritance, and the chromosome may in this sense be taken as a super gene. There is no single gene for sex, the start of differentiation toward maleness or femaleness depending on the balance established at fertilization between the sex chromosomes, and the rest of the chromosomes termed autosomes. Insects and animals and man have two similar sex chromosomes in the female and a dissimilar pair in males, one of them being similar to the ones in the female. The complex is expressed as 2AXX for female and 2AXY for male. Each of the gametes gets one of the sex chromosomes and their recombinations give male or female offspring. The Y is very small and heterochromatic and may sometimes be absent, when the sex mechanism is accordingly the XO type. An X gamete if fertilized by an X sperm gives rise to a female, if by Y to a male. If the X is lost from the egg and it is fertilized by an X sperm, the individual which should have been a female is an XO male. If both X's are present and a Y is added, it results in an XXY female. A 8AXXX female is not a better female by virtue of its extra chromosome. It is a weaker individual owing to balance not being maintained. XXXX4A females and XXYY4A males are perfectly balanced and healthy, as expected. In the insects the sex chromosome directly influences the growth of sex organs. If an ovary is trans-

planted to a male both sex organs grow in perfect harmony. In birds and higher forms however sex chromosomes institute the secretion of hormones which regulate the growth of organs. Castrated cocks or spayed hens lose all colouring and beauty, feathers, wattles and spurs and become poor listless individuals. Such hens may even develop functional testes and male feathering. The addition of sex hormones helps to restore the original feathers. This indirect process explains the apparently contradictory phenomena that in a cock with a male sex complex, his sex characters should be absent.

The process of meiotic division finds an individual at the weakest and most unprotected part of its life history and it is consequently tucked away in the inner recesses of the organism in a comfortably moist and warm atmosphere. Life seems essentially a process of going on and on against the destructive forces of time and tide, against the environment and against other forms of life. As it goes along it picks up many experiences and has somehow found a way to incorporate these into a single body, part of which it passes on to its offspring in digest form. The offspring plant of today can automatically safeguard itself against the various phenomena it must encounter in life—cold, drought, rain, a blazing sun, bacilli, and other forms of life which may look on it as a meal. It can also utilize the good salts and water of the earth and the elements of the air around it. The behaviour of the protoplasm towards each of these phenomena has been determined by centuries of experience. This it passes on to the next link in the chain of life, through one single body, the nucleus. Bernal has speculated that the complex protein molecules of living matter have been built up by the elements being accidentally incorporated in a particle of clay, the intricacies of whose layered structure can speed up chemical processes. Since then these protein granules have been carrying along without a break. The development of the sexual method of inheritance has helped this amalgamation of experience to be aided by the building up of one individual out of the parts and parcels of two. Thus various lines of experience from two corners of the world can meet and invest their portions in one single individual.* The wonder of the process is that it is carried out right under the nose of rigid natural laws of inanimate substances and it violates none of them.

Inheritance is thus all the time being improved upon. The end of the drama is not yet.

* The constant shuffling of dominants and recessives sometimes come up in rare combinations which may show a desired development in a very marked degree, and the type can subsequently be preserved. Lethal or too harmful combinations are automatically eliminated.



NEW LIGHT ON THE BELAVA GRANT OF BHOJAVARMAN.

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE

It is admitted that the Varmans play a prominent part in re-building and re-shaping of the history of Bengal after the extinction of the Palas. Of all the inscriptions of the Varmans so far available to us, much importance is given to the Belava Copper-plate grant of Bhajavarman. It not only deals with the heroic achievements of the various Varman kings, especially that of Vajravarma, Jatavarma, Samalavarma and Bhojavarma but gives a mythological and historical list of genealogy, and by mentioning the contemporary kings or rulers of other dynasties, it helps much in checking up the list by the actual date of those contemporary rulers, known to us.

Different opinions have been given by manifold scholars regarding verses ten, eleven and twelve of this inscription; still there is enough scope of discussion and invention in those verses.

Perhaps the latest and now-a-days accepted theory regarding this knotty point is upheld by Prof. N. G. Mazumdar in the *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III. His opinion does not tally with R. D. Banerjee and N. N. Basu or with Dr. R. G. Basak.

In verse 11, he takes Trailokyasundari as the daughter of Samalavarman through his wife Malavyadevi. The verse 12 mentions that Samalavarman had other wives besides Malavyadevi (*tasyasidagramahisi*). One of them, whose name does not occur in the inscription may be the mother of Udayi.

It means then, that Udayi was the brother of Bhojavarma and most probably, as the name is mentioned before Bhojavarma, Udayi was the elder brother of Bhojavarma. First of all, there is sufficient doubt in the theory that Udayi belonged to the Varman dynasty for his name did not end in Varma. Taking Udayi as shorter form of Udayivarma for argument's sake, it is hardly possible to give explanation as to why instead of the elder brother, the

younger brother occupied the throne? Why the poet is silent about Udayi?

Moreover, in the verse eleven, we have Malavyadevyasit and according to Prof. Mazumdar, it is a case of Saptami-tat-purusa Samasa. (*Malavadevyamasit*). But the Sanskrit grammarians do not allow such type of Samasa. It is obvious that it is not a case of Samasa.

Hence taking all these circumstances into consideration we see that Prof. Mazumdar's theory does not hold good.

The theory that Udayi means an epithet and not a name and it refers to Bhojavarma, falls to the ground as why Bhojavarma should be mentioned before? He should have been spoken of in its proper place, after Samalavarmadeva.

No question can arise if we construct these sentences as *Tasya Jagadvijayamallasya sunvabhut Udayi*, and *Tasya (Jagadvijayamallasya) Kanya asit Malavadevi*. It means that Jagadvijayamalla (there is no necessity in connecting him with Jagaddeva, the son of Udayaditya, the Paramara King as is done by M. M. Sastri and D. C. Ganguly; for Prof. Mazumdar aptly shows that Jagaddeva and Jagadvijayamalla are two names) had a son named Udayi who was very powerful and he had a daughter also named Malavyadevi who was the beauty incarnate of the three worlds and whom he gave in marriage with Samalavarmadeva.

Thus by reconsidering and re-arranging the view of Prof. R. D. Banerjee, we can reach a safe conclusion.

If it is argued, in course of mentioning the genealogy of the Varman dynasty how can the poet narrate the story of brother-in-law of Samalavarma, it may be said in reply that in many inscriptions we find such examples.

—:O:—

SWEDISH CULTURAL PARTY'S VISIT TO INDIA BY BUS

IN a communication in Swedish addressed to the distinguished Indian Linguist and Journalist, Mr. P. K. Banerjee, N.K.I. (Sweden),—the Editor of the most widely circulated Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, Mr. Ake Fredriksson, has informed that he with his party consisting of an Artist, a Photographer, a Doctor and a few University students will shortly be coming out from Sweden (Stockholm) on a study trip to India, and Pakistan via Middle Eastern countries in a specially equipped self-contained bus containing eight sleeping berths, a kitchen and a little surgical chamber so that the members of the cultural mission won't be required

to put up at any Hotel during their long tour. Mr. Fredriksson has specially invited Mr. Banerjee to join them in their tour. During their stay in India lasting for about 3 months the party will visit places of interest and establish cultural contacts with leaders of thought and culture and students' organisations in this country. Mr. Fredriksson has acknowledged with thanks all the assistance and advice he has received regarding the trip to India from His Excellency Manilal J. Desai, India's Ambassador in Sweden. On their way back to Sweden they would (like to) pass through Afghanistan.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHIAN ETHICS: By Benoy Gopal Ray. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1950. Pp. xii + 70. Price Rs. 1.

Shri Benoy Gopal Ray has tried to examine Gandhiji's ideas from the critical standpoint of a philosopher. He has come to the conclusion that Gandhiji reached the greatest heights in the ethical plane, but both philosophy and spirituality remained beyond his immediate concern. He was a great 'aspirant,' and not a 'perfect' man in the spiritual sense. On the basis of his moral stand, Gandhiji built up a new technique of collective action. His bias in favour of non-violence showed that he had not reached the condition from which 'violence' and 'non-violence' can be taken as equals.

Readers will be grateful to Prof. Ray for his critical, though slightly academic, essay; and it is hoped that this will further stimulate other scholars to study Gandhiji much more systematically than is usually done.

The reviewer, however, feels that a few minor inaccuracies have crept in here and there, and these might be profitably corrected in any future edition of the book. Thus, on p. 43, it is said that Champaran was Gandhiji's first experiment in mass Satyagraha in India. This is not quite correct; because the only disobedience undertaken on that occasion was by Gandhiji himself; the rest was purely an exercise in constitutional redress of a long-standing grievance.

It is again said that Gandhiji suspended his movements when violence crept into it. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Gandhiji was not afraid of violence from the masses, as such; he could indeed take very great risk as in 1942. But he did suspend movements when he felt that the violence was also being sponsored by the organization through which he was operating. Then he cried halt, and tried to set his own house in order.

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI: By Krishnadas. Abridged and edited by Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. xii + 272. Price Rs. 4.

The original book by Krishnadas was published many years ago. Then it deservedly became very popular because it contained an inside story of the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921-22. Mr. Gregg has reduced the book into its present shape by eliminating chapters and sections which have lost some part of their interest at the present time. All that was of permanent value has, however, been retained. In its present form, the book will be welcomed by all readers of Gandhian literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE: By T. V. Mahalingam. University of Madras. 1951. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 8.

It was almost half a century ago that Robert Sewell, a member of the Madras Civil Service, published the first historical sketch of Vijayanagar under the title *Vijaynagar: The History of a Forgotten Empire*. Since then the accumulation of material, both literary and archaeological, has been so great as to permit a detailed account of the great Hindu Empire of the Middle Ages in its various aspects. In the present work (which is a Madras University prize thesis) the author, who is the Indian History Reader in the University, has attempted a detailed survey of the economic life and conditions in the Empire, supplementing his earlier publication, *Administration and Social Life under Vijaynagar* (1940). The work consists of six chapters bearing the titles "The Country and the People," "Agriculture and Land Tenures," "Industries," "Trade and Commerce," "Taxation, Currency and Measures," and lastly, "The State and Economic Well-being." The author has made an exhaustive study of all available material and the result is a well-documented, well-arranged and well-written work which does credit to his learning and critical acumen. The author's style is lucid and clear throughout.

While the merits of this work are undoubted, we may be permitted to offer a few criticisms. In his Preface (p. 1) he states (it is not known on what authority) that the Vijaynagar Empire for a time included a part of Burma. On pages 8-10 he rightly rejects Moreland's estimate of the total population of the Empire based on comparison of its admitted military strength with that of France and Germany before 1914 in ratio to the known populations of the two latter states. But his argument is weak and unconvincing. In fact, he misses the essential point vitiating the parallel with pre-war France and Germany, viz., that Vijaynagar had no exclusive citizen-army. On pp. 82-83, while discussing the highly important question of proprietorship of the soil, he quotes the valuable testimony of Madhava (*Nyayamala-vistara*, p. 358). But he ignores the fact that Madhava's opinion which occurs in course of discussion of a text (vi. 7.2) of Jaimini's *Mimamsa-sutras* (and not of *Jaiminiya Nyayamala*, as the author thinks) strictly follows the long commentarial tradition from Sabarasyamin (c. 5th century A.D.) down to Khandadeva (17th century) and later times. On pp. 130 and 136, the author uses the opprobrious term ('native') which was discarded even by the British in the last phase of their rule over this country. The author's bibliography is exhaustive so far as it goes. But unhappily it makes no mention of the date of publication of the

works concerned, while the division under three heads, viz., (i) contemporary sources (including, strangely enough, such works as Sir Thomas Munro's *Selections from His Minutes* and Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.*), (ii) 'published works,' and (iii) journals, is open to serious criticism from the point of view of terminology. We may lastly point out that the author should have added to his single map of 'ports and towns (sic) of Vijayanagar' a few others illustrating (as far as possible) the extent of its foreign trade and its chief trade-routes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

VEDANTA FOR THE WESTERN WORLD: By Christopher Isherwood and others. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pp. 452. Price 16s. net.

At a time when the world is almost wholly infected with doubt, distrust and hatred, and conflict of various cultures and ideologies, there is need for the propagation of a system of thought and culture which can remove all these barriers that separate man from man or man from the rest of creation. Such a system is the Vedanta Philosophy of India. Although India is the land of its origin, it is a philosophy for all times and climes. For it, Reality is one, universal, formless and infinite Being or Existence which is the same as pure consciousness and bliss. Although formless it is manifested in all forms of existence and although infinite it is revealed in all finite beings. Such is the inscrutable creative energy of reality, its indescribable power of *Maya*. Every thing and being of the universe is, therefore, a form or manifestation of Reality which is given such different names as Brahman, God, Self, Life, etc., in different systems of philosophy and religion. Man as the manifestation of God is essentially divine, although in his ignorance he forgets his real nature and thinks of himself as limited, imperfect and sinful. The aim of man's life is the realisation of God within him and within everything. Such realisation is to come by way of self-control, moral purification, philosophical contemplation and *yaugic* intuition. When a man realises God or Brahman, he sees the same Reality present everywhere in the universe and finds his own self in all other selves and all other selves in his self. He feels the pulsation of one universal life in all beings from the creator to the creeper. With this he becomes free from the sway of the ordinary passions and impulses of life, from greed and lust for pleasures of sense, and from ill-feeling and ill-will towards other beings. It is he who passeth from darkness to light, from death to life, and from untruth to truth. In other words, such a man attains freedom from all bondage, equanimity in all conditions, amity towards all beings, and perfect peace and bliss born of God-realisation and self-possession. Since Reality manifests itself in different ways and forms in all things of the universe we are to say that different systems of philosophy and religion are but revelations of the same Reality relatively to the different intellectual capacities and cultural attainments of different groups of individuals. There is, therefore, an essential unity among all religions of the world, and it is sheer folly and conceited purlblindness for the followers of one religion to stigmatise all other religions as irreligion and condemn their followers as infidels and unbelievers.

In the book under review the different aspects of Vedantic thought and culture have been explained and examined in turn by a group of eminent scholars from East and West. It is a collection of essays and poems, each of which represents Vedantic thought in some form or other. Some of them bear on the main

principles and propositions on which Vedanta philosophy is based, some on the methods of Vedantic knowledge, while others either relate to the implications and applications of Vedanta to practical life and its problems or describe some illustrious lives illustrative of Vedantic realisation. The Introduction by the editor, Christopher Isherwood, is very valuable for its sympathetic and authentic exposition of the main principles of Vedanta philosophy and the account of the life of Sri Ramakrishna as the living embodiment of Vedantic thought and culture. The book is a valuable contribution to Vedanta literature which, although intended for the West, should be widely read in the East. The more the modern mind is imbued with Vedantic thought the better for the future of mankind.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

VEDANT PHILOSOPHY: By F. Max Muller. Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 109. Price not mentioned.

Our hearty thanks go to the publishers for bringing out cheap and handy reprints of famous books on ancient Indian Philosophy and Culture which have long been out of print. This is one of them. Prof. Max Muller's treatises on the six philosophical systems are classics by themselves. Three of his popular lectures on Vedant Philosophy delivered at the Royal Institute, London, in March 1894, are here reproduced. They will remind us once again of the lifelong labour of Max Muller to unearth India's brilliant past lost to Indians themselves. We await with interest the other volumes to follow.

B.

THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE: By Sister Nivedita. With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Pp. xii + 324. Price Rs. 3-8 and de Luze Rs. 5.

The first edition of the book was published abroad in May 1904. Four subsequent editions, from August 1904 to July 1918, were all exhausted, and the book has been long out of print. Hence our hearty congratulations for the publishers bringing out this first Indian edition and removing a long-felt want.

In his Introduction, Poet Rabindranath writes: "What you feel as the truth of a people, has its numberless contradictions, just as the single fact of the roundness of the earth is contradicted by the innumerable facts of its hills and hollows. Facts can easily be arranged and heaped up into loads of contradiction; yet men having faith in the reality of ideals hold firmly that the vision of truth does not depend upon its dimension, but upon its vitality. And Sister Nivedita has uttered the vital truths about Indian life." The perusal of the book at once brings to the reader's mind the justness of what the Poet has said by way of appreciation as well as criticism of its contents.

In different chapters, sixteen in number, the authoress has poured forth, in inimitable style, the knowledge and experience she had gained of men and things in Bengal, and for the matter of that, in India. The first few chapters (II-VI) deal exclusively with woman in whom she has found not only the Bengali mother, sister and wife, but also something more; she is the "feeder and sustainer of our national culture and traditions." In very little things she has discovered great meanings and truths. She has rightly anticipated the future role the Indian woman would play in moulding our nationality. In her words: "It is quite evident that if the centre of social gravity is some day to be

shifted, if the intellectual atmosphere of India is yet to be saturated with fresh ideals, not only must her womanhood participate in the results of the implied revolution, but they must contribute largely to bringing it about. For it is the home, not the factory, that fills life with inspiration; . . ." (p. 94). In these chapters many thoughtful expressions occur, only a few are given here: "In a national character we always find a summary of the national history" (p. 78); "Freedom is granted only to the self-disciplined" (p. 82); "The national ideal cannot be imposed from without—it must develop from within" (p. 100); etc.

In Chapters VII, XIII and XIV the authoress has dwelt on such important topics as the Indian sagas, Indian caste system and Islam in India. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the great sagas, we find the cradle of Indian civilization. True significance of Indian caste system has been overlooked by many, and this negligence is mainly responsible for the failure of reformers to strip the system of its evils. The place of Islam in the evolution of Indian nationality has been very ably elucidated by the authoress. In some other chapters she has brought out the underlying truths and ideals of the Hindu life and the continuity of his religious thought. In diversity she has discovered source of unity which will cement our nationality. And for this the ultimate responsibility rests with the woman and the people, and to none else. The book was meant for the Westerners. Necessarily she has very often compared things Western with Eastern. For a student of comparative sociology, the treatise is all the more useful. As a true interpreter of India to the West, the Sister's place is far above the commoner.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

- (1) 'PLUM' WARNER: By Laurence Meynell.
- (2) MAURICE TATE: By John Arlott.
- (3) C. B. FRY: By Denzil Batchelor.
- (4) DON BRADMAN: By Philip Lindsay.

Phoenix House Limited, 38 William IV Street, London. With four plates each. Each volume: Price 4s. 6d.

Cricket is the national game of England. Because of her association with Britain for more than a century and a half, it has also become the most popular game in India. As in various other fields of life, in cricket also there are personalities who will be ever remembered as great figures. W. G. Grace of England, Ranjit Singh, or as he is lovingly called Ranji, of India, and Don Bradman of Australia are perhaps names to conjure with. The volumes under review along with other volumes which will be available later on form a series entitled *Cricketing Lives*. So far as the first books of the series are concerned, each volume contains the life and achievement of a great cricketer who is still living but has retired from cricket.

Laurence Meynell is a novelist of repute. His *'Plum' Warner* is the first volume of the series. Pelham Francis Warner (now he is Sir Pelham) was a fine batsman of his day, and more than that he may be said to be a cricket ambassador, for under the aegis of the M. C. C. he took part in a great many foreign tours either as the captain of the team or as its manager. Meynell not only writes about his hero but he also gives us short accounts of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.) which is the controlling body of English Cricket, of the Ashes which are so frequently referred to, whenever Test Matches are played, of the Lord's and of the other things connected with cricket. John Arlott, a well-known sports writer, writes about Maurice Tate, a great bowler who retired

from cricket just before the Second World War. Denzil Batchelor, a famous special correspondent on sport, conjures up his memory of C. B. Fry. Charles Fry, a contemporary and friend of the great Ranji, was not only a very fine cricketer and famous sportsman and athlete of his time but he is also a great classical scholar and a man of action. The enthusiasm and fervour with which *Don Bradman* is written is very rarely to be met with in books on sports. Philip Lindsay is a distinguished Australian novelist and he conjures up his memory of that cricket genius, Don Bradman. As regards spectators of matches who are so often attacked as idle and inactive watchers Lindsay remarks: "That is the great value of sport, this association of spectator with player. Those moralists who rage against idle folk sitting and watching others at work fail to have any understanding of the spiritual value of games. It does not pander to idleness: far from it, indeed; it inspires to action, as a work of art can inspire one to be up and doing . . . Yes, sport can do that to a young man: it can stiffen the backbone and exalt the heart. Bradman helped to keep my faith alight."

Of sports, perhaps more has been written about cricket than any other game. A fine literature has grown up about and around it. The volumes under review constitute a valuable addition to that literature. A novel way has been adopted for the presentation of the subject. The essays are short biographies of the heroes of cricket written by their hero-worshippers. Not only lovers of cricket but general readers also will find them interesting. The books are finely written. We await the forthcoming volumes.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

SRI BASAVESWARA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: By A. R. Jayaram. Published by Sri Siddhaganga Mutt, Siddhaganga, Tumkur District, Mysore. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 3-8.

This book gives in brief the life-sketches of Sri Basava, the founder of Virasaivism, and his twenty-two contemporaries who brought about a profound revival of Saivism in the Karnataka in the twelfth century. This religious revival started in the eighth century lasted till the twelfth, pervaded the whole of South India and was led by the great Samayacharyas Sri Manickavachakar, Appar, Sambadar and Sundarar. But for this revival Hinduism had little chance of surviving the Buddhist and Jaina influence and onslaught. Hence the book forms an important chapter of the religious history of Medieval India. This work is based almost entirely on the *Basava Puranam* in Tamil. The Tamil Purana was first published in 1873 A.D. and is now out of print. It is based on the Kannada version of the Basava Purana by Bhima Kavi. The Kannada version is again based on the Telugu version of the Purana by Somanatha of Palkurki. Thus we see that Puranas have grown in three leading languages of the South—Kannada, Tamil, and Telugu on Sri Basava and the epoch-making religious upheaval initiated by him. The book under review gives in English for the first time this valuable chapter of our religious history quite unknown to those who are ignorant of any of the three languages mentioned above.

Sri Basava, regarded as the incarnation of Nandiswar, was born in 1132 A.D. of Brahmin parents, Madiraja and Madamba, in Ingulapura in the northern part of the Karnataka. As a child he flatly refused to undergo the customary *upanayan* ceremony arranged by his father Madiraja, left his paternal home, and accompanied by his sister Nagambike went to the abode of Sivasarana, a learned ascetic in Kudala. He

RESULTS SPEAK

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accepted the ascetic as his *guru* and was initiated into Siva mantra. Then he was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle Baladeva, Prime Minister to King Bijjala of Kalyan. Ere long he succeeded his father-in-law as the chief minister of King Bijjala and in collaboration with his distinguished apostles withstood the fierce attack of Jainism and Buddhism and re-established Hinduism in the Karnataka. At the end of his life's mission he attained eternal union with his Ishtadeva Sangameswara at Kudala. The life-story of Sri Basava is as interesting and instructive as those of other Medieval Indian saints.

Virasaivism of the Karnataka goes by the name Satsthala Siddhanta and differs much from the Saiva Siddhanta of Tamilnada. It is so called as the aspirant has to pass through the six stages of ascent in his spiritual progress for final union with Siva. The six stages are called Bhaktasthala, Maheswarasthala, Prasadisthala, Pranalingasthala, Saranasthala, and Aikyasthala and correspond to the six *chakras* of Kundalini Sakti, named Muladhara, Swadhisthana, Manipura, Anahata, Visuddha and Ajna. The four special chapters added in the appendix on Linga, Bibhuti, Rudraksha and Panchakshara furnish a wealth of information of inestimable value. This book, therefore, not only contains a short life of Sri Basava and his contemporaries but also an excellent outline of Virasaiva philosophy. Written in a readable style and printed nicely on good paper it is very well worth an attentive study.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE TRIAL OF ST. JOHN: By J. S. Turner. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

A play in four scenes, depicting the martyrdom of St. John the apostle,—more lyrical than truly dramatic in vein. The dialogues are partly in prose, partly in verse. The work leaves, on the mind of the reader, the imprint of a heroic soul, who courted death for his unflinching devotion to truth. The language is melodious. There are experiments with sprung-rhythm and inner rhymes, but at times they are overdone: "Heretic; Lunatic; Fanatic; Fool, tool, sold to Satan . . . ; Hold your bold tongues, you've said enough; Hear what the prisoner says." (Sc. II).

Expressions like "autosuggestion" (p. 44), "the extension in politics and economics of love's vital dimension" (p. 47) appear rather out of place.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM—WITH THE POLITICAL SPIRIT OF ISLAM etc.: By Syed Ameer Ali. Published by the Noor Library on behalf of the Academy of Islamic Research and Academic Learning, 12 Serang Lane, Calcutta. Appendix XII. Pp. 52. Price not mentioned.

Janab Moin-ud-Din Husayn, B.A. has made a speciality of his own to throw up a bridge of knowledge between the various cultures of India since his youth. His family traditions have been "nationalist," to use a term that is popular today. These have entailed humiliations on them since Muslim conceit of a separate nationality in India raised its poisonous head.

But it has not stood in his way; undismayed he has been continuing his self-chosen work. The present booklet is Islamic Series—No. 2, and it embodies a reprint of an address by Syed Ameer Ali, then a young barrister at the Calcutta High Court, to members of the Society for the higher, now the University Institute. The date on which it was delivered is not mentioned.

The idea inspiring this reprint that a knowledge of the basic ideals and practices of Islam on the part of non-Muslims, even of Muslims, will help smooth their relations that have not yet been very happy during the last thirteen hundred years. What is generally known as "religion" has very often been the breeding-ground of wars in the name of peace and amity. Even Islam has not escaped this stigma, though it means Peace. Syed Ameer Ali has extensively quoted from the Q'oran to re-emphasize his belief. And the Appendix is made up of extracts from his famous book *The Spirit of Islam*. The compiler has done a more valuable service to human understanding by publishing the charters granted by the founder of Islam to Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The charters, however, had been effective only for the "Golden" 30 years of Islam, the period covered by the administration of the first four Caliphs. After that with the spread of the Islamic State, a spirit of intolerance spread which did not spare even the Muslims. But religion had nothing to do with it. Human ambitions ruled the conduct of Muslim rulers. A new era did not dawn.

S. C. DEV

THE NEW YEAR BOOK: Edited by P. C. Sarkar. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1-C College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 366. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is the eighth issue; as it is published in the middle of the year it contains the latest information about the State and Central Budgets—information which is not available in other Year-books. Besides, it has given the basis of the Pakistan Constitution—the full text of the Committee appointed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This is extremely useful for public men. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

RAJAGRIHA O NALANDA: By Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen. Published by Bharat-Vidya Vihara, 21 Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta 4. Price Re. 1-12.

The author is well-known as a devoted scholar in the much neglected domain of Jaina-Buddhist culture and he has spent years in visiting the different sacred places of Jainism and Buddhism. Both are well-represented in his recent book on *Rajagriha and Nalanda* which is much more than a mere travel or guide book. He has incorporated in it the latest findings of eminent archaeologists as well as the publications of the Archaeological Department. The major part of the book is naturally devoted to the historic site of Rajagriha, both in its Buddhist and Jaina context, which he alone could bring out, because he is a specialist in Pali and Jaina Prakrit literature. We may suggest, however, that he should devote a special monograph on Nalanda which is equally important in the religious and cultural history of ancient India. Naturally Nalanda was the centre of a truly international University not only in India but in the entire continent of Asia. That is why eminent scholars like Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing and others from China and the Far East spent years as the guest-scholars of the Nalanda University. The book is excellently printed with many illustrations and will be helpful to scholarly visitors as well as to ordinary tourists. We congratulate the members of the Bharat-Vidya-Vihar and the energetic publisher who have published this dependable Guide Book at a very moderate price.

KALIDAS NAG

(1) **PASCHIM BANGER ARTHANAITIC BHUGOL:** By Prof. Sivapada Mukherjee. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 140. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **BHARATBARSER PARIBAHAN BYABASTHA :** Author and Publisher same. Pages 64. Price Re. 1-8.

The first one is a book on Economic Geography of West Bengal in eight chapters dealing with National Environment, Agriculture, Animal products, Mineral and Forest resources, Industries, Transport and Ports and Towns. Since the partition, India (particularly West Bengal) has become a deficit area, short of raw materials and food. Thus the entire economy has been thrown out of gear. The problem requires special study by all concerned—students, businessmen and the government. The author has done a good service to the country by bringing a volume in Bengali for the benefit of the common man without whose knowledge, help and co-operation and correct understanding no amount of State-planning can speed up reconstruction of the country. We would recommend this book to our young men without whose help, devotion, energy and perseverance West Bengal cannot be strong as an economic unit in the Indian Union deficient as it is agriculturally and industrially.

The second one is a book on communications in India. It gives a short account of roads, railways, waterways and airways in the Indian Union. This country is very deficient in communications and any economic planning is sure to suffer from this handicap. And as such the government has planned for its development. Even this seems to be slow compared with the immediate need. The author has suggested speedy development.

A. B. DUTTA

BANGLA BARSALIPI (1358): *Sanskriti Bai-thak, Calcutta.* Pp. 384. Price Rs. 2.

This is the eighth year of the publication of this Bengali Year-Book. It contains much useful information and some informations which are not easily or usually available. But it is full of mistakes; it seems to have been edited carelessly. For example, the names of the Chairmen of the Municipalities are given at pp. 132, etc. Against Howrah, there is the remark the post is vacant. This is positively misleading—at all material times S. J. Salla Kumar Mukherjee was the chairman, similarly the name of the chairman of the 24-Parganas District Board is left vacant, although the well-known Congressman, S. J. Prafulla Nath Banerjee is the chairman for the last 3 or 4 years. Again the dates of the foundation of the Indian Universities as given are often wrong; e.g., Hindu University (1911—it should be 1915); Aligarh University (1929!); Patna (1927!!!); Punjab (1947!!!). Those who edit Year-books should take more care.

J. M. DATTA

RABINDRANATHER SAHITYADARSHA: By Prof. Prabas Jiban Chaudhuri. Published by *Sanskriti Bai-thak*, 17, Panditiya Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

In a treatise containing 13 chapters the writer has ably dealt with the literary ideal of Rabindranath. The fundamentals of literature and its relation to life, science, philosophy and truth form the subject-matter of several chapters. The writer's mode of exposition is clear and attractive.

RAHITE NARINU GHARE (I could no longer stay at home): By Sri Kalipada Ghatak. Published by *Mitralaya*, 10, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

A romantic 'long story' depicting 'love of the spirit' between Sribilas, a *kirtan*-singer and Lakshmi, a simple, pure-souled village-girl. Owing to village-intrigues they had to pass through many ordeals. Sribilas leaves his native village and his enemies come to repentance in the end. The easy, unruffled movement of the story suggests to the mind the graceful flow of a woodland rivulet, charming in its simplicity.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

KALPANA KANAN: By Brijlal Biyani. Published by *Hind Prakashan*, Akola, Berar. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 2.

A collection of thirteen delightful essays (including the Preface), dealing with such commonplace events and individuals as birthday, the *tongawala*, the glow-worm, etc., with an ecstatic extravagance of imagination, held however in check by the cry and claims of the human heart. The result, therefore, is that there is a touch—the master's touch—of a Charles Lamb in the author's creation.

VIRAT: By Stephen Zweig. Published by *Hindi Sahitya Prakashan*, Ajmer. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

This Hindi rendering by Yashpal Jain of one of the greatest "human documents" in the literature of the world is a valuable contribution to the cause of inter-literary mutual appreciation and edification. The translator has done adequate justice to the original while Benarsides Chaturvedi has contributed an appreciative biographical sketch of Zweig and his philosophy of life, which may be summed up in the words of the original author's wife:

"Man in his blindness, not knowing whom he strikes and judges, should judge not and strike not."

A story, which is the story after the heart of the Poet Tagore and of the Prophet Gandhi.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **RASHTRAVALLABH SARDAR VALLABH BHAI:** *Cloth-bound.* 1948. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.

(2) **MAHADEV BHAI HARIBHAI DESAI:** *Cloth-bound.* 1948. Pp. 103. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **SIR SHAPOORJI B. BILLIMORIA, Kt.:** *Cloth-bound.* 1945. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 5.

All three written by Ambalal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Sold by the *Sahakari Prakashan Ltd.*, Bombay 1, and published by the *Brihad Gujarat Publication House*, Bombay 7.

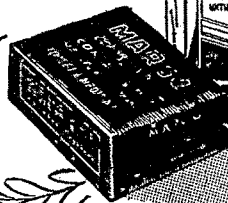
All three biographies are the result of a facile pen, and they are couched in terse language, but not omitting a single important detail in the lives of any one of the three. They read more like a narrative than a list of the incidents in the lives of the distinguished three. Mr. Joshi has about six or seven publications to his credit, mostly on topics relating to the Zoroastrian community. He is contemplating publishing the lives of some Parsi Shethias in English. Sir S. Billimoria is a well-known Parsi philanthropist, though an auditor by profession. All three books are worth reading, so replete with information they are.

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Ideal of Man

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

According to the Vedanta, the ideal of man is the immediate and direct realization (*aparokshanubhuti*) of Brahman as non-different from his own Self (*Atman*), for, from the standpoint of the highest Truth, Brahman alone is real and all else is an appearance of name and form. Brahman pervades everything everywhere. The personal God is the highest reading of the Impersonal Absolute that the human mind, with its limitations, can attempt, accept, love, and worship. God realization is, therefore, the goal of human life. Even the rank atheist or agnostic, apparently unconcerned about God or the Reality behind all existence, is seeking God, though he may call the object of his search by some other name. The very fact that God or the Self is the subject of human enquiry indicates their existence. In the words of Descartes, God exists because of the very question arising in the mind of man regarding His existence (*cogito ergo sum*). There is no love that can satisfy the heart of man but the love of God. The basis of human love is the spontaneous longing for the infinite bliss (*ananda*) that flows out of the soul towards the one universal Self that resides in all. This truth was imparted to Maitreyi by her husband Yajnavalkya, who taught her saying:

"It is not for the sake of the husband, my beloved, that the husband is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wife, my beloved, that the wife is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the children, my beloved, that the children are dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wealth, my beloved, that wealth is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of itself, my beloved, that anything whatever is esteemed, but for the sake of the Self."

No individual or nation can reach the heights of excellence in things spiritual without enthusiastically coming under this great and powerful ideal of man. Each individual has to work out his own salvation; there is no other way to ensure permanent peace and joy within and without. The more a man thinks of God, the stronger and better he becomes. What can be a higher ideal for man than the intense pursuit of God through sincere love and service? And what can ennoble man better than pure love and unselfish service offered to God and man?

To love man is to love God, to serve man is to worship God, to realize God and live constantly in Him is to become identified with the whole of humanity.

Sri Ramakrishna used to sing, "Mind, struggle unto death. Can any pearl be found in knee-deep waters? If you want to realize Him, dive down into the very depth of the ocean."

Science and politics have come to stay as powerful forces that sway men's minds in the present age.

They are good and necessary as means to the End which man is seeking to reach as early as possible. But what makes the power released by these forces a terror to humanity is not anything intrinsically wrong with science or politics but the shifting of the emphasis on the End, the Ideal, which man should seek to attain through them. Self-interest and group-interest have driven out love and charity, greed and lust, have put a premium on fraud and immorality, and the hedonistic and secular ideal have sought to captivate man by catering to his baser instinctual passions and urges. The spiritual ideal, which directs man's vision to an integral conception of life and Reality is looked down upon with curious distrust. The prevailing scientific temper and logicity have complacently ignored even to consider intuitive mystic thought and realization as worthy of investigation. Writes Alexis Carrell:

"The brutal materialism of our civilization not only opposes the soaring of intelligence, but also crushes the affective, the gentle, the weak, the lonely, those who love beauty, who look for other things than money, whose sensibility does not stand the struggle of modern life."

There may be innumerable ideas and idols, but the Ideal of man is universal. The remaking of man and the re-establishment of peace and brotherhood depend upon the re-awakening of the individual's spiritual consciousness. The truths of science have to be understood and utilized for human advancement as means to the perfection that man desires so earnestly, but not dissociated from the spiritual values of life. "Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached"—was the exhortation of Swami Vivekananda to everyone aspiring to strive after the Ideal of Man. He said: "Here is the ideal. When a man has no more self in him, no possession, nothing to call 'me' or 'mine,' has given himself up entirely, destroyed himself as it were, —in that man is God Himself; for in him self-will is gone, crushed out, annihilated. That is the ideal man."

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The Poetry of the Rigveda

The *Rigveda* is the earliest book of humanity, held for long centuries in the highest esteem by the scholars of India. Dr. Matilal Das observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Our task here is not to explore the religious or mystic symbolism of the Vedic singers, whose revelations were the fountain source of the elevated Upanishads, but merely to discuss the richness, the beauty, the depth and the fervour of the Vedic hymns as poems. The strength of these lyrics and verses arises equally from an inward profundity and a generous sensuousness.

The poet is a seer, perceiving the beauty and the truth which lie hidden from ordinary sight. The rhythm that vibrates around us, the sweetness that pervades the most commonplace things of life are not felt by us, but a poet sings of his joy in communion with the worlds of mind and of matter. But the mystic has a gift rare even among poets. He sees into the inmost soul of life and nature, not by aesthetic sensibility alone, but by developing his inner consciousness by some mysterious power—an illumination which can be felt, but defies analysis and explanation. The taste of sugar has a special quality which can be perceived only by tasting sugar. It is so with mystic perception. Unless the mind is attuned to this outlook it is not possible to grasp the mystic idea. This is in essence a training of the heart, by which the ultimate truths flash upon the pure mind like the sudden flash of the dawn. The mystic feels them though he may not be in a position to make them pass the test of reason. Mysticism is thus a particular method of the search for truth by which, through intuition, we arrive at fundamental verities.

The Vedic poets are essentially mystics.

Produced in an atmosphere surcharged with ritual, their poetical images, their idioms and the form and colouring of their poems are different and a modern man may find it difficult to go below the surface to understand the inner meaning. But the difficulty is not insurmountable for one who seeks to penetrate the Vedic poems' inward depths of harmony. We must, however, bear in mind that the *Rigveda* is not the work of a single poet. It is an anthology and its verses represent different strata of thought, though there is an underlying unity of purpose and of outlook.

It will not be possible to deal adequately with the varied beauties of the hymns. I shall give a few examples only. In the famous "creation" hymn, lofty and grand in conception, rich in idealism, deep submission to the mystery is felt expanding into prophetic utterance.

"There was no life then, nor what is non-being. There was no atmosphere or sky beyond. What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed? Did it lie in the deep abyss of the waters?

"Neither death was there nor immortality. Neither the light of day was, nor the night. The One breathed by its inner power without breath; Other than It there was nothing . . .

"Desire arose in the beginning in That; it was the primal germ of spirit.

"The sages searched in their hearts and found by wisdom the root of being in non-being."

There are few poems in world literature which can stand comparison with the original for its superlative glory, its matchless diction and its philosophic depth. The Absolute Reality which is behind phenomena is

beyond all human categories. It is only possible to explain reality to the uninitiated in terms which are vague. The word-music of the poem, its imaginative fervour, its sheer beauty and sweetness are lost in translation. The sob and surge of the eternal sea weave a charm round this poem, unique in its lonely grandeur.

For inner light the grand Prajapati hymn, which we shall quote in part, is no less important. In its elevating tone it outdistances all rivals in the whole Vedic literature. The accent is one of experience and wisdom. It is at once human, happy and powerful.

"A golden germ arose in the beginning. He was born, the only Lord of creatures. He established the earth and the firmament: What god shall we adore with our oblation?

"He gives the vital breath. He gives power and vigour. He whose behests all gods acknowledge—the shadow of whom is life immortal as well as death: What god shall we adore with our oblation?

"Who is looked up to for help by the trembling earth while battle rages over it between the powers of evil and of good; when over it the risen sun shines in splendour: What god shall we adore with our oblation?"

The poem inspires awe and that sense of mystery which arouses insistent questioning. The mystical experience of the poet is felt in its subtle depth and poignancy by even the most casual reader.

Let us turn from these songs of profound philosophy to some simple poems of everyday life, where the poets feel the beauty and the joy of nature.

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The poems on the dawn are remarkable for fine imagery and pleasing technique. I select for its brevity this poem on the dawn:

"O thou beautiful dawn, come hither by auspicious ways, from above the golden realm of the bright sky

"O thou bright dawn, when thy hour comes, men and cattle stir in joy.

"And from all quarters flock together the winged birds.

"Thou, when thou comest with thy golden beams, fillst the world with radiance and splendour.

"The sons of Kanva invoke thee for glory and joy and pour forth their fervour in sacred songs."

Like children we travel into fairyland with the poet, who is not only a poet of imagination but also a poet of innocence. Like all fine poetry, it is a union of images and music. We escape from the four walls which confine us and travel forth into a world of beauty and rhythm. Those who want to enjoy the superb skill of the Vedic poets should read the longer poems on the dawn which reach the height of poetical fancy by a realization of the unearthly which is yet earth-entwined and remarkably concrete.

The hymn on night from which we quote the following few lines, is equally beautiful in its symbolism and imaginative sensuousness:

"With her shining eyes the Goddess night looks forth and moves in many places. The void she fills, she fills height and depth—the immortal Goddess. Her splendour covers the darkness. When she comes she places her sister the dawn in her place and so the darkness smiles on her. Just as birds rest on the tree, we tread on her pathways. O thou Goddess, give us shelter this night . . ."

The description is vivid. The starlit night, the magic and music of the incoming dawn and the departing night are put forth in images which are obvious but none the less delightful for that.

The hymn to the forest is marvellous for its grace and beauty:

"O thou wild forest, wild art thou, pathless thou roamest. Why dost thou not seek the village? Art thou not afraid? The bull roars somewhere; the cricket chirps. Thou, lady of the forest, playest as it were on a harp. The cattle graze yonder—there shines what seems to be a dwelling-house.

"At eve one hears the rattling sounds of carts. Here one calls his cow—there someone has felled a tree. A dweller at eve fancies that a cry rings somewhere. She does not slay unless one goes with evil intent. One can have sweet fruits and then can rest where he wills.

"O thou lady of the forest, accept my songs—thou sweet-scented queen, redolent of balm. Thou art the mother of fawns. Thou hast a rich store of food though thou hast no tilling."

It is a pure nature-poem, its bare simplicity and sensuous appeal wedded to imaginative power, the poem stands the test of true creative art.

The hymn to Mother Earth which we have not space to quote, makes the reader feel that he is looking at our well-known globe for the first time, with the wonder and joy of the first child on the face of the earth. The poet extends the boundaries of reality and reveals the significance of the known in words of music that are true and sincere. The naturalistic impressionism of the poem is interwoven with human emotions. The vital energy finds soft and lucid expression even in its brevity.

There are some ballads in the *Rigveda* which cannot but fascinate even the most acute critics.

Rich and sensuous, they inspire us with their beautiful strength, their terse and tense dialogues and their overwhelming human sympathy.

I shall conclude with a quotation from the last hymn of the *Rigveda*, which is a clarion call to universal unity and should have, in these days of world-planning and internationalism, a universal appeal:

" . . . Let us assemble together, speak together, let us have one mind, just as the mighty forces of nature move and act under law. Let our goal be common, common the parliament, common our desires, so will our efforts be joint.

"A common ideal is before us all for one acceptance and let us fulfil it with common sacrifice.

"Let our resolve be one and let our hearts be together. Let us bring happiness and joy by uniting our thoughts and deeds."

The *Rigvedic* poems have a reserve of power and a depth of poetic radiance which, being inward, penetrate to the dynamic centre of life.

Picturesque many of them are; some seem wild and rugged; but there is something organic in the spirit and atmosphere of the poems which gives them a perfect poise and a noble suavity. There are endless repetitions but this is obviously inevitable, if we bear in mind the background of the poems. A sanctity pervades them all. They draw our attention to the vast cosmic whole. It is idle to criticize the poems from our modern stand-point; we should, on the contrary, try with humility to understand them. To realize their import fully, we must revive the passionate devotion and wonder of those days.

The images and symbols of the Vedic hymns are symbols of far-off days but they are full of ever-widening sense and harmony. They have a white purity round about them. They spring forth with superb ease from the hearts of the mystic bards. The diction is sometimes archaic, the meaning is at places obscure, but there is the joy of the creative urge in all of them, a vigour, a dynamic force, a buoyant optimism. They are the expressions of men to whom life was bright and joyous, who loved life in its fullness. Morbid pessimism is conspicuous by its absence.

Modern man may not enter into the keen religious fervency that expresses itself in the poems but he can recognize the burning sincerity of the utterance and can appreciate not only their grandeur and the profoundly penetrating insight of the mighty singers but also the supreme beauty of the poetry as such. The study of these hymns will help to open the intuition to a new world of beauty and of joy; they lead us towards the realm of the eternal and the infinite.

Internationalism Through Ages

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

That the solidarity of any kind in a wider sphere has been possible only against a common danger is as much a fact of history as of human nature. Whence it follows almost necessarily that the greater the consciousness of a threatening menace the wider is the scope for international cooperation. Be it plague or Napoleon, dangerous and narcotic drug or Hitler, when it is branded as a common enemy, any opposition against it forthwith assumes the sanctity of a crusade.

It also shows what men can achieve in unity and how they can resolve even their basic differences in a fighting camp. But speaking exclusively in terms of politics the whole problem cannot be reduced to such a simple statement. Change the point of view and the enemy nations can also with equal justification brand the other party as their common enemy. That means two parallel developments of the concept of solidarity on apparently similar lines. All attempts of this kind, I fear, cannot be properly called real attempts at international solidarity.

The word international in this context is rather misleading, especially if we go by its derivative meaning. For that puts the attempts by Napoleon and Hitler on a par with those made by Wilson and Roosevelt. But at least in intention and motive if not in technique and method they are widely different from each other and in some respects even fundamentally. If, therefore, we refer to attempts made with a benevolent purpose, we would prefer to call them attempts at multinational or intercontinental solidarity. At least the two mighty efforts of our century have been aimed at promoting an understanding not only among the nations of one continent but of all the continents of the world. In common parlance the word internationalism is used not only to signify an idea disagreeable to nationalism but also to a dogmatic way of thinking. But because of common cultural heritage and traditions and in some cases religion, each continent, in spite of various divergences among its nations, forms, broadly speaking, a characteristic attitude towards life—a soul, a spiritual principle—as Renan calls it while speaking of the nineteenth century nationalism. Any move to organise an international society worth the name, therefore, is one which has tried to weave the enormous differences into a grand pattern and treating them as 'brotherly dissimilitude,' to synthesize them into an orchestral harmony. In fact the vaster the scope for coordination among basically different nations, more evident are the bonafides of the attempt of that kind. In these days of political resurgence and social and economic interdependence mostly due to the innumerable advantages of science for easy contact and contamination, any narrowing of the boundaries of our visualized 'one world' is bound to be suicidal if not impossible.

But the conclusion from the above is not that the concept of international solidarity is the product of our age, nor that its conception in the preceding ages, was wholly cribbed, cabined and confined. No doubt our conception of the cooperative world is more extensive but this advantage of the modern age is only circumstantial.

The idea of international solidarity is perhaps as old as human civilization.

In all the different regions of the world which have witnessed the flowering of rich cultures and civilizations, the idea of a greater unity, the desire to transcend the geographical barriers has always captured the imagination of the wisest and the best. At the dynamic stages of these civilizations artists and poets, philosophers and religious preachers have always addressed themselves to an audience infinitely wider than the one just near at hand. That perhaps easily explains the eternal and the universal appeal of their immortal works. By implication these poets and artists, philosophers and men of religion, always visualized a united world of men. Walt Whitman was once asked by a nationalist: "Must you not take care of home first of all?" His reply was: "Perhaps, but what is home? To the humanitarian what

is home? I am for getting all the walls down, all of them." What Whitman declared so explicitly, was and is tacitly meant by all the artists and idealists. But each of them in a sense, has been an idle dreamer of an idle day; for this abstract idea of unity though inspiring and indispensable, has failed to recognise human nature as it is. And because they have always been guided by an uncompromising idealism these religious, poetic and philosophic concepts have ever remained a tantalizing treasure of a forbidden land to the self-seeking men—unimportable and impractical.

Our concern, therefore, is with the political concept of international solidarity, with political utopias, not with unrealizable dreams. Not that by being political an utopia ceases to be unreal; by being political it attains some amount of workability, practical bias.

PRACTICAL INTERNATIONALISM

Prof. Toynbee maintains that the utopias are generally the products of civilization in decline. If the above view is historically true, which in nine cases out of ten, it is, then, disintegration in any form, caused either by war or pestilence of any other kind appears to be the force behind all these schemes for international solidarity.

The mighty abstract idea of peace which seems to be the aim of most of the internationalists is only an important aspect of the main issue.

It assumes a pride of place in our thought when the common danger is war. But problems of humanity particularly in our days are political, social, economic and cultural in the same degree. *Peace merely as the negation of the idea of war may soothe our ruptured*

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hearts for a moment but it will never solve our problems even if the miracle happens—peace is attained without any change of hearts in the present state of world affairs. Our common-enemy today, as it has been always in some form or other, is a type of mentality represented by a class of people, that is dogmatic, self-seeking, unable to see beyond their noses and what is worse, capable of sugar-coating their intentions by such catch phrases as 'bearing the whiteman's burden,' 'mission civilisatrice,' 'spreading enlightenment and culture.'

Before enumerating the earlier attempts, the circumstances under which they were made, should also be taken into consideration. For obvious reasons their scope was limited; in some cases the area visualized had included only the surrounding neighbourhood, but seldom had it gone beyond the continental boundary. Science had not yet knit all the countries into an easily communicable world and economic and social interdependence had not yet been an undeniable fact of life. Nationalism had not yet gone the whole hog to show the disastrous form it might take and produced the reaction in favour of internationalism. America was still a land of mystery, a vast Eldorado, Africa could still hide herself in her dark forests and Asia was still considered to be a paradise for invaders and exploiters. So the barriers were not merely physical; cooperation with the so-called dependencies and barbarians could not even be thought of, and in the absence of any global war the urgency and need for a better and united world was not so irresistibly felt. These schemes, therefore, were made usually by well-meaning persons either well-read or widely travelled and capable of taking a synthetic view, sometimes for meeting the demands and needs of their ages and sometimes for the wishfulfilment of their cherished dreams. Here distinction should also be made between the innumerable alliances made for emergent purposes and the attempts at international solidarity.

Some rudiments of international organization were developed in the Amphictyonic Council of Greece, and state systems of ancient China and India.

In the days of Roman supremacy the ideal was one of imperial unity: the most realistic and typical of the series of schemes of that period, one formulated by Pierre Dubois, was directed to that end. The 'Grand Design' of Henry the IV was based on the assumption that no single state could attain ascendancy over others permanently and designed for maintaining peace only among European nations. Hugo Grotius's treatise on international law is no doubt a landmark in this field, but one obscure monk Emeric Cruce in his *Le Nouveau Cynee* made a very significant proposal for international organization in which he included China, Persia and the Indies, and suggested that unity should be maintained by freedom of trade, construction of interoceanic canals, negotiations and arbitration and in cases of emergency with the intervention of a world court.

At the end of the seventeenth century the quaker missionary and colonizer William Penn with his *Essay towards Present and Future Peace of Europe* also trod upon the same ground. He suggested the adjustment of territorial controversies by representation in the international parliament based upon national wealth. He was followed by the Abbe Saint Pierre, who with his *Project of Perpetual Peace* aimed merely at a strong alliance, though it inspired Rousseau to work out a substantial scheme in his *A Lasting Peace*

through the *Federations of Europe*. Rousseau suggested a solid confederation with coercive power to enforce its decision. In the *Principles of International Law*, Jeremy Bentham following Rousseau suggested defensive alliances, general guarantees, disarmament and the abandonment of colonial imperialism.

'Holy Alliance,' 'Concert of Europe' and such other schemes of the period which came out as a strong reaction against the ideas of revolution and Napoleon and which were efficiently worked out by the Tsar of Russia, Alexander I and Matternich, were at least in scope no improvement upon their predecessors. Mention should also be made of Kant's *Essay Towards Eternal Peace* in which he advocated the independence of all the states, their willing co-operation, gradual abolition of standing armies and the formation of a world state for the protection of international rights. It should also be noted that these utopias easily divide themselves into two classes. One aims at a totalitarian state, and is represented by Plato (only partially), Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx and the host of others; the second seeks to establish a democratic world federation and all the theorists who can be easily disposed of as impossible idealists are its sole representatives.

Attempts of our age are not exclusively independent and isolated issues. They are actually the two significant points in the long process of practical and theoretical preparation for an enduring structure of a parliament of man.

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And, therefore, in spite of many failings it should be said to their credit that some kind of real international co-operation has been possible in fields other than political, only because of these organizations. The establishment of public international unions for the regulation of waterways, railways, air, navigation, telegraphy and postal service, weights and measures, health, sanitation, commerce, humanitarian reforms, etc., bears an eloquent testimony to the masterly little so far attained by men.

THE OFF-SHOOTS

The League of Nations was the first magnificent effort of its kind. Judged by the results it may be regarded as an interesting target for witticism but in scope it was wider than all the earlier attempts. It recognized the rights of sovereignty of all the states big and small and made it possible for people of different countries to meet regularly for a noble purpose, and admitted the possibility of peaceful arbitration. In 1919, the need of an international organization was urgent but sincere willingness and inner conviction were not shown by all the nations because all the continents were not equally affected by the first World War. America could even remain out though her President was the man behind the show.

Yet one thing is certain, though the League was discredited, the idea of a League was not. Numerous schemes began to emerge all the world over. President Wilson boldly asserted: "We may not be able to set-up permanent decisions. We can set up permanent processes." If we base our judgment on this statement the League cannot be called an utter failure. In setting up 'permanent processes,' in forming technical organizations, in doing substantial, social and humanitarian work it has considerably paved the way for the United

Nations and helped us to treat these organizations as extremely useful and necessary, not merely as some sudden sallies of imaginative idealism.

Since 1945, beneath the surface, the situation has changed unprecedentedly. A united front is to be given not only to the idea of the Nordic theory of culture or the danger of geo-politics but also to the most poisonous weapon invented so far, the Atom Bomb. Therefore though the constitution and the methods of operation of U.N. may not be basically different from those of the League, its responsibility is greater, its scope wider and its necessity more urgent and imperative. And even a casual observer could not fail to see that the U.N. is very strongly alive to the high purpose it has been designed to fulfil. Its success though partial even in the field of politics, augurs well for it and the declaration and acceptance of the universal human rights, speak about its inherent strength and vitality.

Every nation or group of nations will now have to pass through the crucible of this world organization before it justifies its activities. Tendency therefore will be more towards sticking to it than leaving it in the lurch for selfish ends. It has also, aided of course by the historical forces, minimized the confusions of political views and reduced them into two well-defined political attitudes towards life. Decision in favour of either will be taken by the world at large and through this organization. And if it also goes the way of the League, a future Bernard Shaw will not find in its failure much for fun and witticism. A drama on 'Lake Success' will be an irredeemable tragedy on the destiny of man.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Foreign Policy Criticised

We reproduce below the following letters which appear in the American Press :

New Delhi, July 30: The Communist Party of India, following a new party line in tune with Moscow's peace offensive, is showing a surprising resurgence.

A survey of the most reliable opinion in various centers of India indicates that the party, which a few months ago appeared to be tottering, is rapidly extending its strength and influence through a host of pro-Communist fronts ranging from student and theater groups to labor organizations.

Its actual membership appears to remain between 60,000 and 80,000.

The Communists are exploiting the split in leadership of the Congress Party—dominant party in India—and are conducting an all-out campaign to infiltrate into the new People's Party and other local anti-Congress bodies.

The success of the Communist program is reflected in Left-wing victories in all three recent by-elections for the Bengal State Parliament.

Political observers predict that Communists and their followers will win a minimum of fifteen of the 401 seats in the national Parliament to be elected this winter. There are no Communists in the present Parliament.

Informants say Communist-dominated labor unions are now second in strength to the Congress Party-controlled Indian National Trade Union Congress which claims 1,600,000 members. A few months ago the Communist unions were reckoned a poor third after the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Indian Labor Organization.—*New York Herald Tribune*, July 31, 1951.

* * * *

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

In *The New York Times* of July 30 it was reported that the Nehru Government had insisted that "in accordance with the Yalta agreement the island of Formosa be given to China in the future." If the reported Indian attitude toward the Japanese peace treaty and the Yalta agreement is correct, it is amazing that the Indian Government could link Formosa with the once top-secret document, "the agreement regarding Japan."

Having studied practically all the available sources on the Far Eastern agreement, I find nothing mentioned about Formosa or Taiwan. Perhaps another part of this document is still unknown to the Chinese National Government but is familiar to the Indian Government. If this is so, then I would not attempt to contradict the Indian argument on the Yalta accord with regard to Formosa.

It is interesting to note that while the Yalta agreement did not mention a word about Formosa, India still desires to deliver Formosa, to Red China, basing her argument on a Yalta provision which does not exist.

It is equally interesting to note that when the draft treaty of peace with Japan gives to Soviet Russia more than the Yalta agreement intended, India's silence seems to indicate her approval. For instance, Section (c) of Article II of Chapter II of the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan stated:

"Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of Sept. 5, 1905."

While Section (3) of Article II of the Yalta agreement only stated: "the Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union," the draft provision seems to give the impression that Japan acquired all these islands only as a consequence of the Portsmouth Treaty. This is in contradiction of the late Secretary of State Edward Stettinius' views about these islands. Stettinius wrote:

"The Kurile Islands, of course, were Japanese territory before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. During the nineteenth century both Russia and Japan had laid claim to the Kuriles and Japanese ownership was recognized near the close of the century."

Aside from legal considerations, it should be understood that by conferring extra-legal titles of the Kurile and Sakhalin Islands to Soviet Russia, it would mean placing the Kremlin in a convenient beachhead for further aggression in Japan.

If certain politicians wish to reward Soviet Russia or Soviet China in such a manner they should not arbitrarily change the facts of history and geography in advancing their own falsified interpretation of a treaty or an agreement.

STEPHEN C. Y. PAN

Washington, July 31, 1951

—*The New York Times*, August 4, 1951.

* * * *

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

As one who for more than half a century has worked and hoped for Indian and Asian freedom, I feel morally obliged to comment on Prime Minister

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Nehru's opposition to the peace treaty with Japan proposed by the United States.

Mr. Nehru advocates the return of Formosa to Communist China. But Communist China is today carrying on an aggressive war against the United Nations and in particular the United States. Communist China and Soviet Russia have concluded a thirty-year treaty of alliance which will serve to combat Japan and any nation aiding Japan. As the Government of the United States is committed to helping Japan protect her sovereignty, the Soviet-Chinese alliance is virtually directed against the United States.

The Communist Chinese Government and Soviet Russia by not signing a peace treaty with Japan, will continue to be in a state of war with that country. Since the United States has agreed to protect disarmed Japan from any attack, it can hardly be expected that the Government of the United States should agree to turn over Formosa to Red China. For in that event Soviet Russia and Communist China would be able to use the island as a submarine and air base against Japan and the United States.

— IMPORTANCE OF ISLANDS

Mr. Nehru wants the United States to give up control over Bonin and Ryukyu Islands. If there were a Japanese navy intact to tackle Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese naval forces stationed in various bases and islands from the Kurile Isles to the southern part of the China Sea then Japan might now be given possession of these islands. As things stand today, however, to return Bonin and Ryukyu Islands to Japan would mean that Soviet Russia and Communist China would control a vital portion of the Pacific.

Surely, the United States of America did not fight Japan to her defeat in order to ensure Soviet Russian control of the Pacific. America, under the present circumstances in world politics, will co-operate with Japan to arm her so that she may be able to assume full responsibility for her own national defense and check any further expansion of Soviet Russia and Communist China in East Asia. I am afraid Mr. Nehru does not realize that American-Japanese co-operation, leading to an alliance to counter the Soviet-Chinese pact, has already become a major factor in world politics.

The proposed Japanese treaty gives Japan full sovereignty in matters of her own defense. However, by a Japanese-American agreement, American forces are to remain in Japan to defend Japan. As long as Japan agrees to an understanding with the United

States for her own security, India should not oppose any such understanding. India cannot logically do so unless she is aligned with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan. Will India fight to protect Japan from Soviet Russia and Communist Chinese aggression?

JAPAN'S FUTURE

Mr. Nehru suggests that Sakhalin and the Kurile Isles be given to Soviet Russia. Whatever happened at the Yalta Conference is in no way binding on Japan, and it is quite understandable that Japan may not agree to give up those islands which are so essential for her own security. Within five years, Japan with her more than 80 millions of virile and disciplined people will again become the most important power, economically, politically and militarily in Asia, as Germany again will play the most vital role in rejuvenated Europe.

Mr. Nehru sincerely desires to lead a third force for peace, but in refusing to be a party to the Japanese peace treaty he actually aligns India with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan and the United States. Indian freedom and peace and independence throughout Asia can be secured only by the closest possible collaboration between India, Japan, the United States and a China which is not the tool of imperialist Soviet Russia.

TARAKNATH DAS

—The New York Times, Sept. 4, 1951.

* * * *

GOBIND BEHARI LAL'S LETTER


I find that the majority of India-born residents of this country—of highest patriotism—with whom I have discussed the subject share my conviction that India should have signed the American drafted Peace Treaty with Japan.

India, of course, should have honestly, persuasively and with friendly courtesy stated her objections, recommendations and hopes for eventual amelioration and revision of some of the treaty provisions. This would have meant an evolutionary attitude, for after all this is an age of almost unpredictably fast evolution in human affairs under the propulsion of scientific developments.

The key principle which I venture to express is the importance of an unshakable operative friendship between this country and India. It is derived from two basic conclusions:

First: Free India, with the rest of awakened Asia, needs: (1) Means of scientific, technological and educational development; (2) Methods of elevating

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the people to a mature appreciation of the democratic processes of self-government, so that the best things of life are opened to all.

Second: Since the United States is the most highly developed scientific, technological and democratic civilization on earth, her guidance is more likely than any other in sight to lead to anything approaching a world democracy, enlightened and guided by scientific knowledge and its applications.

No one knows better than I do the greatness of Indian culture, which after all is the very substance of my own life. But India, like the rest of the East, has stayed where Europe was before the Renaissance, before Da Vinci and Galileo. She needs vigorous American stimulation and collaboration, for there is no other source available.

For great things that help create civilization and culture it is meritorious to go begging with a bowl in hand, as did Gautama Buddha, the Light of Asia. And America knows how to give with magnanimity and good grace. This is something which the Japanese have recently discovered themselves.

If there are Indians, on high or common levels, who have not yet recognized that generosity, neighborly helpfulness and strength go together in America, then the main reason probably is the psychological legacy of British rule in India—a legacy which both Americans and Indians must shake off now completely.

During the British Raj, of course, Americans and Indians dealt with each other furtively through London. American sympathy for Indian independence and progress was real but mostly concealed because of the fear of offending the British. That is why Indians who had no or little contact with this country never knew what a great influence was exercised by American sympathy for Indian freedom in the changing of British policy and practice in India.

For example, even now only a few Indians know that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had exerted high pressure upon his friend, Winston Churchill, to concede the right of independence to Indians as soon as the last war was over. As Mr. Basil O'Connor, eminent New York lawyer, the President's intimate friend will tell you, it was pressure from Mr. Roosevelt that induced Britain to send the Cripps mission to India in 1942. I had something to do with inducing Mr. O'Connor to take up the subject of India with the President.

What is even less understood here and in India is that during the First World War epoch, too, American public opinion, of which President Wilson certainly took notice, proved to be a powerful instrument in favor of Indian independence. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had openly condemned British rule in India. Secretary Lansing, his successor, had expressed himself in favor of dominion rule for India. Senators, Congressmen, editors, preachers favored India.

In San Francisco, for example, a potent Indian nationalist effort was initiated in 1912 by Dr. Har Dayal, lecturer at Stanford University, who was an Oxford-educated Indian genius. It flourished and influenced the British Government because it had received support from some of the foremost American leaders.

Particularly important was the championship of the Indian cause by Fremont Older, great editor of the San Francisco Bulletin (later the San Francisco Call-Bulletin), his staff columnists such as John D. Barry, Pauline Jacobson and others; and many other Hearst editors and writers such as Jack London and George

Sterling, as well as Senators James D. Phelan (Democrat) and Hiram Johnson (Progressive Republican). In the East there were many American voices raised in behalf of Indian independence more than 25 years ago.

It was not any particular section of the American public opinion, Irish or German or Latin, which increasingly became a power in behalf of Indian freedom; many an American of purest British ancestry was on the Indian side.

Such American investment and such Indian investment in the cause of national and individual freedom imposes a mandate upon this country and Free India to resist all temptations to interrupt or weaken, the half-century-old Indian-American friendship, which needs more nourishment today than ever before and should be strengthened in every possible way for the good of India, for the cause of American democracy, for the peace of the world.

With this background I repeat—India would have gained by signing the treaty.

—New York Journal, Sept. 6, 1951.

Ethiopians United by Inter-Racial Policies

Correspondent Wilton Wynn writes in the *Worldover Press*, June 22, 1951:

Addis Ababa: Enlightened racial policies of Haile Selassie form a strong unifying factor in this land of mingled race and religious strains.



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Traditionally Ethiopia's hodge-podge of ethnic groups has been dominated by a hated minority, the ruling Amhara race of which the present Emperor is a member. Since he came to power, however, he has done his best to bring representatives of all groups into the political and cultural life of the country.

The Amharas are a light-skinned Semitic group who claim ancient ancestry. They are Coptic Christians, though their religion shows many traces of Jewish influence. Their tradition says they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They lay claim to all the promises in the Bible which the Jews allegedly forfeited when they rejected Christ.

Next to the Amharas in number are the Gallas, a darker group formerly considered a slave race by the Amharas. The Gallas are diverse in religion, some of them Christians, others Muslim, some pagan, with a tiny remnant still following a religion brought from ancient Egypt. In the rural regions, there is some bitterness between Gallas and Amharas. Displaced persons brought from Europe to Ethiopia were driven out of one area by hostile Gallas because they considered the immigrants "friends of the Amharas."

Politically, Amharas and Gallas have come much closer together under the rule of Haile Selassie. This correspondent could see no discrimination against Gallas in the capital. In the various ministries, there is every possibility that a Galla will be holding the portfolio with an Amhara as his subordinate. Gallas have held ambassadorial posts abroad, and in every way have opportunities in the government.

A more troublesome group is the Somalis, who live in Ogaden Province bordering Somaliland. The Somalis are predominantly Muslim and have never forgotten that they once conquered the Christian Amharas. Haile Selassie has recognized the futility of trying to control such people with a big fist. He has established schools in Ogaden Province, has brought many Somalis to Addis Ababa to study, and has given government positions to those who are capable.

Ethiopia's 50,000 Jews form a unique problem. These people, called Falashas, are an indigenous race who accepted the Jewish religion at a very early date. They worship the deified Sabbath, practise various forms of magic, and in many respects differ greatly from the larger Jewish community. They speak no Hebrew. Their Scriptures are preserved only in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian language. In spite of Jewish tendencies in the Ethiopian church, this country's Christians always have considered the Falashas a hated and feared minority. The Emperor has tried

hard to break down this feeling, but the attitude of the Falashas themselves makes the task difficult. Falashas refuse to enter the homes of Christians and insist on living apart socially. They maintain their own schools in the hands of their priests. A few, however, have accepted government posts, and a small number have enrolled in government technical schools.

The Emperor's attitude toward Italians remaining in Ethiopia is a good demonstration of his humane approach to other races or nationalities. The Italian rule is still remembered as a reign of terror, and Italy is regarded today as the country's most dangerous national foe. Yet in the face of this hatred, 8,000 Italians have remained in Ethiopia, and live in complete safety. Rather than treat them as enemies Ethiopia deems them brothers. Ethiopia may some day offer an object lesson in race relations to the more advanced nations of the world.

First Indian-built Airplane Lauded by Pawley

Washington, August 20.—The "magnificent job" done by Indian technicians of Hindustan Aircraft, Limited, in turning out the first successful airplane ever designed and built in India was lauded here by William D. Pawley, American businessman who was instrumental in building the aircraft factory at Bangalore.

Pawley, who recently visited India, had seen the plane just before its completion. He said: "I was delighted to receive a telegram from the factory that the first Indian all-metal trainer—designed and built by Indian engineers and technicians—has been successfully test flown."

"As an American businessman, I took the contract to build this plant at Bangalore which covers one million square feet. We employed and trained 10,500 Indian mechanics."

"Today this factory is probably one of the finest aircraft factories of its size in the world."

"These highly qualified Indian technicians and engineers have done a magnificent job carrying on the work started back in 1940."

Pawley has made outstanding contributions to pioneer aviation in Cuba, China and India. He has served as U.S. Ambassador to Peru and Brazil, and currently is a special assistant to Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State.—USIS.



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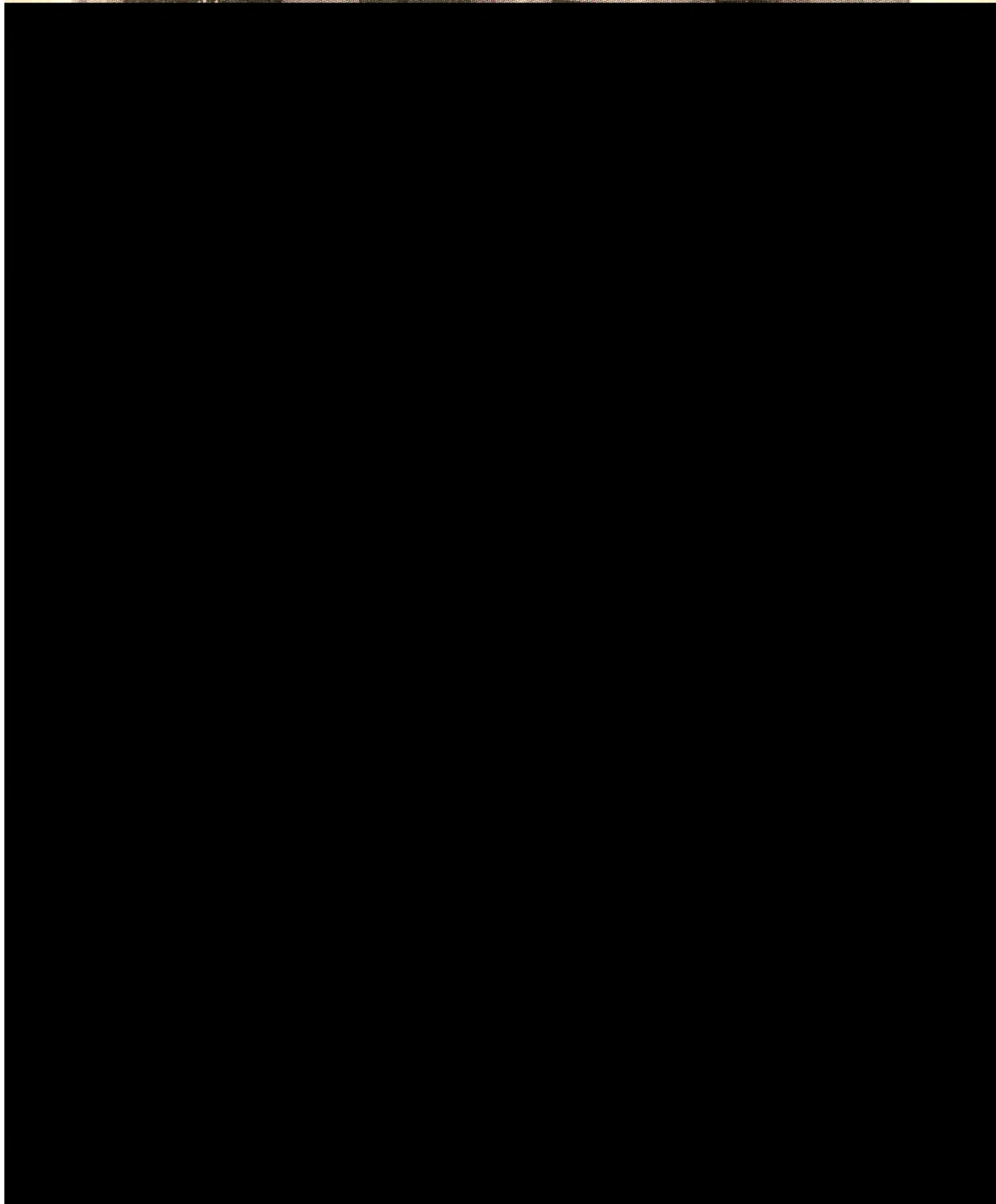
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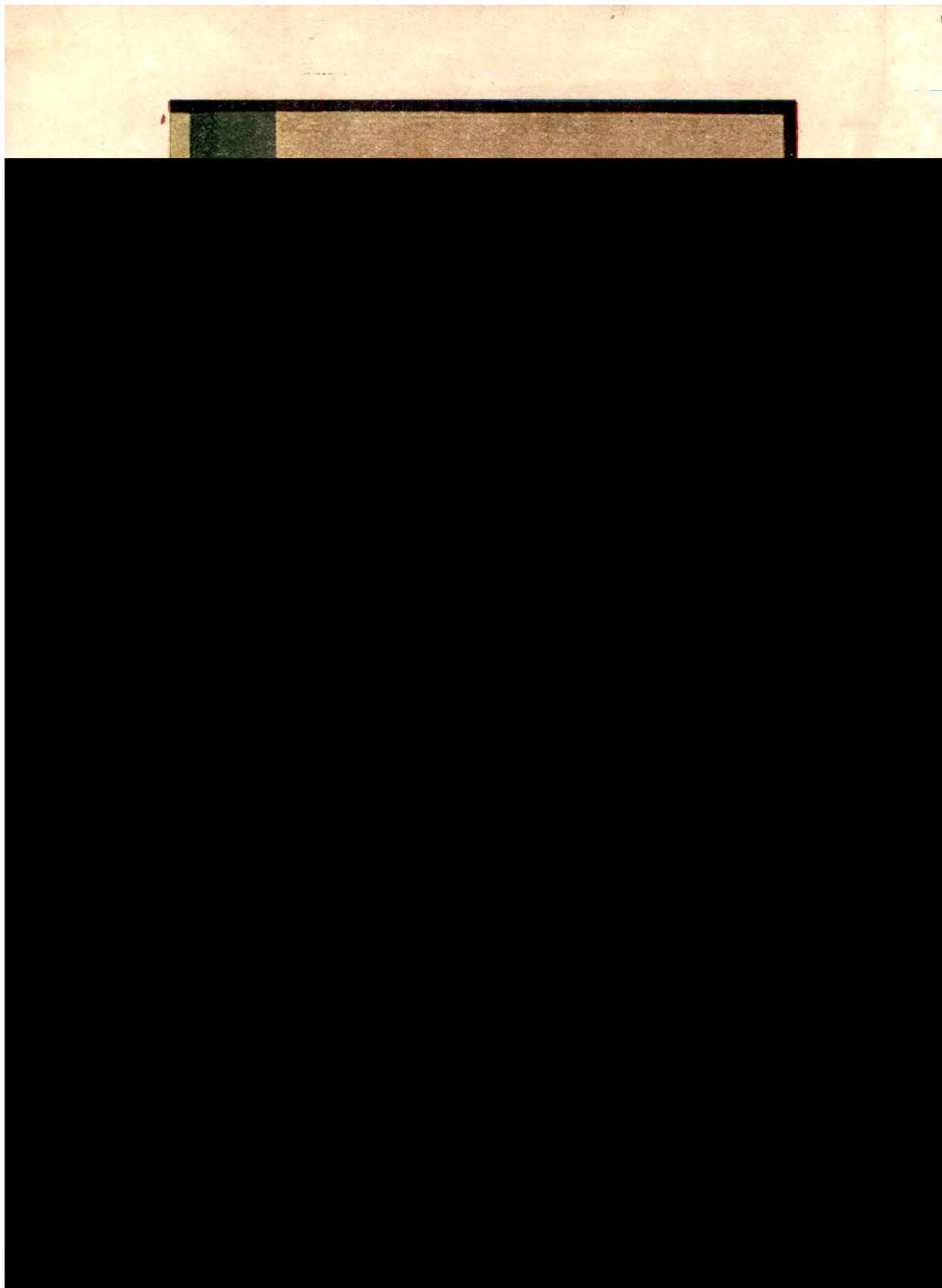
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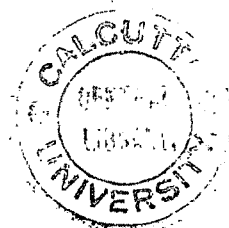


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NOTES

At Home and Abroad

The topic of the day at home is, of course, the elections. We have ourselves gathered considerable experience in the matter at first hand, and we believe we shall not be very far out of the mark if we say that the results so far have surprised all parties, more or less. Surprising defeats and equally astonishing victories have been the experience of all parties and most individuals, interested in the election, if an all-India view be taken. Of course, the results from the biggest State have not come in as yet, but judging by what has happened elsewhere in the country, a few surprises, even there, seem to be in the offing.

The arrangements for the election have been faulty in a great many ways, though it has to be said that, considering the titanic magnitude of the undertaking, the management was not unduly wanting in efficiency. There is bound to be a great deal of bitterness as the aftermath, but taken as a whole, the results give a more or less accurate picture of the political understanding and attitude of the masses. We do not say that the elected representatives are the real nominees of the people, whom they are supposed to represent, in all cases. Indeed in a very large number of cases, the successful candidate has secured only a minor percentage of the votes, and has come out successful because of the fractionation of the major portion amongst a large number of unsuccessful candidates. Then again in certain areas the people have vented their rancour against the present government by voting for the party or parties that have campaigned most bitterly against the Government, without being in the least cognisant of—or interested in—the cardinal principles or tenets of the party

favoured. Blind voting on slogans has been the order of the day in most places so far, with a considerable dash of parochialism or racial and caste prejudices.

But this is just what it was bound to be, if we take into consideration the factors of illiteracy, isolationism and politically backward condition of the large majority of our electorate. If we add to that the fact that in most places the real political objectives of the parties standing for election were obscured by a vast mass of empty verbiage and further that political opportunism was the order of the day in all cases, then we can easily understand the befuddling of the electorate. And it is because of this that no party has escaped some major defeat or other if an all-India picture be considered.

Turning to the elections in the home city of this paper we can say that it is almost a complete farce. Quite apart from the nature and tempo of the party campaigns, in which vilification and misrepresentation of opponents are the principal items, the arrangements were faulty to the extreme. The electoral rolls were grossly inaccurate, householders and permanent residents were prominent by their exclusion in many areas, while fictitious and absentee electors were there in tens of thousands. The consequence was impersonation *en masse* in every quarter by unscrupulous parties and as the challenging was made extremely difficult, it was a complete victory for the most organised male-factors.

The marking by indelible ink was a huge joke. The marking could be removed in a matter of minutes by a mixture of "hypo" and moist matchheads. Queer stories are afloat all over the city about changing of

box-labels *after* the elections and *before* the counting, the interval between the two being more than a week in most cases. It is also said that in certain quarters large amounts of ballot papers were transferred from one set of boxes to another, paper seals being made available for that purpose by corrupt and unscrupulous partisan officials, and examination of signatures being cursory in the extreme the operations were conducted with impunity.

The Congress is in a minority in a major State, Madras, and in a minor State, Travancore-Cochin. It is barely out of the woods in Hyderabad; and is in difficulties in Orissa at the time of writing. In West Bengal, although the Congress is in a position of majority, the Congress Government is due to face a very turbulent and troublesome opposition. In Bombay and the Madhya Pradesh, the Congress is in a comfortable position of security as also in Himachal Pradesh. In Madhya Bharat too there does not seem to be much of a challenge to Congress supremacy. Elsewhere the picture has not developed sufficiently to give a clear view.

The Communist Party, together with the groups under its control, has gained prominence in Madras, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and in West Bengal. Even so, their position is nowhere near that of control. For example, in Madras, where the Communist dominated groups have so far secured the largest number of seats, they form only 27 per cent of the opposition. In Hyderabad, they form 50 per cent of the opposition, but here the Congress is in absolute majority, while in Travancore-Cochin, where the Congress is in minority they also have only 50 per cent of the opposition in their hands. In West Bengal as yet they control less than 50 per cent of the opposition and in Orissa, where as yet the Congress is in a minority, they have just about 10 per cent of the opposition in their hands. Elsewhere they have little, if anything at all, to show.

The Socialists have, so far, been unable to make any significant mark in the elections anywhere. In Bombay, the Socialist debacle was only a little less pronounced than that of the Communists, who had a disastrous failure.

The K.M.F.P. has met with disaster in West Bengal. Only in Madras they have been able to make any showing at all. The Jana Sangh too has very little to show as yet anywhere, and the Hindu Mahasabha even less. "Other parties" that is to say localised groups have scored in Madras, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan and Bombay so far.

Lastly comes that unpredictable factor, the "Independent," who has all parties against him, whether he has any decided views or not. Even these strictly individualistic candidates have made their mark in Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Bombay, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad.

As the elections are still in progress, it is too early to make any critical survey as a whole, and therefore we reserve that for the next issue.

ABROAD

Abroad world attention has shifted focus from Iran on to Egypt. Iran seems to be a little less stiff in its attitude towards Britain but the situation in Egypt is still explosive in the extreme. Britain's very existence as a world power depends on her control of the Suez Canal as does her economy on the control of the oil-fields of Iran and the rich raw material resources of Malaya. But our sympathies are with the exploited and depressed nations and as such we can only hope for just and equitable solution of the *impasse* in Egypt and elsewhere.

We ourselves are involved yet in the Kashmir issue which, so long as it is before the U.N.O., cannot be regarded as a purely domestic issue. The latest move in the U.N.O. is not, to our liking, as we wholeheartedly support Sheikh Abdullah's contention that the Kashmiris should be only judges of their destiny. But a nation has to pay for the blunders of its chief executives; and as such we have to face the complex problems which have resulted out of the unfortunate reference to the U.N.O. and the inept handling of our case by those who were deputed at first to look after it. Pandit Nehru suppressed a vast mass of details about the invasion of Kashmir, out of consideration for those Muslims who are Indian nationals, and even hampered the military drive against the invading forces for the same reason. Pakistan, on the other hand, has piled masses of fabricated "facts" on to what little it had against India and has thus gained where world opinion is concerned. If we add to that British propaganda and rancour, then the exact state of affairs becomes understandable.

The disturbances in Nepal do not seem to have any major significance, if what little we have got from official sources is to be relied upon. But Nepal is now a vital concern of ours, and we hope that the elections has not caused any laxity in the watchfulness of our department of Foreign Affairs. In these troublesome days a minor affair of today may become a major problem tomorrow, without any warning or notice.

In the Far East, the situation in Korea is still as foggy and indeterminate as before. Mr. Churchill's visit to the U.S.A. has not in the least helped matters in any way. On the contrary.

Public Administration in India

Dr. B. B. Mazumdar, Principal, H. D. Jain College, Arrah, in his presidential address at the 14th session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Hyderabad, has thrown light on our problems of

Administration. A summary of his address is given below:

"The Science of Government held an honoured place in the curriculum of studies in India from early times down to the Huna invasion. The socio-economic changes wrought by this catastrophic event was so great that we find a gradual decline in the enthusiasm for Political Science from the sixth to the fourteenth century A.D. Vanabhatta, the court poet of Harshavardhana, denounced it as a cruel and heartless study. Jayantabhatta, who flourished during the reign of Sankarvarma of Kashmir in the ninth century A.D., declares in his *Nyayamanjari* that *Varta* and *Dandaniti* have got no utility for spiritual life and as such are useless.

"Medhatithi who flourished about the 9th century A.D., while explaining Manu's dictum that 'the protection of all this shall be according to law,' states that 'Law' stands for the scriptures, and not those relating to 'Artha' or 'Policy' and composed by Ausanasa and other writers. It is gratifying to note that a venerable old Pandit of the orthodox school, Mahamahopadhyaya Yogendranath Tarka-Samkhya-Vedantatirtha, has in 1949 established the thesis, by numerous citations from Sanskrit texts, that one of the causes of loss of independence of India was the negligence of the study of Political Science. *Rajnitiratnakara* by Candeswara, the Prime Minister of the last independent king of Mithila in the 14th century, seems to have closed the chapter of political speculations by the Hindus for more than five centuries.

"The study of Political Science was neglected in Indian universities up to the end of the first decade of the present century. This is not surprising in view of the fact that professorships in the subject were not instituted even in the Universities of Oxford, London and Cambridge before 1912, 1913 and 1927 respectively. At present, out of 28 Universities in India, only 14, namely, Aligarh, Baroda, Banaras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Madras, Mysore, Nagpur, Osmania, Patna, Poona, and Saugar have got separate Departments of Political Science.

"The funds allotted to the Political Science Department does not exceed 4 per cent of the total budget in any University, but in the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Banaras, Mysore, Baroda, Poona, Saugar and Hyderabad they are less than one per cent. If the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India wants to avoid the danger of 'one blind man leading others similarly blind,' the various State governments and the wealthier sections of the community must generously endow the universities and colleges for providing specialised courses of instruction in Political Science to train up active citizens, intelligent legislators and efficient administrators.

"The study of Public Administration in modern India has not received the attention it deserves by virtue of its importance. With the assumption of wel-

fare functions by the State, public administration has come to affect the life of citizens in some of the most vital spheres of their activity. Complexities in defining social and economic regulations affecting millions of people have forced the legislature to lay down only the broad principles in statutes and to leave to the administration the power to make appropriate rules. It has also been found necessary to get rid of the elaborate practice and procedure of ordinary courts involving cost and delay in dealing with cases arising out of the decisions of administrative authorities and to entrust these to administrative tribunals which claim to possess specialised experience. The inexorable logic of circumstances has accelerated this process everywhere despite the protests voiced in England by Lord Hewart in 1928 and Prof. Keeton in 1951 and in India by the Bombay Lawyers Conference this year. In 1940, the American Bar Association and big business interests backed Logan-Walter Bill, which aimed at limiting administrative adjudication, but it had to be vetoed by President Roosevelt in the interests of sound administration.

"There is also a growing realisation of the fact that the legislature by passing a law merely formulates a plan for doing a thing, but the adequacy and efficiency of the administrative machinery determines how far it would be possible to carry it into effect. The Universities, the Government and the enlightened citizens of the Western countries have, therefore, taken up researches into the organisation, finance, personnel, direction, public relations and control of public administration.

"Similar studies have got to be undertaken in India too. Here the need is all the more urgent because there is a tendency towards a rather abrupt transition from the police state to the welfare state. Under the British rule public administration was designed primarily for the maintenance of law and order and collection of organisation taxes. The administrative apparatus, which we have inherited from the British rulers is hardly suited to the task of implementing the directive principles of our State policy, which include provision, 'securing the right to work, to education, and public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement' and for 'securing just and human conditions of work, and for maternity relief.' Under the impact of Western civilization, the old social order based on the *Varnashrama Dharma* and rural economy has suffered disintegration. A new social order, based on social, economic and political justice and designed to promote the welfare of the people cannot be set up without effecting fundamental changes in the administrative machinery.

"The Government is not unaware of the need of such a change. This is evident from the fact that the Planning Commission requested an expert like Mr. A. D. Gorwala to suggest such reforms in the adminis-

trative organisation as would make the implementation of development programme possible. Mr. Gorwala's reports on Public Administration and on the efficient conduct of the State Enterprises deserve careful study by every student of Political Science. Amongst various measures of reforms, he has emphasised the need for strengthening the machinery for detecting corrupt public servants and appointing one or two experienced detectives as clerks in those departments which come into continuous contact with the public. It is really surprising that the Intelligence Branch which evinced so much zeal and efficiency in tracking down political criminals before independence, cannot detect corrupt public servants today. If we want Democratic Government to survive in India, we must free it from these 'thorns of the State' and adopt some of the steps recommended by Kautilya in his chapters on *Kantakasodhanam*.

"Mr. Gorwala has advocated the formation of a single board, consisting of five or six members, for managing all the Government of India civil industries throughout the country, but he has advised the retention of departmental management for State trading schemes. In the former case he has accepted the Kautilyan principle *Vakumukhya Adhikaranam* or plural-headed controlling agency, while in the latter he has followed the precept of the Mahabharata, which states that control over one type of work should be vested in one person, otherwise the risk of mismanagement due to difference of opinion, would be great. The Board system involves expense, delay and diffusion of responsibility no doubt, but it minimises the dangers of corruption, favouritism and interference from parties and factions. It is worth considering whether the fixing of prices and similar other powers should not be vested in a Board, consisting of experts in commerce and applied economics.

"The problem of Administration in India has become most acute on account of the marked divergence between the declared policy of the Government and its execution. Almost all sections of the community and specially the middle classes with more or less rigid incomes have been complaining bitterly of the soaring price levels. From August, 1948 the Government began to consider adopting anti-inflationary measures and in October, 1949, soon after the Devaluation, formulated an Eight-point Programme to fight inflation by increasing the volume of production of agricultural and industrial commodities, cutting down the retail prices of food-grains, cloth and other essential commodities by ten per cent, and reducing the Government expenditure. The Nasik Congress also issued a clear mandate for checking inflationary forces at all cost. But the Index of general wholesale prices which stood at 390 in November, 1949, is about 440 today. The Calcutta middle class cost of living Index number for food was 445 in September 1950 and one year later it rose to 461, while for clothing it has risen

from 401 to 482 during the same period. Then again the price of *procurement* rice has been raised by nearly 15 per cent in this month. The expenditure on Civil Administration increased by Rs. 10 crores over the 1949-50 level in 1950-51 and in the current year's budget we find another increase of Rs. 6 crores over the last year's level. The total expenditure on civil administration ten years ago, in 1941-42, was a little above Rs. 13 crores and today it is above Rs. 50 crores.

"This shows that the anti-inflationary policy has remained largely on paper and probably also that the control of the Treasury over the estimates prepared by different ministers is not as effective as it ought to be. Mr. Gorwala refers, of course, to the complaints of Administrative Ministers against what is termed the 'Woodenness of the Finance Ministry' and also to the scrutiny of financial proposals relating to any establishment matter by the Financial Advisers and also by the Joint Secretary's Branch in the Finance Ministry.

"The Government also decided upon expediting income-tax collection as a measure to check inflationary tendencies. A committee was appointed to report on the cases of tax evasion during the war only and not beyond that period. It has been estimated that the amount which evaded taxation during the war period was to the tune of Rs. 600 crores. The Government preferred to depend on voluntary disclosures of income. So far income aggregating to 50 crores has been disclosed out of which over 12 crores may be realised as taxes, and we feel jubilant over this grand success of moral appeal to the tax-dodgers. No other government in the world has attempted to eradicate tax evasion by placing reliance on the conscience of the tax-payers. The Government spends Rs. 3 crores only on the Income-tax Department which brings a revenue of more than Rs. 165 crores. It may be enquired whether a strengthening of the Department cannot bring in a substantial improvement in collection."

Dr. Mazumdar has rightly said that administrative problems have become still more complex due to frequent changes in the policy of the Government. The tendency to multiply Statutory orders and to give retrospective effect to legal as well as administrative measures has also further complicated matters. The Government have not been able to stick to a uniform food policy throughout the last five years and have helplessly hovered between tighter control and progressive decontrol. Dr. Mazumdar's address deserves closest attention by our politicians and administrators.

"Manchester Guardian" on Devers Plan

Writing under the heading "Kashmir Again", the *Manchester Guardian* (January 16) states: "The Secu-

Security Council will resume tomorrow discussion of the baffling question of Kashmir. Here is a dispute in which the two sides have very properly and commendably refrained from fighting for three years, and which they have referred to the Security Council. The Council has tried conciliation; the last conciliator, Dr. Graham, narrowed the gap between the disputants, but it is still not bridged. The Pakistanis say that the time has come for the Council to pass from mediation to recommendation."

The newspaper continues: "The first step when the Council meets is surely to publish the demilitarisation plan produced by General Devers, the Military Adviser to Dr. Graham. General Devers is a distinguished General who preceded General Eisenhower in commanding the American troops in England during the war. It is hard to understand why his plan was not published along with the Graham report.

"Apparently it provides for four stages. The first, lasting 30 days, is preparatory. The second extends over three months. It would leave India with rather more than 30,000 troops in Kashmir, with the addition of 5,000 men from Sheikh Abdullah's militia; in the part of Kashmir held by Pakistan there would be about 16,000 men divided between the Pakistan Army and the Azad Kashmir forces. In the third stage the disparity of the forces would be reduced so that at the end the ratio of the Indian and militia forces to the Pakistan and Azad forces would be roughly 13:10 (which was the ratio of the rival forces in Kashmir when the truce began three years ago).

"At the end of this stage, by the middle of July, the Plebiscite Administrator would take up his appointment. It would be in his discretion to call on either side to reduce or increase their forces according to the needs of the situation."

Proceeding, the *Guardian* says: "It seems that Pakistan, while grumbling at what it regards as the unfair appointment of forces during the second stage, would have been willing to accept this plan at least in outline. The Indian attitude has not been made altogether clear. One of the Indian objections was apparently to the balance of forces proposed at the second stage. A grave difficulty seems to have been that India objected to discussing—at least at this stage—the procedure beyond stage two. It would be a pity if the Devers plan is not examined further.

"Dr. Graham, in presenting his report just before Christmas, did not despair of making further progress. By his own mission he has demonstrated that the best method is to produce a reasonable compromise scheme and to let reason gradually erode the objections of both sides.

"Pakistan is understandably impatient for quick action, but discussion may prove more constructive in two or three weeks' time than at the present moment. This is the height of the Indian General

Election. The Indian statesmen are preoccupied; sharp exchanges over Kashmir might bring the dispute into Indian domestic politics, and this would serve nobody's interest."

The *Guardian* concludes: "In its discussions the Security Council does not seem to have examined the possibility of conducting a plebiscite area by area rather than for the country as a whole (the idea has, of course, been discussed in the Press of both India and Pakistan). It might at least be worthwhile seeing whether the Devers plan could be made more acceptable by providing for a plebiscite of this kind."

India's Secretary-General in the Foreign Department is now in Paris holding personal consultations on the Devers Plan. The difference between the two versions of the same plan supplied to India and Pakistan has caused much surprise and misgiving. The leaning towards Pakistan has been more than apparent and it seems doubtful whether plebiscite under conditions enunciated in the plan will be fair at all.

The Devers Plan

The U.N. Secretariat has published the "Tentative Plan of Demilitarization" of the Military Adviser of the U.N. representative General Devers. The plan *inter alia* suggests that the U.N. observers' force in Kashmir should be increased and equipped with necessary helicopters and communication equipment to ensure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements.

The plan also suggests that Pakistan should close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the West and all regular Pakistan forces should be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

The following are the points embodied in the Devers Plan:

(1) D-Day to be thirty days after the principal agreements have been signed by representatives of the two Governments in India and Pakistan.

(2) D plus thirty-one to D plus ninety (A) the U.N. observers' force to be greatly increased and equipped with necessary helicopters and communication equipment to ensure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in the demobilization of forces and give stability and backing to local governments in maintaining order. (B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorized ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops—three thousand five hundred northern and Gilgit scouts. (C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

(3) D plus ninety-one to or about July 14, 1952: (A) The three regular Pakistan Infantry battalions to be withdrawn to Pakistan; (B) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to twenty-eight thousand men including line communication troops.

(4) July 15, 1952: (A) The Plebiscite Administrator arrives in Srinagar and is inducted into office; (B) The three thousand five hundred northern and Gilgit forces are reduced to fifteen hundred by disarming and disbanding; (C) The Azad Kashmir line of communication troops are reduced to one thousand; (D) The regular Indian Forces including any State armed forces are reduced to seven battalions of infantry of nine hundred men and two thousand five hundred line of communication troops; (E) These above reductions will allow the Plebiscite Administrator to adjust the proportion on each side of the cease-fire line in accordance with the recommendations in number seven of the twelve points.

Note: (A) The plan can only be accepted as a whole. The dates, times and strengths can be altered by agreement between the two Governments; (B) No Indian or Jammu and Kashmir National, Pakistani or Azad Kashmir National to cross the cease-fire line.

Index of Prices and Cost of Living

It has been officially claimed that the general index of prices records a downward movement indicating a lower cost of living and a consequent improvement in the standard of living of the general masses. The Economic Adviser's report showed that on the last week of December, 1951, the general index was 432.2 which was slightly less than the November figure of 434.2 of the same year.

A standard of living is an attitude towards a given mode of living. It is the "scale of preferences," the plan for material living which directs our expenditure into certain channels. To have an accurate knowledge of the standard of living or the cost of living, the first and foremost task is the proper assessment of national income and expenditure. No reliable statistics relating to national wealth or national income of India are available. Although an enquiry in this regard has recently been concluded by the National Income Enquiry Committee, it is still doubtful how far their calculations truly represent entire incomes—industrial as well as agricultural. Disorganised and uncertain as it is, our agricultural economy itself is a predominant obstacle to such estimations. The purpose of the Enquiry Committee is further vitiated by the omission of the national expenditure in their calculation. To construct a genuine index of cost of living, a descriptive study of the proportions of a family's income spent on indispensable items like food, clothing, housing, etc., is essential. Reliable statistics of expenditure on these items of consumption are not available and even such a computation of per capita consumption would not give us any knowledge of the living standards of different sections of society in India. Figures relating to some towns and villages are sometimes given by the Government and some private agencies but no systematic and thorough study of living expense has as yet been attempted in India.

The only attempt which has so far been made to indicate the expenditure of the people is the computation of working class index number in industrial centres of certain provinces. But this is also misleading. In these centres the price index of essential goods on which the index number is based, hardly corresponds to the actual price prevailing in the market. In most of the factories, workers are paid cash as well as cheap rations including dwelling quarters, free medical aid, etc. Real wages as against money wages and the relation of cost of living to real wages have not yet been measured.

The official index number records the wholesale prices and not the retail prices. Here again is a gulf of difference between the wholesale price and retail price which invariably is higher in every case.

The index number formulated by the Economic Adviser is thus fallacious and hardly measures the real standard of living. The real index of actual price paid by the consumers is bound to be still higher if it would have been constructed on the above lines. Even with such a defective index, if we compare our condition with that of the European countries, no consolation can be obtained. Figures of certain countries are reproduced here as illustrations:

Country (1948-Base)	Wholesale price	Cost of living 1951
Austria	208 (approximately)	170
Spain	160	130
Norway	135	115
Denmark	140	112
Belgium	120	105
Netherlands	139	120

The striking point of difference is that there the cost of living index is everywhere less than the wholesale index. That is, by every possible restrictive measure they have been successful in dragging down prices. The Europeans fear inflation no less than war. A member of the French delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Conference in Ottawa remarked, "For us Europeans, the immediate problem is the threat to our standard of living which cannot be lowered much if we don't want to lose people's support. The Communist threat from within is for us as real as the Communist threat from without."

These remarks clearly show why they take so much pains to keep down their cost of living. Whatever may be the motive, they succeed in maintaining their standard. The crisis through which they had to pass was not in any way less devastating than ours. They were equally faced with the problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the magnitude of which was not less significant. What had been possible for Spain, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Austria and even Netherlands, should have been possible for India as well. None of them is more prosperous than us either in man-power or in natural resources. It has not yet been possible for our Government to raise the standard of living of the people even by a slight degree while others are going rapidly ahead.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference

The Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference concluded a week's secret talks on the sterling policy and on measures to strengthen the pound sterling. A joint communique issued by the Ministers on the evening of 21st January, 1952, stated that the sterling area was faced with a very serious crisis which, if it were not efficiently dealt with, would have far-reaching consequences.

The crisis, according to the communique, has arisen because the sterling area as a whole is spending more than it is earning, with the result that its gold and dollar reserves have been falling at a rapid rate. The present difficulties, while partly due to short-term factors, also reflect continuing underlying problems. These problems must and can be solved. It is hoped that the proposed steps will give to sterling the strength it must have to continue as a widely used international currency.

This cannot be attained by negative and restrictive methods alone or merely by the imposition of cuts on imports from certain parts of the world.

For this reason, it is decided, that measures taken to stop the drain upon reserves must form part of a long-term policy designed to restore and maintain the full strength of sterling.

One of the points of general agreement arising out of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' talks, is understood to be the need for close and continued consultation on economic and financial developments within the sterling area.

Britain's economic leadership had been lost since the Second World War, when the U.S.A. took over the helm of foreign trade. The history of the post-war economic world has been of a continuous conflict between these two leaders—Britain trying to assert her powers through the sterling bloc and America in the dollar area. The war had devastated Britain, both economically and socially. Rehabilitation and reconstruction were the most acute problems facing Britain in the post-war period. None except U.S.A. was able to meet that colossal demand for materials for reconstruction of the war-devastated countries including Britain. Britain, conscious of being held in the toils of the dollar bloc, could do nothing but utilise the generous help of U.S. The whole-hearted aim and effort of Britain has been to restore her classical position and in this endeavour she fully exploited her colonial power. It is for that reason, the alarming drain of Britain's gold and dollar reserves has been a source of grave anxiety not only to Britain but to all the members of the British Commonwealth. The crux of the problem of the sterling area has been the obligation of the members to pool their net hard currency earnings in the "Empire Dollar Pool." With the initial deadlock in the balance of payments, most of the

countries of the sterling area have been able to regain their position. But they were called upon for a continuous restriction of dollar imports in order to maintain the reserve at an adequate level as Britain's own house was in disorder. But instead of recouping, the position of Britain began to deteriorate so rapidly that in September 1949 devaluation of Pound sterling became inevitable. This decision was immediately followed by some member countries and India, although our problems were quite different; but Pakistan refused to devalue her currency in terms of dollar in company with the rest. So far as our internal economy is concerned, devaluation has accentuated inflation, sent prices up and aggravated the maldistribution of real income brought about by war-time and post-war inflation. Pakistan's refusal to devalue her currency created a deadlock in the productive activities of India resulting in much economic loss. India has been compelled, two years later on, to accept the Rupee-ratio dictated by Pakistan. Thus devaluation has served British interests at the cost of the backward countries, possibly with the exception of Pakistan.

Again during the last quarter of 1951 the balance of British foreign trade had become adverse. With the outbreak of war in Korea, U.S. programme of stockpiling and mobilization, increased the costs of dollar imports and adversely affected the prices of raw materials all over the world. The impetus to export trade of Britain caused by devaluation was almost lost in the rising cost of British industrial productions. Hence the need to readjust her economy has again become crucial. Although the Conference session was secret, it is certain that Britain discussed the matter with the member countries and sought their help and co-operation. She is fully aware of the prime cause of the deadlock, i.e., U.S.A. but control of that is beyond her powers. The only alternative is to apply full pressure on the poor undeveloped countries.

The Other Side

America, on the other hand, has equally been faced with the problem of shortage of raw materials and to high cost of their import. It is her interest as well to reduce the cost of these imported materials. To that end she is extending her money-lending business to all over the world, particularly to those backward countries who are main suppliers of primary goods. Thus colonial imperialism is giving way to the new type of economic exploitation without any apparent political overlordship. It is quite obvious in a recent proposal regarding Canada. There are U.S.A. interests who want Britain to sell her "rights and interests" in Canada. The Congressman who has introduced the Bill said:

"We could offer England cash to bail her out of the serious world predicament in exchange for the forfeiture of the rights and interests she now possesses in Canada."

Both the leaders prefer restrictive trade and favour multi-lateral trade agreement among different countries of the world because that will help them to have their raw materials at a low cost and a sure market at a high price. In this struggle, it is the backward members in both the blocs who are affected. In the recent conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers it has been urged by the British delegation to reduce dollar expenditure and spend economically their sterling balances. But several Commonwealth countries including India and Pakistan are reported to have been hesitant about further serious import cuts to stop the drain on the sterling area reserves. India is believed to have contended that a large proportion of her imports are essential foods and capital goods, required to support the Government's food production programme and therefore they could not be reduced. Import of consumers' goods is essential to fight price inflation in India. Similar views have been expressed by Pakistan as she had already done everything possible to restrict imports and she is determined not to favour any cuts in the national development plans.

The results of the Finance Ministers' Conference has not therefore been decisive. Nothing but assurance of consultation and co-operation are ensured in the talks. It is but natural that Mr. Churchill would fly to Washington to have secret talk with President Truman, and the final decision is to be arrived at in Washington, not in the London Conference.

The Economic Conflict

Two articles, reproduced here from *U. N. O. World* will amply justify the above contention. Mr. Charles Sawyer, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, analysed in a brief article the reasons as to why the Korean war has induced them to restrict their liberal trade policy.

In the years following World War II the U.S.A. with other nations aspired to rebuild the network of world trade. The war-devastated world was faced with the tremendous task of relief and reconstruction. The whole world had a vast backlog of demand, accumulated during the war. The only country able to meet this urgent demand was U.S.A. Consequently their export increased enormously while imports although rising, did not keep pace. This export surplus or dollar gap was the index of acute trading problems in the post-war world. Part of this gap was covered through liquidation of gold and dollar assets held by other nations. But these reserves were too limited. This led to the tightening of import and exchange control in order to restrict dollar purchases to essential commodities only. It was hoped that these trade restrictions could be lifted gradually as production reached higher levels. The widespread devaluation of currency in September, 1949, was undertaken to speed up exports while discouraging further purchase from dollar areas.

The first half of 1950 was, however, encouraging to the countries concerned. The shortage of dollar was fast diminishing. A wave of optimism began to sway the world economic situation.

But the outbreak of Chinese Communist aggression in Korea has materially altered the situation. The free nations of the world have made extraordinary efforts to build up their economic strength, the basis of military power. An increasing proportion of national output is being devoted to defence purposes. This mobilization of resources has produced serious economic problems and has retarded the progress of world trade temporarily.

Impressive production gains, both in U.S.A. and elsewhere, have created a massive need for raw materials. For many of these materials, such as manganese, chromium, nickel, tin, lead, aluminium, zinc and copper, U.S.A. depends on other countries. Western countries also demand huge amounts of the same materials to meet their present defence requirements and stockpiling. The combined demand caused severe shortages, endangering production. Prices of crude materials soared up rapidly. This has, of course, meant improvement in the balance of payments and increase in dollar earnings of many countries producing raw materials. But this increased money income spells inflation in those countries, unless effective control measures are undertaken. This inflationary trend has produced adverse repercussions on the industrial nations of the world. They are caught in the dilemma of importing more new materials to meet defence needs while cutting down export in order to divert the productive effort to rearmament.

In the midst of such a crisis it is but natural that those who have hoped only a short time ago to relax restrictions on trade and exchange rates, now claim that it would be difficult if not impossible to do so under present conditions.

Some active measures have been taken by U.S. to make mobilization effective within the country. To help other nations to raise their output as well, U.S.A. has given extensive loans for development of resources. An International organisation, "International Material Conference," has been established in order to prevent the development of supply bottlenecks in key raw materials. The difficulty of obtaining manufactured products is equally vital for many countries. U.S.A. export controls provide for equitable distribution of goods in short supply among foreign claimants.

The present period of extensive and world-wide mobilization has caused many difficulties for international trade. These problems can be solved only through hard work and whole-hearted co-operation and success depends upon the work of all.

Mr. Marcus Fleming, U. K.'s member of the

U. N. Economic and Employment Commission in 1950-51, defends Britain's policy of trade restrictions. He wrote that free trade was the lodestar of Great Britain's surge to wealth and industrial supremacy in the 19th century. But now the British stand accused of being the major stumbling-block to its operation. The truth is, however, that they did not abandon free trade lightly and are fighting to make possible its revival.

During World War II, British officials collaborated closely with the Americans in preparing blueprints for the Brave New World and later took part in bringing to birth the various agencies to act as watchdogs and guarantors of international good behaviour in the economic sphere. To execute that the restoration of the convertibility of sterling was thought to be essential as an interim policy. In 1946 and 1947, Britain made an attempt in this direction on the strength of large loans from Canada and U.S. But it was not possible, thanks to catastrophic decline in her reserves of foreign exchange. As time went on it became clear that Britain's expanded exports were not finding a big enough market in the dollar area. Nor were they competing with sufficient success with U. S. exports in third markets. This showed that the pound sterling was too high relative to the dollar and would ultimately have to be devalued. Improvement in Britain's external position which followed from devaluation in 1949, has paved the way for a new effort on Britain's part to remove trade restrictions. But in protesting at Torquay that Korea and rearmament were going to cause trouble for the balance of payments in 1951, Britain was not playing cassandra. Events have turned out even worse than expected, not only for Britain's own balance of payments but also—and this is what counts for the reserves—for that of the sterling area as a whole. Heavy rearmament expenditure and a catastrophic rise in the prices of imported food and materials may help to explain Britain's own current balance of payments difficulties. But they do not account for the dollar difficulties of the sterling area as a whole. Most of the sterling countries, on the contrary, have gone too far in allowing additional dollar imports. It is clear that in the sterling area as a whole inflationary pressure has once more been allowed to get out of hand. But it must be recognised that the high-pressure economic system, which prevails in Britain and other sterling area countries, purchases its domestic advantages at the cost of great external instability. If this should prove to be the principle towards which the economics of the West is gravitating, the norms of international economic good behaviour as defined at Bretton Woods and Havana will have to be radically revised and their basic principles reinterpreted in the light of the new conditions.

Egypt

The stormy events in Egypt rose to a crescendo on January 24 and January 25. Following the countrywide disturbances, King Faruk dismissed Nahas Pasha and appointed Aly Maher Pasha as Prime Minister as given in the following news-item which appeared on January 24. The situation remains critical in the extreme all the same.

One thousand Egyptian armed police and auxiliaries were reported to have surrendered to British armoured troops here on January 25 after a furious six-hour siege which reduced their buildings to shambles.

Unofficial British estimates said between 40 and 50 Egyptians were killed and about 60 wounded.

The Egyptian Minister of the Interior, Mr. Fuad el Din, was stated by the Arab newspaper *Al Zaman* to have ordered the Ismailia police commandant and his men "not to surrender but to resist the British to the last man and the last shot."

The British Commander, General Sir George Erskine who had ordered the disarming and removal of the police, described the auxiliaries as having consistently "aided and abetted the anti-British thug campaign in Ismailia."

The Egyptian police commander rejected all appeals to surrender.

It was reported from Cairo that the Egyptian Cabinet had been summoned to an emergency meeting to consider the situation.

British military authorities stated that the morning's action of 25th January at Ismailia "is in no sense an assumption of military Government, and has prior knowledge and full approval of the British Government."

General Erskine said he had ordered police guard companies in Ismailia to be disarmed and expelled from the Canal Zone.

He had "invited" the Governor of Ismailia to carry out this order and warned him that delay could not be accepted. If the "invitation" was not complied with, the British would disarm the police themselves "with such force as may be necessary." He added that a long series of events had left him no other course.

"The new Egyptian Government of Prime Minister, Aly Maher Pasha won a unanimous vote of confidence in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies when it faced Parliament for the first time on January 28.

"The new Premier was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. The Legislative Committee of the two Houses approved his decrees under which martial law was proclaimed throughout the country.

"Maher Pasha, faced with the task of securing the Wafd's support, had earlier decided to adjourn

Parliament for 30 days. Then his predecessor, Nahas Pasha, announced that Wafdist Senators and Deputies would vote for Maher Pasha as long as he continued to pursue their policy towards the British.

"King Farouk late last night (27th Jan.) dismissed Nahas Pasha and called on Aly Maher Pasha to form a new Ministry. Maher Pasha, who was once arrested by Nahas Pasha "for security reasons," immediately formed a new Cabinet of independents.

"In a broadcast at midnight the new Premier said his Government's policy 'remains the realization of the country's national aspirations, namely, the evacuation of British troops and the unity of the Nile Valley.'

"Maher Pasha's efforts will be directed towards reaching a new understanding with Britain, it is believed at Cairo. But his first task will be restoring confidence in the country and he will take a firm line in maintaining public security. Late last night (27th Jan.) he ordered the sealing off of the Socialist Party (Al Ishterakeya) headquarters at Cairo as a nationwide tightening of security measures. The order was his first major action as Premier. Later a military proclamation banned the assembly of more than four persons at any time of the day throughout the country. Penalties set for breaches of the ban were two years' jail, or five years if the culprit were found armed.

"The 31-year-old King took the drastic action dismissing his Premier after intensely nationalistic Nahas Pasha and his Wafd Party Cabinet had discussed for four hours' action following Saturday's (26th Jan.) riots in which at least 20 died and 200 were injured.

"It was disclosed at the Cabinet meeting that 300 people including extremists and well-known agitators had been arrested in police action after demonstrators in a day of arson and looting had wrecked the commercial area of the city.

"In his letter dismissing Nahas Pasha, the King said Nahas Pasha had 'failed to maintain peace and order in the country.'

"Aly Maher was also appointed Military Governor of Egypt. In addition to the Premiership, he holds the key posts of Foreign Affairs and War and Marine.

"Sir Ralph Stevenson informed the Egyptian Government on January 28 that the British Government held them responsible for loss of British life and damage to British property in 27th January's riots. The British Consulate-General investigating details of casualties in Cairo's week-end disturbances stated on January 28 that Colonel Anderson, a British engineer, reported dead on January 27, was, in fact, alive. Another wounded British soldier died on last night (27th Jan.) in Ismailia bringing the total British casualties in Friday's (25th Jan.) battle of the police

remained quiet night of 27th January, last and on January 28.

Cairo returned to normal on 28th January after a week-end of disturbances when mobs appeared to be in control for several hours. Streets have been tidied up overnight and on January 28, the traffic is again flowing in steady streams. Shops are reopening and the back-to-work movement is definitely under way. Egyptian troops are still out in force in the city.

"Between 20 and 30 young Wafdists went to Nahas Pasha's house, shouting: 'We won't recognize your dismissal.' Nahas came outside and told the demonstrators that he had asked King Farouk to relieve him of the Premiership. He said, 'Keep calm and do not demonstrate. I have been in touch with the new Premier and he has given me his word of honour that he will pursue my policy towards the British. Wafdist Senators and Deputies will vote for him as long as he does so.'

Indo-U.S. Technical Aid Agreement

On January 3 last was signed at New Delhi, an agreement between representatives of these two States, called "Point Four" Agreement. It is printed below:

"An Agreement was signed in New Delhi between India and the United States under which American financial assistance will be available for speeding up projects for the economic development of India. The Agreement was signed on behalf of India by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The U. S. Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles, signed on behalf of the Government of U.S.A.

"Under the Agreement, the Government of the United States of America have agreed to make a contribution of an amount of \$50 million which will be allocated by June 30, 1952, and deposited in a Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund. The Government of India have also agreed to contribute in rupees for the projects to be financed out of this Fund. Thus, it is estimated that the total amount available for the programme will be in excess of Rs. 50 crores or \$100 million.

"The projects financed by the Fund will be co-ordinated with the Five-Year Plan of the Government of India and will be administered in close co-operation with the Central and State Governments. Use of the Fund will be largely concentrated on projects which are aimed, primarily, at raising the level of agriculture and increasing the food production in the country. India's present dependence on imported food would be reduced in this manner. Food imports of India, which amount, on an average, to five million tons annually, cost the country about Rs. 250 crores (or about \$500 million) in foreign exchange which, otherwise, could have been used to develop much-needed

"Of major importance is the community development programme which has been tentatively agreed between the two Governments for financing out of this Fund. The programme contemplates setting up of about 50 rural-urban development areas in different parts of the country, each area consisting of about 200,000 people in about 300 villages. Many of these areas may be selected around the new river valley projects, while the location of some others will be around the new tube-well development projects financed by the Fund and also by the Central and the State Governments in India.

"The proposed rural-urban development programme is expected to draw upon the combined experience of the Uttar Pradesh Government at the Etawah Development Scheme and the newly-built townships for displaced persons at Faridabad and Nilokheri. At Etawah, it may be recalled, in three years' time 79,000 people from 102 villages, covering an area of 100 square miles, have demonstrated how with co-operative and planned endeavour food production can be substantially increased. They have also been successful in eliminating, to a large extent, malaria, rinderpest and other diseases. Considerable improvement in literacy has also been recorded. In Faridabad and Nilokheri again, in less than three years, good planning and enthusiastic co-operation of the people have enabled modern townships to be built with up-to-date housing, good schools, improved public health facilities and a wide variety of industrial opportunities.

"Some of the development projects will be financed on a loan basis and as repayments are made, the money will be used for new projects. It is also hoped that in future years funds will be forthcoming, in an increasing scale, to expand the work of the Fund.

"The Agreement provides for the creation of an Indian Central Committee which will determine the policies and provide general supervision of the projects undertaken. Members of the Committee will be appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Clifford Willson, representing the U. S. Technical Co-operation Administration in India, will be available as Consultant to this Committee. The Committee will be responsible for developing, in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States in India, the programmes of economic development and technical co-operation in which assistance provided by the Government of the United States of America can be most advantageously utilized.

"The Indo-American Fund in which the American contribution will be deposited will be administered jointly. An officer of the Central Ministry of Finance will be the Government of India's nominee for this purpose, while Mr. Clifford Willson, working under the general supervision of the U.S. Ambassador in India, will be the nominee of the U.S. Government.

As each project of economic development is approved by the Central Committee, finance will be provided out of this Fund and agreed by the joint administrators.

"Quarterly and project reports on the programme will be made by the Central Committee. The quarterly report will be an account of the progress made by the various projects while the project report will be a 'completion memorandum' containing a record of the work done, the objectives, financial contributions and other related data.

"An annual report will be prepared by the Government of India covering the progress of each project, its expected contribution to India's economic well-being and the accruals to and disbursements from the Indo-American Fund."

U.S.A.'s ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, has said that India did not seek American aid, and that it would be dangerous for both the countries to have the impression created that his country went out of her way to force some sort of aid on India to serve her particular "democratic" purposes one of which was to enlist the latter's help in fighting her cold war, ideological and material, with the Soviet Union. We wish Mr. Bowles success in his attempt at convincing his people, Senators and Representatives specially, of the enormity of such an offence to a people, sensitive to the least possible hint on the dignity of their newborn State. They should recall their own history, how the "Founding Fathers" of their Republic religiously avoided "entangling" alliances with European Powers, angling for advantages in the new world.

It was only when they felt strong, that they agreed at Canning's suggestion (Foreign Minister of Britain, in 1823) that they should declare that any European interference with the new world, would be regarded by them as a threat to their State. Monroe was President then, and the declaration has come to be known as "Monroe Doctrine." It has also to be said that without the support of the British Navy, Monroe would have been fool-hardy to throw a challenge almost to all European Powers, all except France, being monarchical autocracies. And because such an assurance came from Canning that the doctrine could be declared.

We desire also to a few words to our readers. Their fears that American aid would weaken their "neutral" position in foreign affairs, are based more on imagination or what has come to be known as "inferiority complex." Their fears may be justified or not. It all depended on how they faced the situation. If they were sincerely in support of their neutrality stand, they would cultivate the strength that would enable them to maintain it. This is the proper attitude to maintain. We may be weak in comparison with U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China, but we have as many people as the first four combined. And China's example has shown us how this strength can be

acquired. It has nothing to do with Communism, Totalitarianism, or Capitalist Democracy. Britain was strongest when she was aristocratic, glorifying over Plassey, Waterloo and Trafalgar, while mouthing the democratic slogans, "Stealing the Village Commons" from the common people, as Chesterton has expressively described it. This should be the last word in the controversy.

In this connection the following news-item that appeared in the daily press of January 23 is of interest.

"Further U. S. aid, amounting to \$2m (Rs. 1 crore), for India's development programme is expected in the current year under an agreement reached between the Indian Government and the Ford Foundation.

The agreement, copies of which were recently exchanged between and signed by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh and Mr. Hoffman, Director of the Foundation, provides for financial assistance from the Foundation in carrying out a rural extension service programme as part of India's five-year development plan.

The Foundation, it is stated in the agreement, believes that the general principles of the intensive rural development programme envisaged in the five-year plan 'are sound in conception and should result in increased food production and the betterment of village life in India.'

To begin with, the Government proposes to set up five centres in States for the training of the key personnel required to initiate and supervise agricultural, social welfare and medical extension services in 15 areas selected in States for development.

It is expected that in the next five years, sufficient trained personnel will pass out from these five training centres to help in such services in at least 15,000 villages. The experience gained from work in these areas will be passed on to other parts, thus building up an integrated multi-purpose extension service organization throughout India.

The Foundation will also consider the granting of financial aid to sound extension training programmes at a few selected higher educational institutions and of assistance to the Government and States in evaluating the work under way or planned.

Dr. Douglas Enslinger, a representative of the Foundation, who is expected to arrive in India soon, will approve allocation of funds available under the agreement to the five proposed training centres and the 15 intensive development projects."

Such aid should always be welcomed as it opens up the possibility of large-scale investigation and experiment with highly trained technical assistance abroad, which would not be obtainable otherwise.

Tunis

French colonialism has met with another challenge, this time on the northern shores of Africa. The people of Tunis in their turn are now aspiring after independence and are meeting with the same obduracy as before from the French.

"The local French Commander and nine others were killed and 25 wounded in rioting at Sousse about 60 miles south of Tunis on January 22.

Tunis itself was calm this morning after isolated incidents during the night. Shots were fired on two gendarmes of a night security patrol at Porto Farina near Bizerta killing one of them. A train was derailed between Sousse and Sfax. An explosion damaged the track between Sousse and Tunis. South of Sousse, telegraph poles were cut down.

Two people were wounded in shooting outside the French Resident-General's building at Tunis on January 21 in a demonstration following the arrest of Nationalist and Communist leaders.

About 50 detained by the police but released later included Serge Moatti, President of the Tunisian League of the Rights of Man.

Britain Warned of Bankruptcy

Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chairman of Lloyds Bank, warned on January 25 that Britain was at the brink of disaster. "In the past six months we have lost more than a third of our entire gold reserve," he said. "Another nine months at that rate and the last gold bar would be gone," he said.

If once Britain lost control of the value of the pound in international exchange "50m people cannot long survive on this island."

At Nottingham, Mr. Robert Carr, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, said on January 26 that Britain would be "literally and completely" bankrupt by the third week of August if the present rate of spending continued.

The country was running into debt at the rate of £25m a week, and if national credit broke down, as was likely to happen in such circumstances, "we should for all practical purposes be bankrupt from the middle of June," he said.

The Russo-German Alliance

The Russo-German Pact of August, 1939, that hastened the outbreak of the Second World War of the 20th century has yet to find its historian to reveal the sinister possibilities of such an alliance even today when Germany is down and out and Russia feels herself isolated in a world of growing State power called by Hobbes, The Leviathan.

An attempt has been made by A. Rossi whose book entitled as above has been reviewed in the American press. We publish extracts from what Alexander Dallas, Russian specialist of the *New York Times* wrote:

"*The Russo-German Alliance* is the revised edition of a book first published in France two years ago. Relatively little new material has come to light in the intervening period. Thus Mr. Rossi's task has been to pull together the available documents, including those bared at the Nuremberg Trials, in the Ciano Diaries, in the Hitler-Mussolini correspondence, as well as contemporary journalistic reports and—something new—a number of heretofore unpublished items from the captured German files of 1939-41. Mr. Rossi makes no claim to exhaustiveness. Indeed, it would be impossible to write in a semi-popular vein if one were to amass all the available detail. The result in this study is a certain selectivity which, on the whole, must be deemed successful.

"What remains in the reader's mind is effective pictures of the 1939 negotiations; the secret clauses of the Pact providing for the partition of the area between Germany and the U.S.S.R.; the cashing in on these terms by both sides: the partition of Poland; the watchful waiting of the U.S.S.R. while Germany conquered Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries and France; the aggrandizement of the Soviet Union in Baltic, Finland and Bessarabia; and the German build-up for the attack on its partner once it decided that Molotov's terms for a new partition agreement, this time involving virtually the entire Old World, went too far. Mr. Rossi does well to include in his treatment the less obvious ramifications of the Pact: the intensive Soviet propaganda campaign against Britain and France and in favor of the German "peace" campaign after the double stabbing of Poland; the economic and naval aid of the partners; the ideological concessions; and the effect of the Pact on German-Italian and Soviet-Japanese relations. (He fails, however, to go into such symptomatic problems as the turning over of anti-Nazi German refugees by the NKVD to the Gestapo, and the fate of the Polish Jews.)

"Some historians may wish to quarrel with a few of Mr. Rossi's interpretations. Perhaps he overstresses Stalin's commitment to the German gambit prior to August 1939, just as he seems to give excessive weight to Hitler's "obsession" to make peace with Britain in 1940.

"... a frustrated Molotov waits in vain for German approval of his draft for a four-power pact with the Axis, providing for the expansion of the Soviet Union into the Near East, toward the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Mr. Rossi shows how the Kremlin's abrupt about-face was blindly aped by obedient Communists throughout the world; and how ideology was subordinated to *Realpolitik* when the Pact made such a self-castration of Soviet vocal cords desirable.

"The Pact began an era of aggression for the Soviet State, an era that continues to this day. For what Germany failed to accord its one-time accom-

plise, the Western Allies permitted Moscow to acquire a few years later. Thus, in Mr. Rossi's correct conclusion, 'the break between Hitler's Germany and Soviet Russia was' not only an act of unilateral aggression, but a 'break between two imperialist programs'."

This story of "dual duplicity" should teach us in India that what the Anglo-Saxon negotiators in the Kashmir affair have been doing is justified by recent history. Perhaps, this duplicity has even been a State's safety measure.

The Revolt in Nepal

The attempted *coup de etat* which failed in Khatmandu, has left in its train an obscure position in Nepal. Some light has been thrown on it by the following official statement, but as yet our anxiety regarding our neighbour remains unallayed:

"As told by the Nepalese Ambassador on January 24 the story of the insurrection confirms earlier reports that the revolt was planned by the chief ringleader, Dr. K. I. Singh, with the assistance of a part of the Raksha Dal.

It appears that Dr. Singh was detained in a part of Singha Durbar, which also houses the Government Secretariat. His guards consisted of members of the Raksha Dal, with whom he was in constant communication.

After releasing Dr. Singh, the rebel section of the Raksha Dal, comprising about 1,200 of the total of nearly 5,000, took charge of Singha Durbar. As the Raksha Dal also served as guards at the airfield and the Broadcasting House, they had no difficulty in capturing these either.

All this occurred at about midnight on Tuesday. By 11 the following morning, however, State troops had retaken the airfield and, according to the Nepalese Ambassador, the other rebel-held places by about 3 p.m.

Apparently before the Government forces re-entered Singha Durbar, Dr. K. I. Singh had managed to escape, along with 'less than 100 armed followers.' He was last reported to be going south along the bank of the river Bagmati.

It is understood that Dr. Singh left Khatmandu in a Raksha Dal jeep which he abandoned after some distance. He is now being pursued by State troops and warrants for his arrest have been communicated to the district authorities by wireless.

Among the rebels who have already been arrested are two senior leaders, including Mr. Agni Prasad Khara, whose home is in Eastern Nepal. About 800 rebel members of the Raksha Dal have also been captured. It seems that there was not much fighting, the only casualty mentioned by the Nepalese Ambassador being one rebel killed and two wounded.

Referring to reasons for the Raksha Dal's participation in the revolt, the Ambassador spoke of discontent in the force over their conditions of service.

Presumably they felt, he added, that, having put the Congress into power, members of the Dal deserved a better reward.

For some time before the insurrection occurred proposals were being considered to disband the Dal and, as far as possible, to find alternative employment for the retrenched personnel. It is now likely that there will be a "major change of policy" towards the Dal.

Apart from what the Nepalese Ambassador stated today, circumstantial evidence points to the conclusion that the revolt may be linked with two main factors. Leftist inspiration is regarded as the more important.

It is well-known that Dr. K. I. Singh himself was closely connected with elements in Nepal who consider the cease-fire of January 1951 a 'betrayal' of the struggle for independence.

When the cease-fire was followed by the Nepalese Congress's participation in the new Government, it was represented by the extremist section as an unwise compromise with the Ranas. Dr. Singh was among those who continued to indulge in anti-Government activities thereafter.

Since then there has been talk of the growing strength of the Communist Party in Nepal, whose grievance against the present Koirala Government was that it leaned heavily towards Right-wing opinion. For that reason the Government's close association with India was not always popular.

It is significant that in his interview yesterday with a *PTI* correspondent, Dr. K. I. Singh said that the rebels demanded 'an all-party Government, including the Communists but excluding reactionary parties like the Gurkha Dal.'

It is assumed that when in the course of his interview Dr. Singh said that he desired 'relations with foreign Powers on the basis of equality and not on a footing of special friendship with any country,' he may have been thinking of India.

Perhaps the second important factor leading to the disturbances was internal rivalries and disagreement among Nepalese leaders themselves.

A particularly regrettable feature of the insurrection is the part played by the Raksha Dal. This organization constituted a volunteer force of the Nepalese Congress during its struggle against the Ranas and about 5,000 of them were retained as home guards."

Mr. Churchill's American Visit

Mr. Churchill's statements before the U. S. Congress were cryptic. But it is likely that it would have repercussion in quarters not in the direct reckoning of party politics, as the following news-item shows:

Mr. Churchill will return here on January 28, carry-

ing political dynamite which threatens to split the Labour Party wide open on Far Eastern policy.

The key question, which he alone can answer, is what he meant by his promise to the U. S. Congress to support "resolute and effective" action if the Chinese Communists violated a truce in Korea.

If he meant only the bombing of Chinese air bases in Manchuria, and says so, the moderate Socialists led by Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison, ex-Foreign Secretary, will support him, according to authoritative Labour sources here.

The Bevanites have already left no doubts that they will fight tooth and nail any proposal to take action against Chinese territory whether Manchurian bases or any other target.

If, however, Mr. Churchill tells Parliament next week he is prepared for a limited war, such as bombing of the Chinese mainland, then both the Right and Left wings of the Labour Party will unite solidly against him.

Their weekly journal *Tribune*, in a front page editorial on January 24 thought to be written by Mr. Bevan's chief propagandist, Mr. Michael Foot, charged Mr. Churchill with "giving a dangerous twist to British policy on an issue of supreme importance in a manner which might accelerate the world's drift to war."

"In Defence of Freedom"

Under this title, Doctor Radha Binod Pal, the eminent judge who represented India at the War Crimes trial held to punish the Japanese war-lords and their accomplices, writes an article which has become all-important in view of the forces of democratic and totalitarian encroachment of our freedom of speech and movement. Liberty of the Press has become a plaything of Executive whim, and people's right to live more about freely is subject to the same menace.

There is nothing peculiarly new in the discussion of Doctor Pal. But old things need repetition to bring people to their senses.

"The maintenance of India as a free society confronts us with an immediate responsibility in two areas in particular: civil rights and civil liberties. We shall have to erect our own structure of freedom and it certainly would take us years. It is not so much our idealism which will give that structure strength, and certainly we cannot altogether ignore the possibility of occasional betrayal of such idealism. But if we have within us the capacity to realize that there has been such a betrayal and to feel the consequent remorse adequately, then, and then only, there will be the possibility of erecting any such structure and of giving it requisite strength.

"The history of free countries is full of such instances. The result of each crime against freedom in truly free countries, however, has been to make it

harder for the people to destroy freedom in the next stage of fright and hysteria. The American history throws illuminating light on this field. In the wake of the undeclared hostility against France in 1789 came the notorious 'Alien and Seditious Acts.' The free people of America obviously could not long endure such laws, and Adams was beaten in the next election.

"The great national nightmare—the one from which the American people woke up with the deepest sense of horror—was the 'witch-hunt' staged by Attorney-General A. Mitchel Palmer after the First World War. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Alien Act of 1918 had given the Government broad powers to arrest persons whose offences might range all the way from treason down to grumbling. Writings such as 'I am for the people and the Government is for the profiteers' sufficed to condemn the writer to a sentence of ten-year jail. Men were thrown into jail for hot words overheard in trains, in hotel lobbies or even around the dinner table in the boarding house."

This instance from the greatest democracy of the modern age should be sufficient to make us wary of the same phenomenon developing in India.

As Others See Us

The *New York Time*, one of the brightest of American weeklies, devoted a study on the causes and consequences of the mass killings that appear to have destroyed for the time being all hope of decent, civilized life in India, and has "undermined" the confidence of Asia in India's "leadership." The writer attempted a historic analysis of the conditions that favoured the outbreak during March-December, 1947:

"... by the time the British reached India, both Hindu and Moslem were deeply immersed in hate, deeply conscious of dispossession before the British dispossessed both. Through all the changes, Kali, both as mother and as evil, persevered so that when freedom came there were more Indians than ever to hate each other, more intensively than ever."

He appears to share Macaulay's opinion that India was "a decomposed society," and finds excuses for British failure when he suggests that "even" they "could not establish law; they merely kept order." and when British hands were withdrawn, India staged a massacre and not a war. For, "a decomposed society cannot make war, which requires law, authority, organization." Thus, during six weeks "India and Pakistan were beneath war." He explained it:

"Although leaders of the two States are in different degrees responsible for agitating or at least for misunderstanding the communal hatred, the appalling fact is that most of the killing was unorganized and spontaneous. In this case, a rare and significant one, the State power was not guilty. As for armaments, the massacres in India and Pakistan were as far removed as possible from modern war or from the gas chambers of Maidanek.

'The murderers with whom we are dealing used knives, chisels, ropes, hockey sticks, screw-drivers, bricks and slender fingers.'

This is an interpretation of the genesis of the fear and the rancour that drove millions into madness. He called attention to the fact that for centuries "Moslem, Hindu and Sikh had lived side by side, if not in harmony, at least in uneasy tolerance." But what happened is explained in the following analysis, an approach to the heart of the truth:

"Hindu and Sikh and Moslem tolerated each other, in so far as they did so, not through love or virtue but because each community was aware that its rival did not possess the power to coerce it into a hated way of living. Neither the Rajputs, nor the Moguls, nor the British ever established in India a State whose police reached out to the ordering of people's daily lives. Now, with independence, with the possibility of modern States, each community saw behind the other the shadow of the Policeman and the propagandist. The Indian communities rushed into violence not to seize power, but out of the fear of the power that was about to fall into the hands of others. And this is a primal fear, deeper than rivalries between such nations as have already known and submitted to police power wielded in their own names."

A Hindu colour to his study when he used the name of "Kali, goddess of death and catastrophe, wife-conqueror of the eternal Siva, the dancer," though he recognized that it was not "in Kali's name" that "the 1,00,000 were killed." But he could not forget this dreadful goddess of the Hindu Pantheon. He concluded with a reference to her, and with a note of hope that things will get better:

"Yet in spite of Kali the Destroyer and because of Kali the mother. India has been and is a great and ancient land, a well-spring and tabernacle of some of the most inspired conceptions of the divine will in man which man has ever dreamed of: and more lately a fount of brotherhood, and among the nations, a preacher of peace. If India could descend to the depths, it could also look up to moral Himalayas. Its recent sin was great, but not unique, especially not unique in origin. It sprang from Kali, from the dark and universal fear which rests in the slime on the blind sea-bottom of biology."

The Hindu is not peculiar in this destroyer-preserver idea. Christ spoke of the sword, and behind it shone the preserver who rebuilt and renovated humanity by love. And the point we want to emphasize that the partition and its consequences must be minimized by some sort of "association," formal or informal, as Sri Aurobindo said in one of his birth-day (August 15) messages. Then only can India and Pakistan, act as leader of new Asia hand in hand with China.

Hirakud Dam

We are glad that Hirakud has escaped the song and dance by the Tin gods of New Delhi, as was the

case when the Damodar Valley project came up before the Parliament. But all the same we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the following news-item, just to show that the Hirakud project, though it is directly under the Central Government's executives, is also going to cost almost double the amount originally estimated:

The Government of India have appointed a three-man expert committee to examine the revised estimate for the construction of the Hirakud Dam.

The committee will make its recommendations to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research on the following points:

1. The technical feasibility of the project; and
2. Economics of the project as a whole with special reference to irrigation and power generation.

The committee consists of Mr. S. C. Mazumdar, Consulting Engineer to the Government of West Bengal (Chairman), Mr. M. L. Champhekar, Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, Bombay, and Mr. T. J. Mirchandani, Chief Engineer, Bombay Electrical Grid.

The members will "commence their work immediately" to submit their report within three weeks.

The project was originally estimated to cost Rs. 47.8 crores but, on account of the general rise in prices both in India and abroad, devaluation, increase in wages, and extension of the scope of the project, the original estimate became obsolete and a revised estimate was prepared, according to which the project is expected to cost about Rs. 87 crores. The Government of India consider it necessary that this revised estimate should be reviewed by a committee of experts.

India's Navy

The recent unfortunate incident in Calcutta, in which an unruly mob of sightseers broke through the police cordon in their eagerness to view I.N.S. *Delhi*, and caused a disaster in which ten unfortunate persons were thrown into the river and drowned, has focussed public attention on our Navy. The details of that unfortunate incident are given in the following Press Note:

The Government of West Bengal in a Press Note on Saturday (January 26) night said:

"I.N.S. *Delhi*, which is in Calcutta port for a week, was kept open on January 24, 25, 26 and 27 between 9 a.m. and 12 noon to organized batches of students and between 2 p.m. and 4-30 p.m. to members of the public, admission being strictly regulated by issue of cards. Batches of 50 card-holders each were to be admitted every half an hour.

"This afternoon at about 3-15 there was a crowd of over 5,000 people on the foreshore wanting to be admitted to see the ship. Batches of 50 persons were being admitted as arranged, the civil and military police regulating the crowd and naval ratings arrang-

ing their transport by a boat and admission into the ship.

"At this stage there was a rush of people, mostly those not holding admission cards, on the gangway trying to come to the pontoon landing. The police had effectively kept back the crowd on the foreshore all the time, but after this the crowd came on to the gangway, some people even hanging to the railings from the outside. The railings of the gangway collapsed under this heavy weight in about a length of 30 feet on the south. It may be mentioned that the Prinsep moorings gangway has strong iron railings of double bars on both sides.

"About 50 persons were pushed into the river under the pressure of the crowd from behind. A boat belonging to the West Bengal Fisheries Department and another to Messrs. Assam-Bengal Cement Company were present very near the gangway, and boatmen immediately managed to rescue a large number of people. The 'skin divers' of the Port Commissioners also rushed to the spot, and a search was started which continued until about 7 p.m. Eight dead bodies were recovered, seven of which have been identified by their relations and friends."

Mournful as that disaster was it shows the amount of interest the public has in the Navy.

December 22nd was celebrated all over India as her "Navy Day" recalling to her people the present and past exploits of this arm of the State. During the previous regime, niggardliness and distrust had characterized its attitude towards India and her people. Of the past we can all be proud. India's ship had sailed over the waves of the eastern seas and oceans; her citizens had colonized far-flung islands even in the Pacific, carrying her culture to them. Tamilians, Oriyas, Bengalis, Marathas and Gujaratis had taken part in these activities. And today they are descendants prepared to play their part in emergencies threatening their sea routes. It is, therefore, the State's duty to train up these maritime peoples to meet the demands of naval warfare.

We know that there has been no neglect on the part of the Government, but there is a disposition to blame the people for their easy-going habits and soft ways. But when put to the test, our young men have proved their willingness to learn on board ship at Cochin, Bombay, Vizagapatam and Calcutta. Even people inland are capable of doing this job. The bogey of "martial races" has no reason to exist.

A Central Government Report describes what has been done during the year that is just ended. It was devoted, we are told, by the Indian Navy for the most part to the further consolidation of the Service and towards perfecting the functional efficiency of sailors and ships.

I.N. warships carried out four 'flag-showing' goodwill cruises to some of our neighbouring countries, which gave them a cordial welcome.

Commanded by Captain B. S. Soman, INS *Jumna* and *Cauvery* of the Frigate Flotilla received a rousing reception during their five-week visit to ports in Iran, Iraq and Arabia during the opening months of the year.

The senior ship of the I.N. Destroyer Flotilla, I.N.S. *Rajput* (commanded by Captain A. Chakraverti) steamed to Australia to represent India at the Commonwealth Jubilee celebrations held there in January last. Later, on an invitation by the Government of New Zealand, the *Rajput* paid a brief courtesy visit to New Zealand.

During all these cruises next to 'showing the flag,' the emphasis was laid on sea training of the Navy's officers and men. Forming, as it does, an integral part of a Naval career sea training was also the main purpose of various combined air-sea exercises carried out by the Squadron during the year.

Exercises, tactical or otherwise, apart from providing opportunities for training our young men, also help to keep the Navy in sound functional fitness. The I.N. Squadron had many exercises in the Indian Ocean with ships of the East Indies Squadron and aircraft of the R.A.F. Coastal Command and the Indian Air Force. One such series, termed as Staff College Exercises, was carried out mostly for the benefit of the officer-students of the Defence Services Staff College at Wellington. To these future staff officers of the three Services, it is essential to work with and know the sister Services as the defence of a country, to a very great extent, depends on the successful co-ordination of the Services.

As a further step to the building up of a balanced naval force, the I.N. Squadron witnessed the formation of the Minesweeping Flotilla comprising I.N.S.'s *Konkan*, *Madras*, *Rohilkhand* and *Rajputana*. With improved forms of mine warfare being devised from time to time the importance of mine-sweepers is becoming ever-greater.

Hydrographic survey of the country's coast received more attention this year in view of its importance to our ships as well as the visiting foreign ships. The survey is carried out by I.N. Marine Survey Organisation which consists of the survey ship I.N.S. *Investigator* and some auxiliary craft. Plans are afoot for the expansion of this organisation and the setting-up of a hydrographic office.

To provide the necessary scientific guidance the nucleus of a Naval Scientific Research Wing started functioning under the control of a Scientific Adviser.

With the ultimate object of providing the entire naval training for our officers and men in India, instead of continuing the present practice of sending them to U. K. for advanced courses, the plans and programmes of the training centres ashore were geared to a higher pitch. Shortly, it is hoped, that the Navy would be in a position to provide facilities ashore as

well as afloat for the necessary advanced training of our personnel.

In the sphere of naval commands, the year witnessed some changes of far-reaching importance. Capt. A. Chakraverti and Capt. B. S. Soman were appointed to two of the key positions—Captain Superintendent of I. N. Dockyard and Naval Officer-in-Charge of Vishakhapatnam respectively—hitherto held by British officers. Posts of commanding and executive officers of all the ships of the fleet were 'Indianised.' Today in the I.N. Squadron, comprising hundreds of officers and men, only two are British including the Rear-Admiral Commanding the I. N. Squadron, Rear-Admiral N. V. Dickinson who took over from Rear-Admiral G. Barnard in October last.

To meet the Navy's medical needs at its premier base, Bombay, the first Indian Naval Hospital known as I.N.H.S. *Asvini* was formally commissioned on September 18. This has made possible training our medical personnel in the study and treatment of ailments and disabilities peculiar to the sea.

The year saw some progress in the development of Naval Aviation. In mid-1950, owing to financial stringency, the development was restricted to the formation of a shore-based Fleet Requirement Unit. Subsequently, the number of officers and ratings under training as pilots and artificers, etc., in U. K. and India, has increased. While the blue-prints of future plans and programmes were being worked out at N. H. Q., field work had been in full swing at Cochin.

History Congress

Doctor Sardesai presided over the last session of this Congress held at Jaipur during the last week of December, 1951. Rightly did he emphasize in his speech that "the nationwide awakening in India emphasised the duty of Indian scholars to contribute something solid and worthy of world acceptance to the task of unveiling India's life through the centuries. The search for original materials must be incessantly carried on by scholars both in and outside the country. In the archives of the royal houses as well as in private families in Bundelkhand, Malwa and the Doab there are still manuscripts to be found which are likely to throw much light on our country's history. The *Akhbarat* of Jaipur running into 39 volumes were utilised by Dr. J. N. Sarkar for writing a history of Jaipur which has not yet been published."

Again, "history should no longer be a preserve of the high-brow, a dainty available to a select few." He spoke of history "as an agency of social service" and suggested a new synthesis of cultures by scholars who devoted themselves to the amelioration of the lot of distressed humanity."

The note struck here of concern for distressed humanity is no new thing in India. Prophets and saints, social legislators have spoken of avoiding personal salvation as long one created being was in distress. Acharya Saradesai has repeated that soul's

cry. And he came to concrete duties when he asked our research students to assess the value of their past on the touch-stone of what European scholars have said. Their contribution to unearthing this past must, he said, be gratefully acknowledged. There might have been political bias in interpreting Britain's record in India. But this was amply compensated by Max-Muller and others. It would be useless to engage in this controversy. It would be more useful to take up the burden from where these men and women left them.

One remark tempted to make against the office of annual conference like those of the Jaipur History Congress. They do not care to send us the addresses of presidents, and we have to depend on the daily press for summaries generally. This is a bad practice.

Mass Retrenchment at Sealdah

Commotion prevails at Sealdah at the rumour of mass staff-retrenchment. They want absorption in their home area. 'Cut the strength of Sealdah Division,' has become the very principle of the high authorities of E. I. Railway Administration. Job Analysis working was started sometime back in different places of this highly-concentrated border division of the Railway and it has been common knowledge now that nearly 150 staff of the Sealdah Goods are going to be declared surplus, who would await orders of transfer to the furthest corners of E. I. Railway. Retrenchment will yield approximately a saving of Rs. 1,50,000 per year.

The Job Analysis department was formed mainly to adjust the railway workers in different departments according to the awards of the Adjudicator but it is now found that this department has been made to function as a retrenchment machinery. The importance of Sealdah Goods has, in fact, been reduced after the partition but no effort has ever been made by the Chief Commercial Manager as well as the Divisional Superintendent, Sealdah, to revitalise this important commercial centre by diverting traffic from Howrah and other local areas and also by introducing traffic with the extension of facilities to the merchants who are close to the Sealdah Area.

It is remoured that the surplus people including 150 unfortunates of Sealdah Goods will not have any room in the Sealdah Division although there are many stations where remains the acute demand of additional staff for a better and smoother working. For example, Canning, Diamond Harbour, Birnagar, Krishnagar City, Nabadwip Ghat, Beldanga and Berhampore Court and many other important stations may be mentioned to require additional staff for the efficient performance of various commercial duties that would help in the substantial increase of railway revenue."

The above we quote from the *Railway Labour*, organ of the Railwaymen of India. We feel that there is reason behind this protest. And it is up to Shree Gopalaswamy Iyengar, Transport Minister, to look

into the matter. It is not sufficient that the virtues of railway grouping should be extolled. It may be necessary to retrench. But the first duty of the Administration, claiming to act on behalf of a Welfare State, to see that the people retrenched are provided for. They possess technical knowledge and skill. It is bad economy, therefore, to get rid of this knowledge and skill.

The Food Problem

Shree Prafulla Chandra Sen, West Bengal's Food Minister, spoke with responsibility on December 19 last detailing the many factors that have been making this problem such a terrifying one for India, and our State specially. The West Bengal Rural Welfare Society organized this meeting, and the Minister produced certain facts of the situation which demanded of us reciprocal sense of responsibility.

The Food Ministers of India, Central and Provincial, had met at an emergency Conference at Bombay ending their deliberations on the 13th December. They arrived at a 'six-point conclusion' to tackle the problem. These are: (1) As a result of natural calamities in all except four States, the food position in the country has been very grave. Apart from internal difficulties, the international situation has been growing difficult. It is affecting both availabilities and shipping. It is, therefore, imperative to take all possible steps in accordance with a unified policy and direction to meet the critical situation during the year 1951.

(2) The misunderstanding in the country as regards the self-sufficiency pledge should be cleared. According to this, foreign imports have to be stopped by March 31, 1952, except for—(a) building up reserve, (b) making good diversion to other crops in national interests; and (c) meeting the deficiency arising from natural calamities.

It is implied in the pledge that the deficit areas have to be helped by the country as a whole thereafter. But so far as the coming year is concerned, the pledge does not interfere with securing sufficient import. The target of import for 1951 is fixed at 3.7 million. At the same time, international situation might create unexpected difficulties for which the country must be ready.

(3) Any theoretical consideration of control or decontrol is out of question in the context of the present situation. The controlled economy in the matter of food-grains must continue. The price level has to be maintained in so far as it may be practicable. Distribution arrangements must continue to be controlled and directed with suitable adjustments. Austerity measures must be stiffened.

(4) As regards the nature of control and the manner in which it should be enforced, each State should, in consultation with the Centre, maintain the arrangements which best serve the purpose of meeting the situation in the State in the coming year.

(5) The grow-more-food drive and controls are part of an integrated system, and every step should be taken by the States to see that interdependent activities are controlled by a uniform and effective policy and that till the next 'kharif' season efforts should be made to grow short-term supplementary food in the areas wherever it is possible.

(6) The situation though critical is under control and the Centre and the States are mobilising all available resources to see that the country is enabled to face it with as little hardship as possible. At the same time the public will appreciate that under no circumstances should they give way to panic, which only aggravates the situation without providing any remedy.

India's President

The decision of Babu Rajendra Prasad to retire from his position of dignity and of ultimate responsibility for his people's uplift will be widely felt. We sympathize with and share his feelings and that of his family and friends, that he has put forth enough energy in the discharge of his office, that a life-long arithmetic could do by a supreme effort of will and moved by the idealism of a born *sadhaka*. Happily all his *sadhana* was directed towards the attainment of socio-political freedom. This was from 1905 to 1917. And when in 1918 Gandhiji emerged into Indian politics Rajendra Prasad had no choice but to surrender and dedicate the superb powers to this creator of new India.

For about thirty-six years he has followed the path of peaceful revolution, "open" rebellion; and at its end he retires with the blessings and good wishes of all men and women, Indian and foreign. Though none is indispensable in God's economy, Rajendra Prasad's place will be hard to fill up. It must have been raising India's Prime Minister, "the dictator" of the Congress and his advisers, no end of trouble to fix upon an adequate successor.

Animal Service Society

Mira Bahin (Sister Mira), Gandhiji's English disciple Miss Slade, has silently devoted herself to the service of animals, specially the dumb, driven cattle. In an appeal, recently published, she made out a case which is the best under Indian economy which depends so much on what the West calls "animal husbandry." These animals are the producers of the biggest industry in the country, the yearly value of which is more than rupees one thousand crores (Vide *The Cow in India* by Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, West Bengal).

Mira Bahin said that "it is a project of broad dimensions. It aims at nothing less than the realization of a form of society based on Bapu's ideals in which man and his animals combine with Nature in creating a simple, self-sufficient, healthy and happy life, which, if successful, can be used as a model for indefinite extension, and carries in it Bapu's message

of world peace. Without decentralization and simplification there is little hope for man's survival as a sane and healthy being, judging by the way modern civilization is developing. The whole world over, thinking people are beginning to realize this truth.

In nearly 3,000 acres of scattered woods and grazing lands, where 300 acres have already been cultivated, it is proposed to establish co-operative cultivators, and co-operative village craftsmen, and every family is to keep two or three cows. For, is not the cow the indispensable foundation and support of our village life? In this way also it will be possible to instil true service of the cow in family life. Go Seva (Cattle Service) societies will also be formed with the neighbouring cattle-keepers, and a special feature of the cow service is a big Hirbal Pashushala (for old and unproductive cattle) already established, for which we hope to obtain the loving services of Sadhus who are true devotees of our Go Mata (Mother Cow). The old cows who come here to spend their last days, are so pathetic, and it cuts me to the heart if I cannot provide for them all the sympathetic care they need. This is a true service for true Sadhus.

The Uttar Pradesh Government is helping nobly, but the public must join hands. No extensive work of this kind, needing all the freedom of initiative as it does, can be achieved only through Government aid, without public sympathy and public funds."

She asks votaries of this ideal to write to her. Pashulok, Po. Rishikesh (U. P.).

The claims about "world peace" may not prove a solution. But as an economic proposition, all can join the project and help to extend it.

Milk Supply of Calcutta

The Corporation of Calcutta propose to observe a week of "Better Milk" for the citizens, specially for children. In view of this we desire to draw attention to a speech delivered by Doctor Lalchand Sikka to a recent meeting of the Rotary Club. As Director of the Haringhata "Milk Town," a colony about 35 miles distant from Calcutta, with vast schemes of improvement in milk-supply, in cattle-raising, in poultry and dairy products, this speech deserves notice as a contrast to Bombay's Are "Milk Town" scheme and the Ananda scheme in Gujarat.

Doctor Lalchand's speech appears to be a routine business; it adds very little to our knowledge of what we got in 1949. His reference to cow and buffalo milk and a hit at the former is out of date. Otherwise Gandhiji would not have thought so highly of the former's value. The controversy over "toned milk" will continue to confuse people milk experts' opinion notwithstanding.

We used to get occasional reports about Haringhata. But we do not do so now. Bengal's Food Minister, Shree Prafulla Chandra Sen, is busy with elections, and there appears to be no one in his office to prod this particular department. The Bombay

Government is very keen about their projects, and from 1949 to the present day, officials and non-officials are found advertising its success. Even the Prime Minister of India took a hand in the matter.

The history of the Are Scheme is given below:

"Some time ago Government appointed Mr. M. D. Bhat, I.C.S., as the Milk Commissioner of Bombay and a scheme to supply milk to the city was undertaken, but it cost a crore and thirty lacs of rupees to Government and gave satisfaction to nobody as the quality of milk was far from satisfactory. Government then made a thorough inquiry of the problem of milk supply and several aspects of the trade were brought to the notice of the public. Most of the animals live in very insanitary conditions. They are stalled and are required to remain tied down in their stables all the twenty-four hours of the day and night. This kind of life makes them unfit for calf-bearing. They become dry much earlier on this account. When they become dry, they are sold to butchers for a fraction of their original price. A new milking buffalo costs Rs. 800 but a dry one is sold for about 200. Most of the calves are neglected and have to die as there is no place to keep them. The milk dealer allows them to die because he does not think it necessary to keep them alive. Besides, if a calf grows and has horns it is charged rent and licence fee. So it is killed before it has horns. The economic aspect of the business is such that dealers in milk have to get their profits and all expenses from the milk of an animal obtained in one lactation period. A buffalo is purchased for Rs. 800. For eight months it gives milk. Then it becomes dry and is sold to a butcher for Rs. 200. This loss of Rs. 600 is to be recovered from the milk sold in eight months. In addition to this all the expenses of maintaining the animal, rent, licence fee, servants' wages and profits of the trade are to be obtained from the same milk. This is an impossibility and hence the Government undertook to launch a scheme for the production and distribution of milk. The old scheme which was only a short-term measure was dropped and with the best efforts of Messrs. M. D. Bhat and D. N. Khurody a long-term scheme was prepared. The present Milk Colony is the final development of this idea."

The aims and objects are of the usual type. But the following facts are worth telling again:

"It is expected that this model colony of thirty units accommodating 15,000 animals will cost more than two crores of rupees. Arrangements are being made for water supply, electrical connections, veterinary hospitals, malaria prevention, disposal of dead animals and manure. A central dairy for collection, processing and distribution of milk will soon be set up and every care will be taken to produce clean healthy milk and to distribute it to consumers. Milk will be produced under good supervision and the work of distribution will be done under Government supervision. So far as the work of the constructing of units

is concerned, it is necessary to congratulate Government upon the promptness shown in completing the work of construction. On the 13th of March 1949, when the ceremony of opening the colony was performed people had an opportunity of seeing it.

"Milk production is a village industry and the experience of Kaira District which is very valuable in this respect, should teach us that *the industry cannot be worked on factory lines*. It is the village farmer who does the business of producing good milk. People who are engaged in this business know 'the inherent weakness of the trade. Whoever has done work among buffalo-keepers is aware of the fact that keeping a buffalo which is stall-fed is an uneconomic proposition. Buffaloes can be maintained with profit where grazing land is plentiful. Even in villages where pastures for grazing are not sufficient, farmers hesitate to keep buffaloes. The cow is a cheaper animal to maintain, but we neglected her and gave undue preference to the animal which wants more food and appears to give more milk. A cow requires a smaller quantity of food and gives nearly the same quantity of milk if we take the total yield of the lactation period. In the Agriculture College of Poona figures were recorded which prove that there is not much difference between the total yield of the two animals. The average yield from cows was 7 pounds 12½ ounces, whereas the average from buffaloes was 7 pounds and 2 ounces. It is only in India that a buffalo has become more important than a cow. In all other countries the cow is the only animal which gives a better yield. Besides a cow by scientific processes of improvement can increase its yield enormously; it has been proved that in the fifth generation or in about 20 years a cow can increase its yield cent per cent. It may be noted, however, that buffaloes are not responsive as cows in the matter of this improvement. The cow which is thus proved to be a better animal requires less food, has a shorter dry period, and gives a good supply of bullocks which are so much valued by cultivators. In India we are thus maintaining two sets of animals, the buffalo which is supposed to be a good milker, but is found by many people to be uneconomic and the cow which is neglected and therefore gives less milk, but is necessary for supplying bullocks as useful animals. Experiments made at Wardha also go to prove that there are cows yielding 12 to 20 pounds of milk every day. We have neglected their breeding and they have got the bad reputation as bad milkers."

Doctor Sikka's speech contained a complaint against Calcutta's milk suppliers. But why should they be found more indisciplined than Bombay's? The majority of them come from the same area in the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as the Calcutta people. In Bombay, they are known as *Bhaiyas*, and we had occasion to give their history in these columns only recently. We hope the authorities concerned in West Bengal will do the needful in the matter in the light of these criticisms.

GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

By His Excellency Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Governor of West Bengal

II

THE GANDHI-IRWIN PACT AND THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The First Round Table Conference lasting from the 12th November, 1930 to the 19th January, 1931, in which Congress went unrepresented was full of an air of unreality and the necessity of associating in its labours representatives of the largest and the most influential political organisation in the next meeting was realised. Gandhiji and the members of the Working Committee were given their freedom on the 26th January, 1931 to ensure freedom of discussion among themselves in regard to the desirability or otherwise of participation at the next meeting of the Round Table Conference. In due course came the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of the 5th March, 1931, the seventh item of which reads as follows:

"In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended."

The prohibition campaign carried on in 1930 during the major part of which Gandhiji was in prison drew additional strength from the above assurance that non-violent picketing would not be interfered with and it began to be conducted with still greater energy and effectiveness than before. This was because Congress workers faithfully observed certain specific instructions issued by Gandhiji which have been summarised by the historian of the Congress in the following terms:

"1. The seller or the purchaser cannot be treated discourteously.

"2. Volunteers cannot prostrate themselves before the shops or before the vehicles.

"3. They cannot raise shouts as raised at the time of mourning. (Cries of *Hai! Hai!*).

"4. Effigies cannot be burnt or buried.

"5. Even if he is boycotted, one cannot stop a shop-keeper or a purchaser purchasing his provision or other necessities. But one cannot go to his place for dinners or accept any services from him.

"6. Fasts and hunger-strikes cannot be resorted to under any circumstances. Fasts could only be resorted to in case of a breach of contract, and when the parties respect and love each other."

The most important three out of many articles which give detailed information about the results achieved during the second phase of the campaign

coming after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact are as follows: The first (*Young India*, July 16, 1931) describes the success of the movement among the poorer classes in Malabar, the second (*Young India*, July 30, 1931) tells us what happened in Ratnagiri, while the third (*Young India*, October 29, 1931) supplies statistics showing marked reductions in the number of licensed shops and in the excise revenue realised in Madras and in Tamil Nadu.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS AND PROHIBITION

The appeal the campaign against drink and drugs had for the country can be inferred from three resolutions of the Congress which met at Karachi on the 31st March, 1931 and which, from the standpoint of the present discussion, possess special interest for us. The first of these dealing with the prohibition campaign of 1930 was as follows:

"The Congress notes with satisfaction the visible progress of the Nation towards total prohibition during the past twelve months and calls upon all Congress organisations to continue the anti-drink and drugs campaign with renovated vigour and hopes that the women of the country will redouble their efforts in weaning the drink and drug addict from a habit that ruins both body and soul and desolates happy homes."

The second one recommending the continuance of picketing said:

"The Congress notes with gratification the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of intoxicating drugs and drinks, and calls upon the Congress organisations not to relax their efforts in the matter of peaceful picketing, provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the settlement in this behalf between the Government and the Congress."

The thirteenth item in the Fundamental Rights Resolution passed here stated:

"Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes."

Officials had resented the Gandhi-Irwin Pact which, in their view, had encouraged contumacy and belligerence among Congressmen as demonstrated by their insistence on the liberation of political prisoners and on the return of papers, documents, etc., seized in 1930, by the holding of public meetings in which speeches, sometimes indiscreet and never humble, were delivered, etc. They welcomed the replacement of the Labour by a National Government in Great Britain and that of Lord Irwin by Lord Willingdon as heralding a new policy.

The offensive started by taking steps against picketers of shops selling foreign cloth and drink and drugs. As during the Non-co-operation Movement,

workers were assaulted, sometimes seriously, by drinkers either on their own initiative or at the suggestion of shop-keepers, and sometimes by the latter when they were exasperated by losses due to diminution of custom. Reference may be made here to only three instances of this ill-treatment. Abed Ali suffered seven injuries from projectiles hurled at him by some infuriated Parsi drinkers (*Young India*, August 27, 1931). Picketers of Malabar were harassed, beaten and prosecuted by shop-keepers and their agents (*Young India*, July 16, 1931). Women were insulted and sometimes assaulted so severely that, in one particular instance mentioned in *Harijan*, (June 10, 1939), the evil effects persisted even eight years after the lady had been injured.

Gandhiji returned from the Second Round Table Conference on the 28th December, 1931 and was informed about the various deliberate breaches of the Pact.

The Congress Working Committee met on the 1st January, 1932 after his failure to contact the Viceroy, passed a long and comprehensive resolution on the political situation and concluded by suggesting a twelve-point programme to be followed by all Congressmen, the seventh of which is as follows:

"Picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence."

ARREST OF CONGRESS LEADERS

The same day the refusal of the Mahatma to co-operate with Government if it declined to review its attitude together with a copy of the resolution referred to above was communicated to the Viceroy. The arrest of Gandhiji and of Sardar Patel, President of the Congress, came on the morning of the 4th January, 1932. This was followed by the banning of the organisation and the arrest of practically all its leading members.

Congressmen who were not in jail were not, however, cowed down. They took up whatever national work they could find. Different items were selected in different Provinces, the choice depending on local conditions. A detailed account of these activities is furnished by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya in his *History of the Congress* (Part VI, Chapter I). But the picketing of foreign cloth and drink and drug shops was common in all the Provinces.

The Congress, then a banned organisation, met at Delhi in April, 1932 and passed four resolutions, the second of which endorsed the revival of Civil Disobedience one of the items of which was the picketing of drink and drug shops. It met under similar circumstances at Calcutta on the 31st March, 1933 and in spite of the arrest of the President elect and about 50 per cent of the delegates, passed seven resolutions two of which are relevant to the present discussion.

The first of these reaffirmed the decisions of the Congress Working Committee passed on the 1st January, 1932, a matter dealt with previously, while the second reiterated the Fundamental Rights Resolution of the 1931 Karachi Congress one of the items of which was the introduction of prohibition. These two resolutions make it abundantly clear that the Congress had not resiled from the position taken in regard to this matter during the Non-co-operation Movement.

The announcement of Mahatma Gandhi that he would undertake a purificatory fast for twenty-one days to begin from the 8th May, 1933 induced Government to set him free. Accepting his suggestion, the Acting President suspended Civil Disobedience at first for six weeks which, later on, was extended by another six weeks. In due course Mass Civil Disobedience made way for Individual Civil Disobedience followed by the arrest of Gandhiji on the 31st July, his release, re-arrest and sentence to one year's imprisonment on the 4th August, 1933.

INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

This was the signal for a campaign of Individual Civil Disobedience in every Province. The Acting President and, after him, his successors were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Congressmen followed the example set by our leaders from Gandhiji downwards and an uninterrupted stream of civil resisters maintained the campaign from August, 1933 to March, 1934.

Gandhiji commenced another fast on the 15th August, 1933 as a protest against the denial to him of certain facilities he had enjoyed when imprisoned in the past. By the fifth day, the deterioration in his health was such that he was set free unconditionally. Placed in an embarrassing position, Gandhiji felt that it was improper for him to take any part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and he decided to spend the one year during which he would have been in prison in doing *Harijan* work.

It was about this time that some patriotic and influential Congressmen began to feel that the only way to break the deadlock caused by the refusal of Government to even consider the overtures of peace made by the Congress was to enter the legislatures, elections to which were proposed to be held in November, 1934 and to compel it to come to terms through constitutional efforts. After some deliberation, Mahatma Gandhi gave his approval to this suggestion. Following the lead given by Gandhiji and, after him, by the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee which met at Patna in May, 1934, recommended the suspension of civil resistance even by individuals and the recognition of the Swaraj Party. This pledged itself to press for the repeal of all repressive laws, to reject the political reforms embodied in the White Paper and to carry out the Constructive

Programme one of the items of which is the introduction of prohibition.

At a later meeting held in June, 1934, the Working Committee framed a fresh programme one of the main items of which, in the language of the resolution passed, was "the promotion of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs and advocacy of prohibition" through persuasion addressed to addicts and to dealers in them.

On the 17th September, 1934, Gandhiji issued a statement from Wardha announcing his withdrawal from the Congress but there was no diminution in the influence he continued to exercise over it, a fact so well-known that it does not require anything beyond the barest mention. One proof of it is to be found in the Purna Swaraj resolution prescribed by the Working Committee in January, 1935 which was to be passed at meetings summoned for the celebration of Independence Day. Among other things, every one who joined in the function pledged himself "to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drink or drugs."

CONGRESS MAJORITY IN 1937 ELECTIONS

Elections under the Government of India Act, 1935 which had received the Royal Assent on the 4th August, 1935 were held in January, 1937. Congress had clear majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa. In Bombay, it won nearly 50 per cent of the seats and could count on the support of certain pro-Congress groups to give it a working majority. As the strongest party in Assam it was likely to have a commanding position in any coalition cabinet. In the North-West Frontier Province, the Congress won 19 out of 50 seats and held a strong position as the Muslim League Party which had won 23 seats was torn by dissensions. In the other three Provinces, Sind, Punjab and Bengal, it was in a hopeless minority.

The Working Committee met at the end of February, 1937 mainly to chalk out, after proper consideration, the line of action to be followed by Congress legislators. This meeting was held at a time when no decision in regard to the acceptance of office had been arrived at. The Committee gave a list of eleven reforms, the introduction of which was regarded as important, among which was included the prohibition of drink and drugs. Another resolution dealing with the extra-parliamentary activities of Congress members made it clear that they, like all Congressmen who were not members of the legislatures, were expected to create public opinion in favour of prohibition.

IMPLEMENTATION OF MAHATMA'S PROHIBITION Policy

What has been said above clearly proves that the Congress, the organ selected by Gandhiji for the India-wide implementation of his prohibition policy,

continued to be inspired by his enthusiasm and that even at a time when it was not quite sure whether it would undertake the administration of the Congress majority provinces, it, as an organisation, persisted in adhering to the position it had taken as early as 1920.

The deadlock in regard to interference in certain matters and under certain conditions by Governors was solved and Congress was in office in six provinces by July 1937. Mahatma Gandhi discussing the question of the introduction of prohibition in *Harijan* (July 31, 1937) pointed out that the excise revenue was largely drawn from rural and urban labour and that it was the duty of the Congress as its representative to save it from an evil to which it had been a victim for generations. In view of administrative difficulties, he gave the Congress Cabinets three years in which to do the work and expressed the hope that their example would be followed by the five non-Congress Provinces.

The Congress Working Committee which met towards the end of August, 1937 passed a resolution calling on Congress Ministries to bring about total prohibition in their provinces within three years.

Commenting on the above resolution of the Congress Working Committee which he described as "its greatest act at any time of its chequered career," Gandhiji observed that as prohibition had been "one of the chief constructive items of the Congress" from 1920, "it could not but go in for total prohibition immediately it came into power in any part of India." Stating that it would mean a loss of eleven crores of rupees, he said that the Working Committee "had taken the risk for the sake of redeeming its pledge and conserving the moral and the material welfare of those who are addicted to intoxicants and narcotics." He concluded by saying that, under these circumstances, the Congress had the right "to expect the sympathy and support not only of all the parties in India, including the Europeans, but of the best minds of the whole world in this, perhaps, the greatest moral movement in the country."

The main difficulty which confronted the Congress ministries was financial, for the excise revenue under British rule had always constituted one of the main stays of Provincial finance. To take two representative cases only, in 1936-37, the year before Congress assumed office, 26 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay and 25 per cent of the total revenue of Madras came from this source. The introduction of prohibition meant not only the disappearance of this revenue but also the incurring of new expenditure for its enforcement. The introduction of agrarian reforms to which the Congress had pledged itself in its election manifesto and which too had to be implemented meant a reduction in the land revenue, another important source of Provincial finance.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Undeterred by apprehensions of serious reductions

in the revenue, the different Congress Cabinets backed by the Congress members of the legislatures, the Congress organisation, Congress workers and the public went ahead. Lack of space permits only the barest of references to the achievements of the different Congress Ministries in the implementation of prohibition in the Provinces administered by them. But when they vacated office between October 27, and November 15th, 1939 prohibition had been introduced in four districts in the province of Madras; in six Talukas in three rural areas and in the highly industrialised cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad in the province of Bombay; in two districts and four industrial towns in the United Provinces; in one district in Bihar, in three districts and in three large towns in the Central Provinces and in one district in the North-West Frontier Province.

As news of the imposition of prohibition in Congress Provinces became widely known as also the benefits derived by the masses from this measure, the Opposition parties in non-Congress Provinces insisted on the adoption of similar steps within their areas. What disturbed non-Congress Ministers was that, in spite of their hold on the masses, generally Muslim, this move of the Opposition seemed to have the approval of those whose support had enabled them to seize power. As they did not have sufficient courage to contest the principle of Prohibition and to state openly that they intended to follow the old British excise policy, they preferred the easier and questionable plan of either applying it in such a manner as to cause nominal financial loss meeting it by increasing the number of licensed shops in thickly populated areas or of deliberately shelving its introduction after its formal acceptance in the respective legislatures. This was the policy followed by the non-Congress Ministries in Bengal, Assam, Sind and Punjab.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE REVIVAL OF THE OLD EXCISE POLICY

The dragging of India into the Second World War and the lack of sympathy shown by the British Government in regard to the political future of India led to the resignation of Congress Ministries, all of which were out of office by November, 1939 and their replacement by Governors' rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The imperative need for finances and similar other factors led to the revival of the old excise policy. The "Quit India" resolution of 1942 resulted in the arrest of practically most prominent Congressmen and in the going underground of those among them who wanted to embarrass the administration. For the time being, all types of social service work ceased to engage their attention and it was thus that the anti-drink and drug campaign suffered a set-back. In due course came the partition of India when at last the Swaraj for which millions had suffered and fought came to us and, with it, our

opportunity to carry out the great social reform which the country had looked forward to from 1920.

The attention of the reader may here be drawn to three articles written by Gandhiji in the period between the securing of freedom and his tragic death. In the first of these (*Harijan*, September 21, 1947) he pointed out that the legal banning of intoxicants which he was confident would be put through by the Congress Cabinets would not, by itself, put an end to the drink and drug evil. It would have to be supplemented by positive measures in regard to which he made certain suggestions. In the second one, the post-prayer speech delivered at New Delhi on the 11th January, 1948, he pointed out a second condition for the success of prohibition, *viz.*, the co-operation of the addicts themselves in the shape of their determination to give up their evil habits. This was, he said, essential in the case of the Harijans and the labouring classes who were the largest consumers of intoxicants. Gandhiji's last pronouncement made at his post-prayer speech on the 18th January, 1948 contained eloquent appeals to these groups and to the Congress Cabinets who were told that loss of excise revenue should not deter them from introducing anti-drink and drug laws throughout the length and breadth of India.

GANDHIJI'S LAST PRONOUNCEMENTS

Gandhiji's last three pronouncements unmistakably reveal the great interest he took and the equally great importance he attached to the elimination of the drink and drug evil from our motherland. They also show the great love he felt for our submerged masses who take to intoxicants on account of their ignorance of their evil effects and the miserable conditions under which they are compelled to live as well as his conviction that, given proper encouragement, they can exercise their will-power to overcome their appetite for these injurious substances. The third point made is the apprehension that financial considerations might either put a total stop to or materially slow down the efforts of Congress Ministries to introduce this great social reform. And, it is probably correct to assume that, if in future, such a contingency arises in his absence from among us, this is the greatest menace which will have to be faced by those who along with our great leader, believe in the necessity of making India dry.

From what we see around us, it is evident that though the practical difficulties which have to be encountered by the introduction of prohibition are fully realised by all the Congress Ministries, most of them seem to be undeterred by them. The Congress, as the representative of the masses, has repeatedly pledged itself to their upliftment in all spheres of life. And this because though its leader is gone, he has left behind him followers who are equally fired by the same ideals which had inspired him all through his life.

PROHIBITION AND THE CONGRESS CABINETS

It is therefore that the introduction of prohibition has come to be regarded by the different Congress Cabinets as a socio-economic reform of the highest national importance. The protection of the people from economic ruin and moral degradation is as essential from the national point of view as the removal of illiteracy, the enactment of the right type of tenancy legislation, the launching of schemes for public health, for increasing production and for enlarging the material resources of our country. Without it, the masses are not likely to enjoy to the fullest possible extent all the benefits derivable from these nation-building activities. These feelings explain the enthusiasm with which the prohibition programme has been put through in the different units of our country, a brief account of which in the barest of outlines is given below:

Ajmere-Merwara: This small area under the direct administration of the Central Government has introduced a five-year prohibition programme. Under it, there will be a ten per cent cut in the amounts of drink and drugs permitted to be sold to the public, increases in excise duties and other charges on them, compulsory closing of shops on Sundays, pay days, and on certain days of festivals, etc.

Assam: Opium is more extensively consumed here than liquor. This explains why the Congress Cabinet has started with the total prohibition of this drug. The question of banning liquor is under consideration.

Bihar: This over-populated and poor State with agriculture conducted on not always fertile land, has not yet imposed prohibition anywhere within its borders. But it has introduced the central distillery system under Government control to limit the output of country spirit and an improved system of licensing shops permitted to sell alcoholic beverages to the public.

Bombay: The policy of 20 per cent progressive cut in the supplies of foreign and country liquor and of intoxicating drugs was inaugurated in April, 1947. The number of trees tapped for toddy was also reduced in the same proportion. In addition, all excise shops were closed on Wednesdays and Saturdays each week. All this has made the State completely dry.

Central Provinces: The Congress Cabinet of this State took up anti-drink legislation with enthusiasm so that nearly half of its area measuring about 40,000 square miles is now dry. If nothing unforeseen happens, the whole of it is expected to become dry by the end of 1951.

Delhi: This is centrally administered and includes the urban area and the countryside surrounding it. Partial prohibition introduced on and from April, 1948 includes the closing of a majority of country liquor and opium shops, stoppage of sale of alcoholic beverages in railway restaurants, one dry day in the week

with an additional one at the time of festivals and fairs.

East Punjab has introduced prohibition in the two districts of Rohtak and Amritsar. It seems rather doubtful whether in view of its very urgent need for funds and the inability of the Central Government to come to its assistance, the Ministers of this State will be able to summon up sufficient courage to further extend the dry area.

Hyderabad, an Indian State in the south, started with imposing prohibition in the districts bordering on the Indian Republic; it joined us and under the advice of the Congress, has abolished 40 per cent of the shops selling country spirit and 42 per cent of those selling toddy, a beverage obtained by fermenting the sweet sap of the palm, date or palmyra tree.

Madras: The Congress Government of this State was the first to introduce prohibition in 1937 under the leadership of Shri C. Rajagopalachari who was then its Premier. It has also been the pioneer on this occasion for it enjoys the unique distinction of being the first State in India the whole of which went dry.

Mysore, a progressive Indian State in South India, started prohibition in July, 1947 with an annual 20 per cent reduction in the number of liquor shops with a corresponding limitation of liquor supplies. After joining the Indian Republic, five out of its nine districts have gone completely dry so as to have a dry belt in the areas adjoining the State of Madras to which it is contiguous in order to help the latter in controlling illicit practices.

Orissa: Opium, which is both eaten and smoked, has been prohibited throughout this State in addition to which prohibition of alcoholic beverages has been introduced in three of its more important and, comparatively, more prosperous districts.

Saurashtra is a viable union formed by the integration of about thirty Indian States, large and small, situated to the west of and adjoining the State of Bombay. The adoption of a common policy in the matter of prohibition led to the acceptance of a programme under which it has gone dry with effect from April, 1950.

Travancore-Cochin: This is a recent union composed of two adjoining Indian States which have joined the Indian Republic. Eleven of its districts are already dry. The whole of this unit of our Republic is expected to go dry in three years.

Uttar Pradesh: There is total prohibition of drink and drugs in eleven districts which form a dry block in the heart of the State the whole of which is expected to go completely dry within three years. The Congress Cabinet has abolished all liquor shops lying within five miles of the dry zone to minimise chances of smuggling and has also raised duties on all intoxi-

cants to the maximum possible limits in order to discourage their consumption.

West Bengal: The partition of Bengal under the Radcliffe Award and the arrival of Hindu refugees from Eastern Pakistan to the number of a million and a half who have to be assisted in various ways have hit this State very hard. This explains the halting manner in which the prohibition policy is operating here. All that has been done so far consists in a gradual reduction in the number of shops licensed to supply intoxicants to the public, increasing duties on them till they have become the highest in the whole of the Republic, reduction in the hours during which only intoxicants may be sold and making Saturday a dry day so that the wages of labour may not be wasted on liquor.

CONCLUSION

From the above, it is abundantly clear that we have so far made substantial progress towards the goal of prohibition to the attainment of which the Indian National Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi pledged itself in 1920 when even the most optimistic among us could not dream that our country

would acquire complete independence in less than three decades.

Our financial position just now is far from satisfactory. We have to solve the problem of refugee rehabilitation; we have to spend more than we can afford for importing food; we have in hand expensive irrigation, land reclamation, power, public health and welfare schemes; we have to import machinery for our industrial expansion. Refusal to take into consideration these and similar other factors would be no sign of wisdom. And it seems probable that they are partly responsible for the policy of the gradual extension of our dry areas in some units of the Indian Republic.

While it would be premature to say definitely when the Indian Republic with an area little over 1.22 million square miles and a population of 319 millions or so will become completely dry, it seems more than probable that this will come even though we may be compelled to take our time. And it will come because as Gandhiji himself said at the Karachi Congress in 1931:

"Gandhi may die, but Gandhism will live for ever."
(Concluded)

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UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By. DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., PH. D. (LOND.)

II

IN the last section we have enumerated the powers granted to the President under the constitution and described his general position in the constitutional machinery. But to assess correctly his place in the constitution it is imperative to study his relations with the Council of Ministers. Let us first of all state the main provisions in the constitution in this behalf. The constitution requires the President to be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head in the exercise of his functions. (Art. 74-1). But the question whether any, and if so what advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be enquired into in any Court. (74-2). The Prime Minister is to be appointed by the President as also the other Ministers, but the latter on the advice of the Prime Minister. (75-1). The Ministers are to hold office during the pleasure of the President (75-2) and to be collectively responsible to the House of the People. Ministers are to be ordinarily appointed from within Parliament but may also be appointed from outside provided they must secure a seat in either House within six months (75-5). Their salaries are to be determined by Parliament (75-6). The President is required to make rules for the more convenient transaction of business of the Government of India, and for the allocation among Ministers of such business. (77-3). The Constitution establishes special relationship between the President and the Prime

Minister. Article 78 imposes on the Prime Minister the duty (a) "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," (b) "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for," and (c) "to submit, if the President so requires, for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council."

It will be apparent from the above provisions that the authors of our constitution wanted to adopt mainly the British pattern of parliamentary system of which we have already had some experience in the provinces since 1937; but as we shall see presently they were not prepared to accept the system in its totality or at least that has been the effect of certain provisions, whatever may have been their intention, and it can only be counteracted by the growth of conventions to the contrary. English parliamentary system is the product of a process of slow growth through the rise of usages and conventions peculiar to the history and social milieu of that country which hardly admits of transplantation *en bloc* to foreign soil. It is perhaps the realisation of this fact that weighed with the authors in diluting the system with features borrowed from other constitutions, but

which are not quite congruous with the British pattern of parliamentary system and which therefore it may prove difficult to fit into the system.

Thus under the orthodox form of parliamentary system as it is working in England the head of the State, in this case the President of the Republic, should be a mere titular executive completely bound by the advice of his Ministry in the exercise of all his formal powers granted under the constitution and should have no independent discretion in this matter under any circumstance. Is that the position under the provisions of our new constitution as they stand? We have grave doubts. Of course, we should underline the last part of the proposition. It is needless to point out that the written provisions of the constitution do not always work on the lines of their true significance or of the intentions of their authors. They are very often overlaid with conventions which alter their effect beyond recognition and which alone sometimes render them workable. That may and perhaps will happen here; but for the present in the absence of such conventions we have to take them as they are and on their face value. We shall first of all examine the general position as regards the relation between the President and the council of ministers in this respect before discussing some particular provisions which are calculated to introduce a departure from the orthodox British parliamentary system. The general relation is defined in Section 74 which requires the existence of a council of ministers with the Prime Minister at its head (and this is made mandatory by the use of word 'shall') to "aid and advise" the President in the exercise of his functions. The President, therefore, in the exercise of the multifarious functions already enumerated must seek the advice and aid of the council of ministers, but there is nothing to suggest here that the President would be bound by such advice and would not be in a position to override his Council under any circumstances. The meaning of the term "aid" as given in the Oxford Dictionary is "to help person to do or abstain" and that of "advise" is "to offer counsel to." Taking the words in their ordinary meanings they cannot be construed as implying an obligation to be bound by such 'aid' and 'advice' offered by the council of ministers. It is true, the requirement of seeking its aid and advice in every case of the exercise of the President's functions carries with it the implication that the President should not reject its aid and advice lightheartedly, but should ordinarily be guided by such advice. This is further necessitated by the prospect of a crisis being precipitated by the resignation of the ministry whose advice is rejected but who may be enjoying the confidence of Parliament. In that case the President may find himself in the difficult position of not being able to find an alternative ministry in the place of the one he

has been instrumental in turning out by his refusal to accept advice tendered. That consideration sets an outer limit to the independence of the President in the exercise of his powers and functions.

But between the point of normal compliance with the advice of the ministry and the limit stated above there remains a margin where the President may, under the constitution, if he so chooses and particularly if he feels that to act on the advice of the ministry would be contrary to the well-being of the people, act in his discretion in disregard of the advice of the ministry. The constitution places upon the President by the oath of his office the obligation to "faithfully execute the office of President (or discharge the functions of the President) of India" and "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law" (presumably in the light of his own judgment and understanding) and "to devote himself to the service and well-being of the people of India." The President will have to be very judicious and cautious in deciding that occasion has arisen for the exercise of his discretion on the ground that to act on the advice of his ministry would be contrary to the oath of his office. He should in the first instance exercise all his influence and persuasion to win over his council of ministers to his point of view. In actual working of the Constitution personal factors will have great scope here and in course of time suitable conventions will have been established to smooth off the sharp edges of the written provisions of the constitution. But as the constitution stands it leaves a margin of discretion for the President, though within limits indicated above. It may be objected here that in England also the Crown is not legally bound by the advice of the Ministry in the exercise of its prerogative powers, but actually it never uses its discretion in disregard of ministerial advice. But the thing is that in England the entire system rests on and works by well-established conventions, but here in India as also in the Dominions where the British system is embodied in written constitutions we must be guided by the written provisions of the constitution till conventions are established to the contrary. It would not therefore be correct to argue that as our constitution-makers adopted substantially the British model, we have to follow British practices in toto, written provisions to the contrary notwithstanding, because our constitution-makers have drawn largely on other constitutions as well. Of course, the final shape of things will depend on the way conventions grow and it is entirely possible that written provisions of the constitution may be twisted by conventions beyond recognition and actually work contrary to the intentions of the authors as in U.S.A. and other countries, but for that reason we should not pre-judge issues.

There is another material point of difference here from the British situation. Britain has got a hereditary

head of a unitary state, our President is an elective officer emerging from a process of election combining both the federal and national principles, making him as much the head of the Union of States as of the Indian nation at large. That puts him *vis-à-vis* his council of ministers decidedly in a position of advantage which is hardly enjoyed by the constitutional head in parliamentary system elsewhere. This will at least give him a consciousness of power with which no other constitutional head under Parliamentary system of government can confront the ministry in case of a showdown. This is of course fraught with danger to the smooth working of parliamentary system, by making the President in certain circumstances the rival of the ministry. That is, however, an altogether different matter. The relevant point that concerns us here is that this fact may be an additional source of authority and inspiration to the President to act independently of his Ministry when occasion demands it, in his opinion and as such constitutes a departure from the orthodox English system.

The question arises how far the weapon of impeachment may be used against a President who disregards ministerial advice and exercises his powers and functions in his independent discretion and would act as a deterrent to the President's exercise of free discretion. Now impeachment is everywhere meant to be an extraordinary procedure to be used in extraordinary circumstances as a desperate remedy, when normal processes fail. That is why it has either fallen into disuse in some places, *e.g.*, in England or is used very sparingly as in U.S.A. In our country also the cumbrous procedure and huge majority insisted on for its effective use indicates clearly that the authors of our constitution did not mean it to be available as a normal remedy against what Parliament might deem to be a lapse on the part of the President. To it is not to be used as an incidence of day-to-day administration for the President from disregarding ministerial advice on occasions. Apart from that it is doubtful if an act of the President within his legal powers as granted under the constitution can be construed as constituting a "violation of the constitution" the only chance on which an impeachment can be sustained. Of course, political considerations are likely to enter into the procedure, but it is difficult to think that less than one-third of the membership of at least one House would not be found to like a dispassionate view of the matter when the President's act is not a clear breach of any written provision of the constitution. It appears, therefore, that the impeachment process would not be any effective safeguard, in normal circumstance, against the President's use of free discretion in the exercise of his functions and against the advice of the ministry, nor was it intended as such by the constitution-makers.

Lastly, if the authors of the Constitution really intended ministerial advice to be binding in all cases on the President there was nothing to prevent them from stating that in explicit terms in the constitution or by introducing a provision as in the constitution of both the Third and Fourth Republic of France requiring every act of the President to be countersigned by a Minister or by a Minister and the Prime Minister respectively. In the absence of such clear provision it may be presumed that it was intended to leave room for the exercise of the President's discretion if the necessity arose. Referring to the wording of Art. 74(1) even Dr. Rajendra Prasad is reported to have observed in the Constituent Assembly: "I have my doubts that these words will bind the President. The article does not say that the President shall be bound to accept that advice." Even under the pre-existing constitutions of 1919 and 1935 there was provision for the issue of an Instrument of Instructions to Provincial Governors or the Governor-General regulating the exercise of their discretion in the matter of acceptance of ministerial advice, but even that has been omitted in the present constitution.

It is true that the President would be ill-advised to impose his will upon a popular ministry in season and out of season and thus precipitating an open conflict and perhaps a constitutional deadlock. On the contrary, he should try to accommodate the ministry to the furthest possible limit, but consistently with the sacred trust placed on him by the oath of his office "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law" and to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the people of India." If it appears to him that to accept the advice of the ministry in a particular matter would amount to a breach of that great trust, say when an undesirable appointment is advised by the ministry acting clearly from partisan motive or say when he is advised by his ministry to exercise his emergency powers to suspend the constitution in a state (under Art. 356) where another party is in power and he has reasons to think that the advice is prompted more by partisan motives than the necessity of the situation it would perhaps clearly be his duty not to accept ministerial advice and in such cases he would also be supported by the country. In case of difference between the President and the ministry the ultimate arbiter would certainly be the people and in exercising his discretion he should always weigh carefully the possible reactions of public opinion to his decision. It is only when he has reasons to think that the ministry has not the support of the people, the ultimate sovereign behind them in a matter that he should interpose his veto, so to say. Otherwise he would run the risk of placing himself in a very difficult position. This consideration itself would reduce the occasions for the use of his free discretion in the matter of acceptance of ministerial advice to the minimum.

HUMAN WASTE IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog), M.Com.

"Expenditure of money and effort on improving the nation's health is a gilt-edged investment which will yield not deferred dividends to be collected years later, but immediate and steady returns in substantially increased productive capacity of the Nation."—DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA

INDIA like all the backward countries of the world has characteristically poor levels of health notwithstanding any improvement in recent years. They are reflected in low vitality and a short span of life. Estimates made nearly two decades ago about the expectation of life at birth reveal the glaring contrast between India on the one hand and the Western countries on the other. In Australia the expectation of life in case of males was as high as 63.48 years and 67.14 in the case of females, while New Zealand's record was a little higher at 65.46 and 68.45 years. The corresponding figures for Sweden were 64.30 and 66.92; for Canada, 58.96 and 60.73; for U.S.A., 60.60 and 64.50; for Germany, 59.84 and 62.81; for U.K., 60.18 and 64.40; Japan, 46.92 and 49.63; for Denmark, 63.5 and 65.8; for Switzerland, 64.30 and 64.6 and for India it was 26.30 and 25.56 years respectively.¹

These figures reveal a tragedy in Indian life. Paradoxical it may sound but it is no exaggeration to say that India is a death-ridden country and we are fundamentally a death-stricken people. This fact is proved by the high infantile and maternal mortality at reproductive ages, though the Census Report of 1941 shows some improvement in both these directions. Dr. Gyan Chand is of the opinion that in view of the inaccuracy of the statistics it is estimated that the death rate in India is 33 per 1000 live birth, though of late these have begun to decrease. From 1885-1890, the death rate averaged 26 per 1000, from 1890 to 1901, 31 per 1000, from 1901 to 1911 it averaged 34 per 1000; from 1921 to 1931, 26 per 1000, and from 1931 to 1941, 23 per 1000 and between 1937 and 1949, the death rate per 1000 inhabitants registered a decline from 22 to 15.6. This declining trend, however, is by no means peculiar to India alone, but rather it is in keeping with the global fall. It registered a decline from 11.3 to 9.7 in U.S.A., 12.6 to 11.7 in U.K.; and 14.3 to 10.8 in Italy. So far as India is concerned it appears to have improved considerably during the last few decades, but if allowance is made for the high death rate in the three decades from 1891 to 1921 caused by famine in the first decade, plague in the second, and influenza in the third, the improvement does not seem to be so considerable. The most important cause for this decline in death rate may be attributed to the steady decline in infant

mortality. But unfortunately even now our death rate is comparatively very high. In India, the annual death rate per 1000 of population was 22, against 9.6 in Canada, 12.3 in Germany, 15.3 in France, 12.2 in U.K., 10.6 in U.S.A., 14.0 in Japan, 0.9 in Australia, 9.7 in New Zealand, 21.7 in Ceylon and 27.2 in Egypt. This high death rate in India is a matter of utmost concern. From the point of view of the future of the nation, the death of a child or of a mother has much greater significance than the death of an old man or woman.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF OUR DEATH RATE

We have not only a high death rate but the distribution of our death rate by age and sex is also very peculiar. The death rate is very high among the first year infants about a fifth of whom die every year. In the next age period (1-4) it comes down quickly but it is still high (about 38 per 1000 children dying every year), and the lowest level is reached in the age-period 10-14 (when the death rate falls to about 6 per 1000) after which it rises again. Further, it is to be noted that we lose not in the first year of existence but in the years that follow up to the end of adolescence and even beyond.

The relative movement of our male and female death rate is not the same in comparison with England, where the female death rate is consistently lower than males, whereas in our country the female death rate is slightly lower than the male during infancy and childhood but by the age ten the two are equal and therefore the female death rate remains higher to the male death rate up to the age 20-30. But still in higher ages they change their relative positions.

The level and structure of our death rate restrains our power to grow and seriously impairs our economic strength. It has been found that in India a quarter of the original batch disappears through the gate of death by the time the first year of life is reached, by the age 5 the loss amounts to 40 per cent, by 20th year only 50 per cent survive and by age 60, only 15 per cent of the initial number survive whereas in England the population has a larger proportion of survivors at the age of 60 than we have at 5. This clearly means that we have a very short span of life, as already stated.

CAUSES OF HEAVY DEATH RATE

The causes of death in India are extremely imperfectly recorded. During the period 1922-41 the general death rate of 22.2 was distributed as follows:²

1. The average length of life of the people in various countries of the world is: Sweden, 59.0 years; Canada, 63.8; U.S.A., 60.0; Germany, 62.0; U. K., 65; Australia, 65; New Zealand, 65.4; Japan, 49.0; Denmark, 60; Netherland, 65.1; India, 27.0.

2. Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Vol. I, p. 10.

	1922-31	1932-41
Fevers	3,703,459	3,622,869 (58.4)
Cholera	225,187	144,924 (2.4)
Small-pox	74,064	69,474 (1.1)
Plague	129,057	
Dysentery and Diarrhoea	224,450	261,924 (4.2)
Respiratory Diseases	358,559	471,802 (8.2)
Others		1,599,490 (25.8)
Total	6,270,662	6,201,434

(1) *Malnutrition*: The most important single factor behind our death rate is malnutrition which is consequent on the abject poverty of the people. Various dietetic surveys have been carried on in different parts of the country particularly in South India and Bengal by Drs. Aykroyd and John Megaw, which have clearly shown that the food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The majority of the population live on a diet far remote from the most modern standards of adequate nutrition. The deficiency is marked in certain directions, viz., animal protein, animal fat, dairy products and calcium. Dr. Aykroyd found that in 50 per cent of the families calorie intake per consumption unit was below 2,300, in the agricultural families; and in the industrial survey, an approximately similar proportion of families were found to be underfed by the same standard." Dr. Megaw found that 20 per cent of the population was badly nourished, another 41 per cent was poorly nourished while 39 per cent only got sufficient food. Allowing for the margin of error in the estimates we can conclude that a high percentage of the Indian population do not get enough to eat, and what is more striking is that the diet consumed by them does not contain in right proportions the various elements that are necessary to health and physical efficiency. According to Sir John Boyd Orr:

"Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get enough to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root-vegetables, and insufficient 'protective food' of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient, which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the 'vulnerable groups' including infants, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys."

A comparison of energy protein contents of the food consumed in India and in other countries tells the tale of the extent of under-nutrition here. The calories obtained from diet per person per day in 1948-49 were 1,620. The average requirement of 2,400 to 3,000 calories at least demonstrates the extent to which the Indian diet is ill-balanced and insufficient.

Corresponding figures for Pakistan are 2,030, Western Germany 2,530, U. K. 3,030, U.S.A. 3,130 and Australia 3,160. The disparities in total protein grams obtained in the diet per person per day are much wider. The figures are: India 42 as against 54 in Pakistan, 81 in Western Germany, 90 in U. K. and U.S.A., and 95 in Australia. Animal protein was lowest in India at 3 grams per day.

Malnutrition raises our death rate in two ways. In the first place, it gives rise to certain deficiency diseases, and secondly, malnutrition lowers the resistance to infection of our people and makes them an easy victim of various diseases like malaria, hookworm, cholera, dysentery and tuberculosis.

Specific deficiency diseases (which are due to insufficiency of some food factor or factors in the diet and which can be prevented or cured by making up the deficiency) are in themselves a serious problem of public health. The most important are beriberi, keratomalacia, osteomalacia, rickets, clinical conditions associated with riboflavin deficiency and goitre. Various forms of anaemia and nutritional oedema are also present among ill-nourished children and adults. In addition to these deficiency diseases, there are numerous other diseases in the causation of which nutritional factors are concerned. These include epidemic dropsy, peptic ulcer, lathyrism, fluosis, various forms of cirrhosis of liver, urinary lithiasis, diabetes, tropical ulcer, eclampsia, sprue and certain kinds of chronic diarrhoea and various eye and skin diseases."

Besides the nutritional deficiency, various epidemic and endemic diseases play havoc to the Indian population. Plague, cholera and small-pox are the most important diseases taking a heavy toll of mortality. The average annual number of deaths from small-pox and plague in India during the period of ten years (1932-41) was 77.4 per cent of the corresponding figure for 1902-11, and 45.7 per cent respectively. Other endemic diseases, such as leprosy, filariasis, guinea-worm infection, and hookworm disease are responsible for a considerable amount of morbidity in the country, although their contribution towards mortality is relatively small.

Among the epidemic diseases the most important are tuberculosis and malaria. Tuberculosis is a disease which spreads rapidly among the ill-nourished and badly housed people and correspondingly diminishes when the people are well-fed, well-housed, and cleanly in their habits." The increase in death rate due to this disease has been most marked in connection with those centres which have shown the greatest commercial and educational development and in the village districts which are linked up with them by direct lines of communication. According to Dr. P. V. Benjamin:

3. Dr. Aykroyd: *Nutrition* (O.U.P. Pamphlet), p. 15.

4. *Report of the Famine Enquiry Committee*, p. 109.

5. Quoted by B. Shiva Rao in *Industrial Labour in India*, p. 75.

"Mortality figures for cities show a tuberculosis death rate of from 200 to 450 per 100,000 as far as can be ascertained. It can be safely admitted that there are at least 500,000 deaths from tuberculosis and 2,500,000 active cases of tuberculosis annually in India."

Dr. A. C. Ukil is of the opinion that in predominantly agricultural countries like India the infection varies from 21 to 34 per cent in rural areas and from 80 to 90 per cent in the urban and industrial areas.

Malaria is another disease which takes a heavy toll of human life in India. According to Colonel Sinton:

"At least 100 million individuals suffer from malaria every year in India and about 1 million deaths occur due to this disease. It may easily exceed 100 million in some years. It is estimated that death from malaria involves from 2,000 to 4,000 sick days."

(2) *Lack of Medical Facilities*: Besides these diseases, there is also an utter lack of medical and nursing facilities and of preventive health measures on a scale commensurate with the needs of the vast population. In 1940, for all India there were a total of 6,947 hospitals, of which 505 were state public, 4,106 were local fund, 865 private but aided, 399 state special, 385 railway personnel, 589 private but unaided, and 98 subsidised. There were 4,75,000 doctors, 7,000 nurses, 750 health visitors, 5,000 mid-wives, 75 qualified pharmacists and 1,000 dentists.⁶ Out of 47,000 doctors available in the country only about 14,000 are reported to be employed in the Health Services. The remaining, being necessarily in private practice, have concentrated in urban areas. When it is remembered that about 88 per cent of the population live in villages, the extent to which the provision for skilled medical aid is lacking in the country as a whole becomes glaringly obvious.

(3) *Unfavourable Environment*: The fatalistic attitude of the average Indian, particularly to matters pertaining to personal and community health is an important factor to be reckoned with. This factor is further encouraged by the extreme maldistribution of wealth, the vast majority of the population live in a state of poverty with a standard of living which is perhaps one of the lowest in the world. The low economic level of the people militates against the maintenance of the public health which requires the fulfilment of certain fundamental conditions, which include the provision of an environment conducive to the healthy living, adequate nutrition and the availability of health protection to all members of the community. In fact, the Indians live in overcrowded places, eat, drink and inhale infection in every conceivable way and though they may have developed a

certain degree of immunity even then they contract and succumb to infectious disease in large numbers.

The environmental sanitation is at a low level in most parts of the country. In rural areas, the houses are without water supply and latrines, lighting is inadequate or non-existent, many are in a state of disrepair and without ventilation. The huts in which majority live are really, "low-roofed, windowless, airless, and miserable abodes." The average number of persons living in such mud-boxes varies from 8 to 12 livestock, and the inmates are found to sleep along with cattle and other animals. The housing conditions in the industrial areas are also indescribable and intolerable. Thousands are without any house or shelter and have to live and sleep on pavements, verandahs, in open places, under trees, in cowshades or in any temporary shelter; overcrowding and congestion in the cities greatly affect the health of the persons living continuously in the cities. A more confined atmosphere, crowded insanitary dwellings, lack of outdoor recreation add fuel to the fire and make people more liable to various infections.

We can sum up in the words of the Health Survey and Development Committee the factors responsible for the low level of health in India in these words:

"The prevalence of mal-nutrition and under-nutrition among appreciable sections of the people; the serious deficiency of existing provision for affording protection to the community; and a group of social causes consisting of poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance of the hygienic mode of life and certain customs such as the *purdah* and the early marriage. The cumulative effect of these factors is seen in the incidence of a large amount of preventable morbidity and mortality in the community."

The continued prevalence of such conditions for many generations has probably helped to create in the minds of the people an attitude of passive acceptance of the existing state of affairs. This attitude will have to be overcome and their active co-operation enlisted in the campaign against disease, insanitation and undesirable personal and community habits, if any lasting improvement in the public health is to be achieved.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE HIGH DEATH RATE

The high death rate in India is a matter of great concern. The hidden pitfalls referred to in the vision of Mirza, "which the passenger no sooner trod upon but they fell into the tide and immediately disappeared are set very much thicker in the bridge of human life in India than in most other countries of the world." The fact that about 45 per cent of the passengers on the bridge disappear before they are 10 years old and 65 per cent before they are thirty is a very grim commentary on the state of the social hygiene in India after 150 years of British rule.⁷ We as a nation are

6. Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Vol. IV, p. 4.

7. Ibid, pp. 19-20.

8. Gyan Chand: *India's Teeming Millions*, p. 116.

badly handicapped in the race of life by our mortality conditions. We nurse, feed, clothe, house and train every batch of newly-born population only to lose 45 per cent of them before they are 10 years old. If the cost of maintaining a young man up to the age of 15 is assumed to be half that of an adult, we throw away some 22½ per cent of our national income on rearing up persons from whom the community gets little or no return, the corresponding figures for England and Wales are only 6½ per cent. The short expectation of life in India implies that too many men who have gathered experience and wisdom are snatched away when their power to be of service to the community is at its highest.

Secondly, out of every 1,000 born in our country only 541 survive to enter working life at 15. But by the age 60 only 149 are living. Out of 45 years of working life theoretically available to each entrant into production career, the average number actually gets only 30 years.

Thirdly, our death rate is inescapably associated with a high rate of morbidity. For one who succumbs to a disease in a year there must be 5 to 10 times as large as the incidence of mortality. In fact, the number of deaths annually resulting from preventible diseases is from 5 to 6 million and that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India from preventible disease is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in a year, that the percentage loss of efficiency of average person in India is not less than 20, that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50; and other diseases rising from diet-deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes. The wastage of life and efficiency which results from these diseases cost India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year.

From the biological standpoint too, the value and structure of our death rate are highly significant. Firstly, death takes away a large proportion of our girls in the prime age of life before they begin reproduction. While of those who enter the child-bearing phase, only a small proportion live through the whole of it. Thus out of every 1,000 girls only 568 reach the age of 15 (at which child-bearing commences for most women) and of these only 264 live to the age of 45 (when the reproduction normally ceases). Thus the average Indian girl has only 13 years of reproductive life, whereas the average English girl has 26 years. Again, those who survive to the age of 15 in India have an average of 22 years in which to bear children.

Secondly, the relatively high mortality of our women in the child-bearing age creates a problem of shortage of partners for married life. Though many of our men meet this scarcity by marrying girls much below their ages, but given the mean-after-life-time

men and women in our country, this difference in age regarding the marriage of the husband and wife itself contributes to the high proportion of widows among us.

INFANTILE MORTALITY

The two outstanding features of our death rate, as already said, are high infantile mortality and the high maternal mortality at reproductive ages. The infantile mortality is far higher in India than any other country of the world. For India, it was 150 in 1949, the corresponding figures for Canada were 56 U.S.A. 46, Japan 144, Germany 63, England and Wales 55, France 91, Italy 104, Australia 38, New Zealand 31, and Egypt 165, though of late the infantile mortality rates in India have gone down, from 204 in 1911-15 to 171 in 1931-35 and to 150 in 1949.

According to the official estimates, about half the deaths among the infants in India occur in the first month and of these nearly 60 per cent in the first week. According to the Public Health Commissioner's Report (1936):

"About 49 per cent of the total mortality in any given year is among those below ten years of age, while the corresponding figure for England is only 12 per cent. During the first year of life India's proportionate mortality is about 4 times (24.3) that of England (6.8); in the next age period (1-5) it is about 9 times greater (18.6) as against 2.1; and between 5-10 year age group, it is more than five times as high."

It is worthy of note that owing to the highly insanitary conditions prevailing in our industrial towns, infant mortality is specially heavy there. The average rate for India in 1934 was 218 as against 183 per mille for the rural areas. The recorded rates for some important cities are 244 per 1,000 live births in Calcutta in 1931; 323 in Nagpur, 202 in Delhi and 185 in Lahore, 251 in Madras, 274 in Bombay while in the same period it was 30.8 in New York in 1941 and 48.0 in London in 1940. As already stated, the infantile mortality is on the decline in most countries, the range of progress being marked in the countries with higher health services. Between 1937 and 1949, the rate of infantile mortality per 1,000 live births decreased from 38 to 28 in Australia, 31 to 22 in New Zealand, 61 to 36 in U.K., and 54 to 32 in U.S.A. Together with these countries India has also registered a fair margin of improvement, but the decrease from 162 to 122 maintains infant mortality at a high level.

The infantile mortality is due to various factors both environmental and economic. The ignorance, inability and unwillingness of the people to avail themselves of the maternity services is one of the main causes of infantile mortality. Majority of our people are ignorant of the simple laws of health and the importance of cleanliness. Secondly, the chief

medical causes of infant deaths in this country are infantile debility and malformation during premature birth, diseases of respiratory system, convulsions, and diarrhoea and enterics. Premature births are probably closely associated with premature maternity, while pneumonia is casually connected with malnutrition and overcrowding which are the normal indices of poverty. Thirdly, poverty of the masses compel the female industrial workers to start work too soon after confinement, hence the consequent drugging of the child with opium when the mother wants to be free for the work. This affects the health of the baby very much. Finally, the general experience of those concerned with infant welfare work supports the view that much sickness and mortality among the infants are due to the faulty feeding of mother and child. When breast feeding has ceased children of poorer classes cannot be supplied with milk from animals as a substitute and are usually fed on an unbalanced diet consisting of rice or another cereal with a few vegetables. Their development is impaired and resistance to such diseases as pneumonia and dysentery is reduced.

MATERNAL MORTALITY

Like our infantile mortality our maternal mortality is also very high. It is a well-known fact that at birth the number of male children is greater than female. But to the age of 12 the mortality of the female children is less than that of the male children. It is after the age of 12 that the female mortality is higher as compared with the males between the ages of 12 and 45; and that it is higher between the age of adolescence and the age when capacity for child-bearing normally ceases.

It has been said that every mother has to pass through the portal of death in order to give birth to new life, but the portal in India has been made unnaturally narrow by human follies, and of these the one which is most obvious and the least excusable is that which results in an unending precession of death of mothers and babies due to our women being subjected to the strain of excessive child-bearing. The highest female mortality which exceeds that of the males by 60 to 61 per thousand occurs in the age period 14-30. Deaths of young mothers at child-birth is not an uncommon occurrence, but more common than this, is the death of women in the later period of maternity, say, between the years 20 to 30 brought about by physical exhaustion, nervous breakdown and other ailment, which are the aftermath of premature child-bearing. The Age of Consent Committee has concluded:

"There is a large amount of truth in the theory that frequency of birth has very direct bearing on maternal and infantile mortality and that according to the medical evidence the effect of frequency of birth at short intervals is far more disastrous when maternity starts at an early age."

Various estimates have been made about female mortality rates in India. Three specific enquiries were conducted by medical men in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay which yielded figures of 16.6, 24.4 and 8.9 per 1,000 childbirths. The range is too high indeed. It has been estimated by the Bore Committee that in India maternal deaths total annually about 200,000, and that the number of those who suffer from varying degrees of disability and discomfort as a result of child-bearing must be many times that figure, probably about 4 million.⁹ It has been held that for every woman who dies as a result of pregnancy or child-birth 20 suffer from impaired health and lowered efficiency.

In 1933, Dr. John Megaw surveyed the health conditions in 600 villages scattered all over India and his enquiries gave an average maternal mortality of 24.05 per 1,000 births. In Assam, the maternal mortality was 26.20, Bengal 40.16, Bihar and Orissa 26.87, Punjab 18.73, U.P. 18, C.P. 8, Madras 13.24, and Bombay 20 per 1,000. Similarly an enquiry conducted by Dr. Neal Edwards in Calcutta in 1936-37 yielded one of 24.41 per 1,000 registered births. The Public Health Commissioner for India makes a tentative suggestion of 20 deaths per 1000 births in India. The latest figures for England and Wales was 2.9 in 1941.¹¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that the maternal mortality in India is highest in the world. It is nearly five times as much as in Australia, New Zealand and Germany and S. Africa (5.5; 4.8; 5.1; 4.9); thrice that of U.S.A. (8.3); six times that of England (4); and Switzerland (4.4); and twelve times that of France (2.5); Sweden (2.6); Japan (2.8); Italy (2.8); Norway (2.8) and Denmark (2.6).

CAUSES OF MATERNAL MORTALITY

Various factors have been responsible for such a high female mortality in India. Dr. Neal Edwards's enquiry in Calcutta showed that the most important causes of maternal mortality were puerperal sepsis, anaemia, albuminuria, convulsions and haemorrhage. Behind these immediate causes were three ultimate factors—poverty, malnutrition and insanitary living; early and frequent child-bearing and inadequate pre- and post-natal care.¹²

(1) *Early Marriage*: The most important reason of excessive female mortality is the prevalence of early marriage. Marriage is universal in India. Religion advocates it. In order to avoid social obloquy it is necessary specially in the high caste Hindus to marry the girls before puberty. No consideration of future poverty restricts marriages, for in India, a wife is a

9. *Age of Consent Committee Report*, p. 152.

10. *Health Survey and Development Committee Report*, Vol. II, p. 97.

11. *Census of India, 1941*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 34.

12. Neal Edwards: *Report of an Enquiry in the Causes of Maternal Mortality in Calcutta*, p. ii.

cook, a drudge and a mate. Of all the countries in the world, India has the lowest proportion of unmarried for both sexes. It has been rightly remarked that we are much-marrying people, we marry early and we marry in large numbers. These early marriages subject girls to the risk of motherhood at a tender age when they are of a weak constitution and have not reached full physical maturity. Their constitution is undermined and their vitality impaired by frequent child-births. Frequent child-birth emaciates the mother, makes her a victim of diseases, while the children are invariably underfed and neglected. Statistics show that in the case of mothers below 16 the percentage of still birth and neo-natal deaths is 14.8, it is 9 in case of mothers from 16 to 20 and it is 4.3 in the case of mothers between 20 and 30. An Indian woman oscillates between two states of gestation and lactation till death winds up the sorry tale. A Census Superintendent feelingly remarks that "thousands of child wives march from nuptial bed to the funeral pile." Enquiries show that when marriage of young people is consummated at an early age, i.e., when the boy is not more than 16 years and the girl is 12 or 13, a fairly large percentage of wives die of child-birth, phthisis or some ovarian complication within 10 years of the consummation of marriage.¹³ Many female troubles like nervous debility, consumption and uterine diseases cause havoc among them. To the strain of bearing children too early is added that of bearing them too frequently. According to Dr. John Megaw, "One hundred out of every 1000 girl wives are doomed to die in child-birth before they cease having children."

(2) *Fatigue and Over-work*: It has also been alleged that in some cases women die of overwork. It is a common sight to see women big with child working till the last day and sometimes till the last hour before delivery. This is due to their poverty, as they cannot employ servants to do the household work. After delivery too these females do not take complete rest and hence, whenever they survive they become physical wrecks. In many cases for lack of medical care and treatment before and after confinement she may not survive at all.

(3) *Lack of Midwives*: The mishandling of women during child-birth is also a contributory factor to it. In India, except the relatively well-to-do classes, the delivery of women is helped either by female neighbours or the relations or by untrained village Dais. This results in the contraction of various urinal and female diseases leading to heavy deaths among the females. This fact was proved by the enquiry made in the city of Madras by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, who reached the conclusion that in 7,324 cases more than 60 per cent of the deaths were due to sepsis or Septicaemia, which disease arose because of the employment of Dais in the delivery

work.¹⁴ She is also responsible for a number of cases of vesicobaginal fistulae.

(4) *Lack of Care*: Another probable cause is that here female life is held cheaper than in the West not only by men but also by the women themselves. Their health and diet is deliberately neglected even in the so-called upper classes. In this connection it is interesting to note the remark given by the Census Commissioner of 1911:

"There is the deliberate neglect with the object of causing death and there is still the half-conscious neglect due partly to habit and partly to the parent's great solicitude for their sons. The boys are better clad and when ill more carefully attended than the girls."

Girl children are neglected also on account of social customs and attitudes due to which parents look upon girls as a burden, while sons are looked upon not only as means of support in the old age but also as instrumental to the very preservation of the life and prosperity of the family.

CHECK TO MORTALITY

From the above description it would be clear that in India majority of deaths—both infantile and maternal—occur due to causes which have their origin in our environmental conditions. It, therefore, implies that if we control and improve that environment, we are sure to check a steep rise in our death rate. In order to bring an immediate fall in our death rate the first objective should be to increase the income of the masses per head so that they may be able to improve their diet and spend more on healthy living and thereby resist the diseases to which they are at present a great prey. It has been remarked by the eminent authorities that all the important diseases—both epidemic and endemics—which at present cause great havoc can be brought under control and even eradicated root and branch by means of better organised health service. According to Dr. Megaw, there is hardly any disease so serious which is easier to eradicate than cholera provided an intelligent effort is made by the community and the State. Similarly, small-pox can also be completely got rid of by compulsory vaccination. So also the heavy incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases of the respiratory organs can be greatly reduced by proper nutrition and proper habits of personal hygiene. According to the same authority:

"If the people of India were properly nourished, if they avoided living in the same room with persons who sneeze and cough, and if they took precautions to avoid swallowing infections with their food and drink their average duration of life would be doubled."¹⁵

As late as 1946, the Health Survey and Development Committee also refers to the fact that at least

13. Report of the Baroda Census Commissioner.

14. A. L. Mudaliar : Report on an Investigation into the Causes of Maternal Mortality in the City of Madras, p. 7.

15. Blunt : Social Service in India, p. 229.

one-half of the existing annual mortality of over 6 millions in this country is preventable. If proposals are carried out, there is every reason to believe that there will be a saving of at least 3 million lives every year in British India, which will bring the mortality down to the level of what has already been accomplished in a number of other countries.¹⁶

MODERN TRENDS

Before I go to enunciate what in my opinion should be our health policy, it would be useful to consider in brief the modern trends in the organisation of a National Health Service, as are evident in most of the countries in the West. Broadly speaking, the modern tendency is towards the provision by the State of as complete a health service as possible and the inclusion within its scope of the largest possible proportion of the community. The need for ensuring the distribution of medical benefits to all, irrespective of their ability to pay, has also been recognised. The general tendency appears to be towards basing the national health plan on a system of social insurance. The completely socialised medical service of Russia, the recently introduced National Health Programme of Great Britain and Truman's plan of Compulsory Health Insurance if it comes into operation in America, illustrate the modern tendency on the part of national governments to assume responsibility for community and personal health. Even in a country like the U.S.A., with its highly individualistic society and capitalistic economy, people are clamouring for National Health Planning. Against a background of unmet medical needs and burdensome medical costs, people are thinking in terms of State-aided health services.

The Bhole Committee after a careful study of the modern trends in health organisations in other countries and a comprehensive survey of the existing conditions and requirements of this country, came to the conclusion that medical service should be free to all without distinction and that the contribution from those who can afford to pay should be through the channel of general and local taxation. Though the immediate feasibility of this suggestion is doubtful, no one can deny the compelling necessity for adopting governmental measures in order to bring the benefits of modern medical science within easy reach of every member of the community, rural and urban.

POSITIVE ACTION NEEDED

It should be borne in mind that a Nation's health is perhaps the most potent factor in determining the character and extent of the Nation's development and progress, and should therefore be given first priority in the country's budget.

"Public expenditure on national health is like expenditure on a life-boat or a fire-engine; even more, it is like a long-term investment. It yields

the interest with absolute certainty, a hundred-fold but only in the course of years and sometimes in course of generations."

With this view in mind the Bhole Committee made their recommendation. In laying down the short-term plan, their guiding principle had been that the plan should produce an appreciable improvement in the health of the people within the period of its completion.

RURAL NEEDS

What then should be the Nation's immediate health policy? Perhaps the most important factors that contribute to the maintenance of good health are adequate nutrition, good housing, hygienic and sufficient water supply and satisfactory sanitary arrangements for conservancy and drainage. As already stated our policy should be to give top priority to rural health, if we want to improve the condition of the common man. Attempts which have been made in the provinces in the past years for providing rural health relief, through the system of subsidised medical practices, rural dispensaries and cottage hospitals have not solved the problem to any desirable extent. Public health arrangements in most of the rural areas can be considered to be almost non-existent. The first step towards developing a rural health organisation should be the integration of the curative and preventive health services which exist at present. The integration at the village level should no doubt be preceded by the amalgamation of medical and public health departments at the top level.

VILLAGE DISPENSARIES

As a preliminary to the expansion of medical facilities in the rural areas it is essential to establish a unified administration by provincialising all the hospitals and dispensaries which are at present under the control of local bodies. At the district hospital it is desirable to have at least a minimum staff of a surgeon, a physician and a woman doctor if available. The development of maternity and child welfare should form an essential part of such a health organisation. Modern medicine in the form that is now practised in large parts of the country lacks the scientific approach, partly because of the inadequacy of laboratory facilities for diagnosis and partly because of the enormous volume of work to be done in the rural dispensaries and hospitals. Once the rural dispensaries and cottage and other hospitals are taken over by the respective Governments, steps should immediately be taken to convert these small village institutions into proper health centres where all facilities for preventive and curative work will be provided. The doctors and other ancillary personnel who will work in these health centres should have training both in curative as well as preventive health work. The combination of preventive and curative duties in the same doctor in the district is of advantage to the medical officer and the quality of work he or she performs. To divorce the doctor

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 481.

completely from clinical work tends to reduce his efficiency while, by combining both functions, he is able to use to the best advantage the ancillary health staff such as health visitors, midwives and sanitary inspectors for an integrated attack on the health problems he has to deal with. These rural health personnel should be provided with transport facilities of some kind in order to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently.

STAFF FOR HEALTH UNITS

So far as the staff is concerned, each rural health centre should at least have one doctor, two health assistants of whom one will have training in compounding, a sanitary inspector, two midwives, a male nursing orderly and a female nursing orderly and a peon. As and when available an additional doctor may be appointed, preference being given to the women doctors. Though this falls short of the recommendations of the Bhore Committee, one should be satisfied under existing conditions in the country if all the provinces are able to staff all their primary rural health centres with the above-mentioned personnel.

This brings us to the very important question of health personnel. The Bhore Committee has rightly pointed out that one of the main difficulties that will be experienced in establishing a co-ordinated health organisation in the country will be in respect of the availability of the adequate number of medical and ancillary staff. Even if our immediate aim is to provide a health centre for every 20,000 population, it will be impossible to do so as we have not at the present moment a sufficient number of doctors and other personnel.

As has already been pointed out there is at present a concentration of doctors in urban areas and only 14,000 out of 50,000 doctors are in the service. Any half-hearted scheme evolved for the purpose of persuading private practitioners to settle in rural areas is bound to fail as the prospects of earning a decent living through practice in the village are not very bright. Also the lack of social and other amenities, and facilities for the education of the children make living in the villages unattractive. It has, therefore, become imperative to establish a uniform health service for both rural and urban areas, with adequate emoluments to attract private practitioners in large numbers into the service and with an additional allowance for service in rural areas to make good to some extent the lack of facilities and amenities referred to above. Members of the service can be in that case posted to rural areas by rotation.

STOP-GAP MEASURES

The suggestions made are merely stop-gap measures of a temporary character. They should on no account be considered as a permanent health programme which should be broadbased on modern scientific principles. It will be a short-sighted, unfair

and pernicious policy if the health organisation for the villages should be of an indifferent type and if the 88 per cent of the country's population is asked to be satisfied with a propaganda programme which does not afford all the modern medical facilities which are made available to the other 12 per cent of the privileged inhabitants of the cities. Our aim should, therefore, be to establish a comprehensive health organisation on scientific lines which will benefit every man and woman in the country.

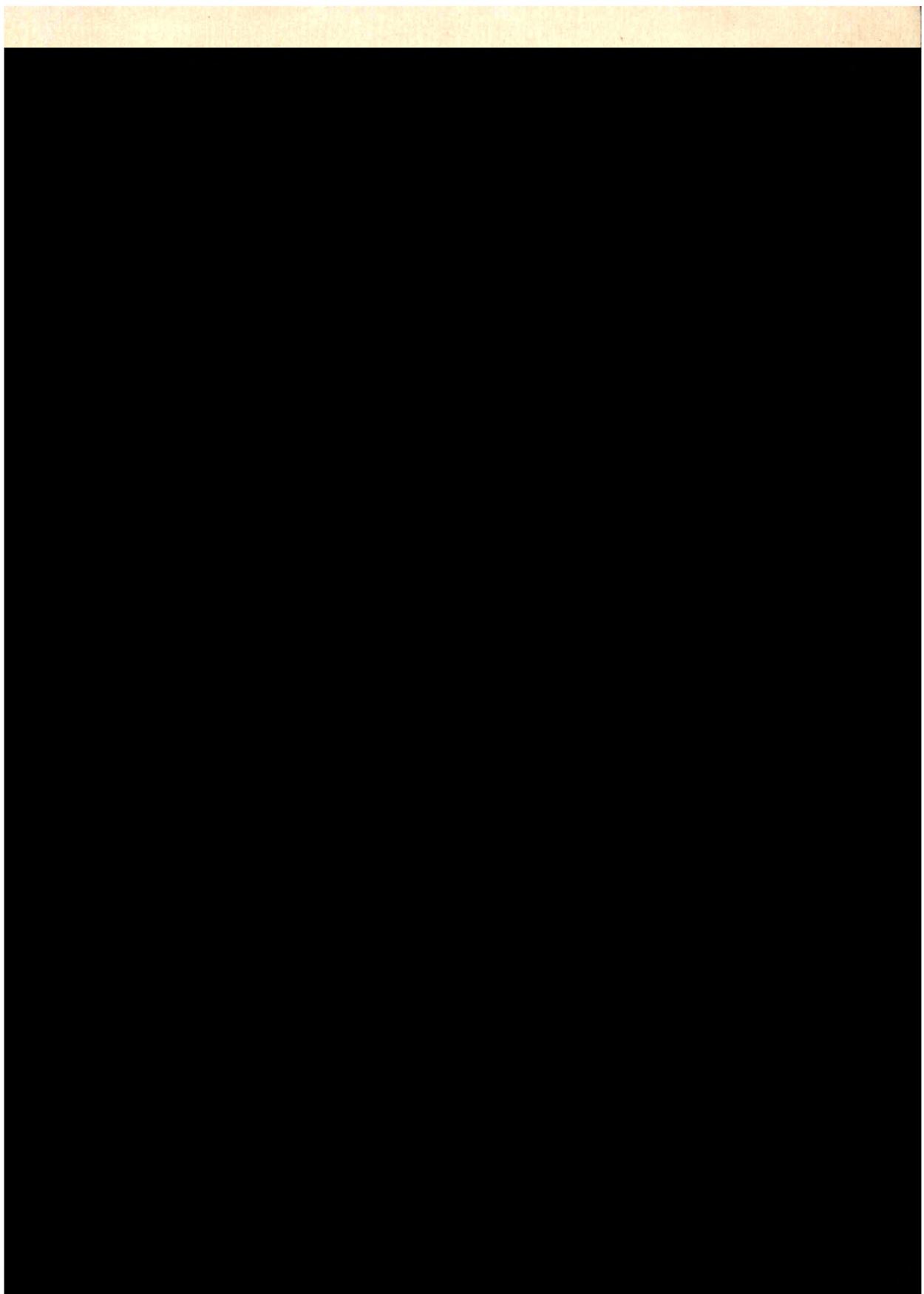
GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

While writing about National Health Policy one should not fail to mention about the part which the Centre has to play in shaping the policy for the country as a whole. Though the main health functions even after the adoption of the new Constitution may continue to remain under the responsibility of the provincial governments, the Central Government should assist the provinces in the development of their health plans as well as co-ordinate provincial health activities in a manner designed to promote the interests of the country as a whole. In order to maintain a uniform standard with respect to medical relief and public health, it is desirable to place them in the group of concurrent subjects so that the Centre can have an effective say in the Nation's health policy as a whole. In certain spheres, such as control of inter-provincial spread of diseases, regulation of common standards of purity and of quality for food and drugs throughout the country and labour welfare work, absence of central co-ordination is bound to produce undesirable results.

One of the ways by which co-ordination and indirect unification of the health organisations throughout India will be achieved is by the creation of a Central Health Service on the lines of Central Administrative Service whereby there can be an exchange of medical officers between the Centre and the provinces and the State Unions. This will be particularly beneficial in the fields of medical administration and public health. As a central cadre will facilitate the maintenance of a uniform health policy in the country. The creation of a Central Health Service may also enable the loan of senior officers from one province to another, if necessary and thus facilitate the pooling of provincial experience for the benefit of the country as a whole. As a matter of general national policy the subject merits immediate consideration of all Governments.

DISSEMINATION OF EDUCATION

Side by side with the evolution of a National Health policy, it is deemed necessary that the standard of living of the masses should be increased by increasing their purchasing power, and by introducing compulsory education. Not only that but it is also the legitimate duty of the State to disseminate the knowledge of birth control among the poor and encourage its practice. This knowledge could be imparted through the maternal and child welfare centres opened for the



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purpose in the various parts of the country by the women doctors to women whose health would be endangered by further or excessive child-bearing and also to the women who seek advice because of a reasonable desire to "spacing" their children.

CONSEQUENCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN MORTALITY RATES

Thus it will be observed that any reduction in the mortality either through the organisation of better sanitary facilities, spread of knowledge of birth control and the spacing of children together with an improvement in the standard of living will surely lead to a much better and happier life. It is expected that with an improvement in our mortality conditions it is likely that certain groups—infants, children, boys, girls and women—will reap more than average benefit thereby raising our birth rate. This for various reasons:

(i) The women will gain more than men and the deficiency in the sex relation of the population will be reduced.

(ii) Maternal mortality will fall in a greater degree than death rate of women in general enhancing thereby the proportion of child-bearing women.

(iii) The benefits of improved circumstances surrounding motherhood are likely to accrue most to men in an early and more fertile phase of their

career which will cause more than proportionate improvement in total fertility.

(iv) As the relative numbers of men and women in the middle ages become less unequal the difference in age during marriage of husband and wife will decrease, and

(v) Finally the death rate will fall precipitately in the early years of life in infancy, childhood and adolescence.

It is because in all communities this group receive the first attention of awakening social conscience, and the first surplus that rising national income brings into existence is spent on them. A fall in death rate will, in a few years, inflate the proportion of persons in the child-bearing ages and add to the total number of births in the community in the first and succeeding generations. This aspect of the problem has been considered by the Actuarist in his note to the Census Report of 1941 wherein he says:

"With an infant mortality of 160 in 1940 as compared with 195 in 1920, we shall have an addition of 6.5 million persons to our population in 1951 and 13.4 millions in 1961. Similarly, a fall of our maternal mortality rate from 20 to 10 per thousand live-births will add over 6 million females to our population which has again to be multiplied by their reproductive potential to give us an ideal of the total accretion."

17. *Census of India (1941)*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 34.

SWAT THAT WASP!

Pandit Nehru Resurrects an Exploded Myth

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Sin has many tools, but a lie is the handle

which fits them all."—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THE New Year, which, as usual, will shortly be ushered in everywhere with no little pomp and circumstance, will be bringing in its wake new problems for our long-suffering people: or, rather, not new problems precisely but the same old ones—smartebled and secured, with their hair, so to speak, in curl-papers and their feet in patent-leathers. That, however, as the inimitable Sam Weller would have put it, is wrapping it up in a small parcel: our trials and tribulations appear to have suddenly assumed well-nigh gigantic proportions. The partition of our beloved Motherland, there is now not a shadow of doubt, has utterly falsified the "Alice in Wonderland" anticipations of our exalted Congress leaders. Our country, far from overflowing with milk and honey as a direct consequence of it (in the manner so fondly imagined by them), has, since then, been wallowing in a mire of discontent and destitution almost unprecedented in the annals even of *her* chequered history. As the poet has lamented,

"Out of the day and night

A joy has taken flight;"

and the urn of bitter prophecy, to quote from the same poet again, has been drained to its dregs.

LIGHT-HEARTED ASSENT

The phrase, "Alice in Wonderland," is, by the way, not my own. I am only a Liberal, as I have had occasion to confess in these columns so often, "suckled in a creed outworn," and, as such, am permanently debarred from indulging in any soaring flights of imagination, from creating, out of the (*self-made*) political desolation around me,

"Forms more real than living Man,
Nurslings of Immortality."

The phrase was coined by no less a person than our Premier and Rashtrapati rolled into one, though, to be sure, in a totally different context. It was the fantastic proposals contained in the Dixon Report on Kashmir that provoked him to that characteristic rhetorical outburst. For once his imagery was beyond cavil or criticism: it was, if I may say so, true to the kindred points of heaven and home—I mean, to the loftier realms of poetic fancy and to the lower regions of prosaic fact. It is a Biblical maxim that we should love the highest when we see it. I have, therefore, not hesitated to appropriate that arresting phrase for my own purpose of describing the ridiculous wishful thinkings of our top-ranking Congress leaders *vis-a-vis*

that dastardly act of partition to which they so gallily lent their full-throated moral support.

POLITICAL NAIVETE

Political naivete, it is clear, could no further go. Even that justly-acclaimed "Iron Man" of the Congress, our one and only Sardar (now, alas, no more!), had often been driven, in the interests of scoring a (doubtful) debating point, to advance the fatuous—I had almost said the frivolous—argument that he gave his *imprimatur* to that drastic surgical operation because, in his considered opinion, it promised to usher in an unending era of peace and good-will and amity between the sundered halves of our "vast sub-continent." In the last, January (1951) number of *The Modern Review* I endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to expose the utter hollowness and absurdity of that contention—indicating, in the process, that, when it came to monumental bungling, to double-distilled idiocy, our reputed "Iron Man" could, as the saying is, be "second to none" in the country. As the rain falls on the just and on the unjust alike, so does the born bully spare neither "secularists" nor "non-secularists" from his all-consuming wrath. That ought to have been obvious—even to Congressmen, whose mentality, I have always maintained, is sub-normal to a degree.

Time and again have the members of that most intransigent minority in our midst—to wit, the Muslim—wrung out concessions, more concessions, and still more concessions from our side, not (as had been innocently surmised by us when doling them out) with the outstretched hand of fellowship, but with overt and covert acts of further hostility. But did we ever profit by these bitter and humiliating experiences? Have we profited from them *even now*? To ask the questions is to furnish the answers.

SLITHERING DOWN THE GADARENE SLOPE OF RUIN

Everyone has, in the end, to lie on the bed he makes for himself. This is no less true of countries than of individuals. When, at the behest of the Mahatma, the appeasement of that intransigent minority aforementioned was turned by Congressmen into a regular fetish, into a veritable shibboleth, when it was made a sort of "ark of their covenant" that would be scoffed at by their opponents only at their own imminent peril, it seemed to those of my way of thinking that our *soi disant* premier political organization had begun slithering down the Gadarene slope of ruin and abasement. In retrospect it appears to me that I must have spent a not inconsiderable portion of my uneventful life in warning my countrymen against the very real dangers inherent in that extremely shortsighted policy and in noting down the various steps, or stages, by which our Congress "high-ups" have landed us in our present most unenviable predicament.

It may be that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. But when we are up against nothing less than

a whole array of moral posturings and spiritual exhortations no amount of forewarning, it is evident, can be of any positive assistance to the nation that has, of its own free will, chosen to repose such implicit faith in its leaders. It was a constant boast of the late head of the "largest Muslim State" in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth that one Muslim was the equal of three or four Hindus in martial valour. The Quaid-e-Azam's arithmetic is, of course, not to be sneezed at, nor do I, as a rule, belong to the sneezing fraternity, but it is a pity that he forbore to reckon the heaviness of the odds against which we had had to fight while he was with us in the flesh, and against which we are continuing to fight even after his deeply lamented departure from the scene of his devoted labours.

"GATHERING GRAPES OF THORNS AND . . ."

The New Year, then, has its problems for our hapless country no less than the old year had; and the most of these, as I have indicated, arise from the Gargantuan blunder of partition that was perpetrated on August 15, 1947. This partition itself was the direct offspring of the age-old policy of appeasement—that "putrefying albatross" which, at the Mahatma's bidding, the Congress dutifully clamped on its neck decades ago. The present can, in no sense, be divorced from the past, and it is part of the historian's task to correlate the two. It is a well-known saying—and experimentally proved on umpteen occasions—that one cannot gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. By the same token, an "Alice in Wonderland" approach to politics cannot be expected to yield results other than grotesque. The man who, according to the unimpeachable authority of the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton, elected to go to Birmingham *via* Beachy Head did not, in the end (as we all know), reach Birmingham. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, writing of the demented hero of Herman Melville's unforgettable masterpiece, *Moby Dick*, comments:

"The cross-bearings taken by Captain Ahab to find his ship's position, to set, if he can, the right course for her, would bring his ship to a harbour no man has ever reached. And he did not reach it. Destiny sank him and his companions in the waste."—*Gifts of Fortune*.

DISCREDITING THEIR RIVALS

The incredibly altruistic policy of the Congress *vis-a-vis* the Muslims has, likewise, "sunk" the Hindus and their champions "in the waste." Our revered Congress leaders have consistently preferred playing to the international gallery to safeguarding the interests of these same Hindus who, on any valid reasoning, are the true nationals of that truncated part of our beloved Motherland now going by the shameful name of "India that is Bharat." But "broad-mindedness" is no substitute for bread and these leaders have awakened to the fact that, in an election year, they must provide themselves with some more

dust to throw into the eyes of the masses if they wish to retain their present dominant position in the gruelling contests that are at hand. Obviously, one way of doing that is to set about discrediting their chief rivals and showing them to be fit only for what the poet has called "treasons, stratagems and spoils." And this they have set about doing in right earnest. At any rate, Pandit Nehru has set about doing it in right earnest. Is he not ever at attention when that "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," Duty, beckons him as the lonely lamp in Greenhead Ghyu beckoned Wordsworth's Michael?

ALL IS FAIR IN LOVE AND WAR

All is fair in love and war (and elections) and Pandit Nehru has not taken long to cash in on such a hoary tactic: nor has he had to ransack his memory overmuch in the process of doing so. Does not the Mahatma's name cry out to be exploited? As a weapon of attack there is not, it seems to me, an equal to it in the armoury of the opponents of the Congress: Congressmen (both high and low) are accustomed to bear, 'mid snow and ice,' this banner with the strange device. If the Mahatma alive had been an invaluable asset to them the Mahatma dead has become a veritable godsend! Besides, it is notorious that dead men tell no tales. The Mahatma alive might, for instance, in so far at least as certain of their performances are concerned, have repudiated them with all the vehemence at his command; but the Mahatma dead can be invoked by them for any purpose they choose without the slightest fear of his frowns. People talk of "blessings in disguise": Gandhiji's assassination, so deplorable to outward view, has paid Congressmen very, very handsome dividends, indeed!

PULLING THE CONGRESS'S CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE

Wielding the big stick the Congress almost completely routed the opposition elements and, creating a desert, called it peace. Reason—or a *modicum* of it—returned to the throne subsequently: the first fine careless rapture of decimating its opponents yielded place to a saner and a calmer review of the over-all situation. Still, the relevant point for our consideration is that a Gandhiji dead miraculously restored the Congress's waning prestige; and the further point for our consideration is that the Congress leaders appear to pin their faith on the possibility of his memory continuing to restore its waning prestige to the extent of winning the ensuing elections. Nor (worse luck!) is it such a forlorn hope as might be imagined by the uninitiated: public opinion in the country, highly dissatisfied though it be with the Government's acts—of omission and of commission alike—may yet allow itself to be swayed appreciably by the unprincipled and misleading invocation of Gandhiji's name and memory. There is, no doubt, such a thing as the Law

of Diminishing Returns in human affairs; and there is now, it is plain, not as much chance as there used to be in days gone by of that unprincipled and misleading invocation bearing any tangible fruit. But the risk, all the same, is there that it may, at a crucial moment, succeed in pulling the Congress's chestnuts out of the fire. It will be my endeavour in this article to try to minimise that risk as far as possible.

THE MAHATMA'S ASSASSINATION

Pandit Nehru's recent astounding elevation to the Presidency of the Congress was, manifestly, with the object of enhancing the prospects of its emerging victoriously in the coming electoral contests. No one knows it better than Pandit Nehru himself and he has been straining himself to the uttermost to vindicate his (unconstitutional) election. One outward and visible sign of that undue straining was his speech at Bhopal on December 3. It was there that, like Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, he was smitten by a dazzling light: it was there that, without any premonition whatsoever, the "vision splendid" came to him. That blinding flash of illumination was none other than this: it was the Hindu Mahasabha that was responsible for the assassination of the Mahatma on January 30, 1948. So he went at the leaders of the Mahasabha hammer and tongs: he gave them no quarter. The offence of the Mahasabha being so heinous he said that he should be "soiling his tongue" even if he were to mention the name of the organisation that was guilty of such a dastardly crime. He said many other things besides: as, for instance, that the Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh were weakening the country by creating dissensions among the masses, that they were raising false slogans of religion and culture to confound the people, and that they were exploiting those people's religious sentiments to further their political ends. He reiterated this in a subsequent speech at Gwalior. In fact, he has been ringing the charges upon it ever since—"soiling his tongue" in the process an interminable number of times. If I remember aright he has seen it fit to hold forth on it even after its hot repudiation by the leaders concerned as well as by one eminent in law who has absolutely nothing to do with the organisations named by him.

A WELL-MERITED STRICTURE

But, before I come to the repudiations themselves, let me quote a well-deserved stricture on our beloved Panditji by the *Times of India*. In its issue of December 13, it has an editorial, "Election Fever," in which it severely takes him to task:

"Irresponsibility might be excused in factions which have mushroomed overnight. But what has one to say of Congress leaders to whom verbal irresponsibility seems second nature? In recent weeks perhaps the worst of these offenders was the Congress President who accused one of the parties contesting the elections of responsibility for Gandhiji's murder. This has provoked the latter to

charge the Congress Government itself with responsibility for the crime inasmuch as it failed to protect the Mahatma adequately despite dire warnings. What is in issue is not the rightness or wrongness of these charges and counter-charges. The point is that such charges inevitably set in motion an evil chain of action and reaction which pollutes the electoral atmosphere. And why in any case bandy the Mahatma's name?"

Echo answers: "Why, indeed?"

A ROLAND FOR AN OLIVER

The editorial proceeds:

"The Congress is not so virtuous that it can afford to cast stones indiscriminately at others. Part of the reason for Mr. Nehru's irresponsible statements may be sought in the fact that, having to speak at half-a-dozen places in a day, he is often liable to make casual remarks which, if he had had more time to reflect, would not have been made. But this danger should make him even more than ordinarily cautious. It is disturbing to see how, instead of being content with analysing the record of his Government or describing its plans for the future, he is self-righteously indignant about things in regard to which he should be busy explaining the conduct of his administration."

Panditji has asked for it—and he has received it! The Bombay daily has given a Roland for his Oliver; and has politely suggested to him to turn the searchlight inwards rather than outwards. The following words to be found in *Isaiah* deserve being bound by our Congress leaders for a frontlet on their brows and a talisman on their wrists:

"Be not righteous overmuch: neither make thyself overwise: why should'st thou destroy thyself?"

BORQUETS FOR THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND . . .

Before coming to the repudiation of the Congress President's monstrous charges against the Hindu Mahasabha by that party's accredited leaders and, as I have indicated, by one eminent in law who does not belong to that organisation at all, let me take leave to challenge a statement of his in a speech he made at Gwalior on December 2 wherein he paid a handsome tribute to the Muslim League for its suppositiously dissolving itself after independence. His exact words were:

"Communalism is the greatest enemy of the country. The Muslim League disappeared from here after partition, but even then the communalists who indulged in the most irresponsible and foolish talk of 'Akhand Bharat' were encouraging communalism. Those who talk of 'Akhand Bharat' know fully well that they are only deceiving the public and trying to lead the country towards ruin."

BRICKS FOR THE HINDU MAHASABHA

For all that the very mention of the Hindu Mahasabha's name "soils his tongue" Pandit Nehru not only cannot refrain from mentioning it but cannot, it appears, help expatiating on it till the cows come home. One thing, I suppose, leads on to another and the Parthian shot is almost always this—namely, that it was this party that was responsible for the assassi-

nation of the Mahatma nearly four years ago. So even in this speech he was compelled, by that irresistible inner urge of his, to haul the members of the Mahasabha over the coals for that infamous deed.

"Beg your pardon, Sir", said Sam (Weller) when he had concluded, "but wen I gets on this here grievance, I runs on like a new barrow with the wheel greased."

Similar, one presumes, is our Panditji's predicament when he finds himself referring to the Mahasabha: "he runs on like a new barrow with the wheel greased." That was why he was impelled to ride his hobby-horse once again. He repeated, parrot-like, the charge that the Mahasabha "was full of misdeeds" and that it was "those people" who had a hand "to a great extent" in the murder of Gandhiji. Then it was but a step to patting himself and his Government on the back for his and their extraordinary tolerance.

"There is no other nation in the world which would have dealt with those people so leniently as the Indian Government has. But even then they have not come to their senses."

CONGRESS'S "LEONINE" VIOLENCE"

Extraordinary tolerance, indeed! Even street urchins, suspected of Mahasabha or R.S.S. leanings, had not been spared; and in many places Congressmen (or their agents) had gone literally berserk—especially in Maharashtra, the home-province of Godse, the assassin of the Mahatma. *It was not the Government that deserves that superlative encomium. Those who eminently deserve it are our people who surprisingly kept their heads when the Government, led by our beloved Panditji, almost ran amock.* Let not Pandit Nehru lay the flattering unction to his soul that he, or his myrmidons, let off the Hindu Mahasabha lightly: the unwarranted arrest (and humiliation) of Veer Savarkar is eloquent testimony to that! There was then no question of *ahimsa*: what met the eye everywhere was Government "red in tooth and claw."

ONE EXAMPLE

Ahimsa is reserved only for those modern *Herrenvolk*, the Muslims: for the Hindus it is the jackboot! It does not lie in the mouth of Pandit Nehru to talk of his tolerance where the Hindus—*his countrymen only in name*—are concerned. His activities in Bihar in 1946 when the Hindus started trouble against the Muslims by way of a *quid pro quo* to Muslim brutalities against the Hindus in Noakhali earlier do not exactly bear out his claim for tolerance. As a member of the then *Interim* Cabinet he toured Bihar and threatened the Hindus there with bombing and machine-gunning them.

HAS THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DISSOLVED ITSELF?

Now I come to a discussion of Pandit Nehru's declaration in his Gwalior speech from which I have quoted above that, after partition, the Muslim League disappeared from our political scene. Has it? If it has, of which organisation is Mr. Mahomed

Ismail of Madras the President? Far from committing *hara-kari* as has been suggested by Panditji the Muslim League is, if I may be permitted to say so, glaringly alive. Nor can it be asserted that it has failed to make its existence felt by its contemporaries. In a sense it is more alive now than in the pre-partition days: *it is alive in its own name as well as in some others.* The Fourth Party in Bombay, for instance, is nothing but the Muslim League in another garb. The Muslims were the favoured children of the British Government: they are the favoured children of the Indian Government, too! If the *divide et impera* policy of the former was an invaluable boon to them the "secular" policy of the latter is a no less invaluable bonanza. The Muslim League has had no cause, so far, to liquidate itself: on the other hand, it basks in the sunshine of official favour in no uncertain fashion.

CONGRESS'S MENDACITY

Only the other day, for instance, the Congress Government in Madras made significant overtures to the League there for co-operation in the ensuing elections. Congressmen everywhere are out to enlist its support in these contests: so catholic is their outlook, indeed, that they do not care to draw the line even at the notorious Razakars of Hyderabad! "Come one, come all, and the more the merrier!" seems to be their motto. At places they have been so mendacious as to warn the Muslims that if they do not help the Congress in winning the elections, the Hindu Mahasabha will exterminate them ruthlessly: it is a case of "Coddin's the friend, not Short!" The point is that, far from frowning upon their activities, the Congress has been actually encouraging the Muslims to redouble them and to "cock a snook" at the Hindus and their aspirations.

No, Panditji, the Muslim League has not disappeared from our country after partition. It is ferociously alive, and alive under a variety of *aliases*. It has been *your own party* that has been ceaselessly encouraging them to flourish like the proverbial green-bay tree.

MR. MAHOMED ISMAIL COMES OUT INTO THE OPEN

The ebullient President of the Muslim League, Mr. Mahomed Ismail, has now come out into the open to justify its existence. The sub-committee of the Muslim Central Parliamentary Board, of which he is the President, met in Madras on December 2 and issued a 2,000-word statement two days later in defence of the continued existence of the Muslim League. The statement says, *inter alia*, that the Constitution has conferred certain rights on the minorities; and, that being so, it further opines that the State should have the means to ascertain whether the minorities are satisfied with the implementation of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. The corollary, it would seem, naturally follows that "such

a means" must "legitimately take the shape of a minority organisation. With regard to the Muslims the League undeniably is such an organisation."

The statement holds that it is "neither logic nor fairness" to compare what it chooses to call "*minority organisations*" like the Muslim League with the "*communal organisations*" of the majority community. The case of the minorities is different. "When the minorities have got any view of their own to be formulated and put forward," it adds, "it is a sheer necessity for them to have an organisation of their own." It proceeds:

"The Constitution of our country contains positive provisions which recognize and secure certain of the rights of the minorities. These rights have to be secured, maintained and continued in actual practice in the government of the country. In such a context, an organization, a *political* organization at that, is an utter necessity for a minority."

LEAGUE NOT COMMUNAL AT ALL!

This fairly takes one's breath away! The Muslim League may be many things: what, however, it indubitably is not is being communal! It has been well said that orthodoxy is our "*doxy*": heterodoxy is the other fellow's. The Muslim League is a *minority* organisation, not a *communal* organisation: "that is" all ye know on earth and all ye need to know." We have all these years been waiting devoutly for some such consummation as this: now we may go home and enjoy our beauty sleep. For the Muslims are jolly good fellows and are not in the least communal! They are obsessed only with the desolating sense of their minority position: they are content to leave the luxury of being communal to the majority community, the Hindus. It looks almost as though Mr. Mahomed Ismail argued that a minority community is, *ipso facto*, precluded from being communal: its hands are too full with guarding the rights it has secured for itself under the Constitution. Charity, Bacon says, will scarcely water the ground if she must first fill a pool: so also if a minority community is condemned to concentrate its attention on protecting its interests where has it the time to indulge its communal bent, if any? These interests that Mr. Ismail's community is trying to protect are strictly its *minority* interests: its *communal* interests do not enter into the question at all!

A SUBTLE DISTINCTION

Mr. Ismail, it will be seen, is at infinite pains to draw a subtle distinction between his community's minority interests and its communal interests: a dichotomy that may pass muster with his community's patron, Pandit Nehru, but not, I am sure, with anyone else. Perhaps it will be a waste of effort to attempt to convince Mr. Ismail that those minority interests that he is so much concerned with are *precisely* the communal interests of his community. It is a *distinc-*

tion without a difference. Mr. Ismail is simply playing with words. That he is himself conscious that he is playing with words will be evident from his open avowal that "neither the League nor the Congress migrated from where they were." From this it is obvious that, with the best of intentions, Mr. Ismail cannot help letting the cat out of the bag. Truth will out, however cunningly it may be camouflaged for the time being. What, else, did the poet say?

*"E'en from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."*

"THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE IN EXCHANGE
FOR BEAUCHAMP!"

The implications of the Muslim League President's open avowal that his organisation "has not migrated from where it was" are not as innocuous as they might have appeared to him when he rushed into print to clear his breast of the perilous stuff that had been accumulating there for the last four years. The implications of that open avowal, far from being innocuous, are really very dangerous: for they shed more than a ray of light on the League's psychology even in the post-partition era. The League, we are now definitely given to understand, has not abandoned its old policy or programme: its old policy or programme of hatred, violence and bigotry. It was this combination of hatred, violence and bigotry that was responsible for the dastardly vivisection of our beloved Motherland. I am perfectly aware that it is now the fashion not to bemoan that vivisection: Pandit Nehru even regards it as "the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement," in the classic phrase of the late Mr. Maurice Baring. All the same, that vivisection was dastardly; and it was the League's policy of hatred, violence and bigotry that set it in motion. Mr. Ismail tells us, blandly, that that policy remains intact: *a policy that was based on rampant communalism*. How, then, does he propose to square this with his other assertion that the League is at present simply a minority organisation, not a communal organisation?

Pandit Nehru also has a hard roe to hoe: how does he propose to square his statement in Gwalior on December 2 that the Muslim League has disappeared from the country after partition with Mr. Mahomed Ismail's open avowal that not only has it not disappeared from the country after partition but that its ideology remains the same as of old—the same ideology, be it remembered, that was responsible for that partition? Pandit Nehru has never any good word to spare for the Hindu Mahasabha: it is his "King Charles's head." With the Muslim League he takes a different line altogether: "becks and nods and wreathed smiles" come out not as single spies but in battalions. And yet—and yet—it is the communal exchange for Beauchamp!" is the unspoken comment

of two characters at the conclusion of George Meredith's fine novel, as they stare at the small gutter-snipe whom Beauchamp died to save. That about sums up the matter. Well may the country say to the Congress:

*"Thou hast led me, like a heathen sacrifice,
With music and with fatal yokes of flowers,
To my eternal ruin."*

REPUDIATION BY SABHA LEADERS

The foregoing is by way of clearing the decks for action. I shall now deal with the oft-repeated charge of Pandit Nehru that the Hindu Mahasabha was deeply involved in the assassination of the Mahatma. The Mahasabha leaders have been crying themselves hoarse ever since that fatal day of assassination that their organisation had absolutely nothing to do with it and that it was the *individual* act of the culprit, Godse. Dr. N. B. Khare, the President of the Mahasabha, has given a fitting rejoinder to the Pandit's contemptible calumny. He has issued a statement wherein he says:

"It is most deplorable that such a responsible leader should make such a baseless and mischievous allegation and hit below the belt of a rival political organisation. People should remember that in the judgment delivered after the long and protracted Gandhi murder trial there is not even an oblique reference to the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. Why then does, Pandit Nehru repeat, parrot-like, this unfounded allegation? It is obvious that the Government of India cannot escape this charge of neglect. The name of the Congress, and its Government should stink in the nostrils of every right-thinking Indian, not only for this neglect in affording adequate protection for the tribune of the people, but also for the slaughter of the innocent and outrages against Indian womanhood perpetrated before and after partition."

MR. P. R. DAS'S REPUDIATION

I have written that not only the Hindu Mahasabha leaders but also an eminent lawyer absolutely unconnected with the organisation has repudiated Pandit Nehru's wild allegation. This eminent lawyer is none other than Mr. P. R. Das, President of the All-India Civil Liberties' Union. In a statement given to the *United Press of India* in New Delhi on December 10 he replies in this wise to that allegation:

"I do not belong to the Hindu Mahasabha and I have nothing to do with the organisation. But I was the leading counsel for Mr. V. D. Savarkar who was one of the accused in the Mahatma Gandhi murder trial. I can confidently contradict the statement or the insinuation that the Hindu Mahasabha had any hand in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. The learned Advocate-General of Bombay, who is at present the Solicitor-General of India, never made any such allegation throughout the trial, and no such case was made by, or on behalf of, the State. It is most unfair that passions are being roused just before the election to connect an organisation with a dastardly crime. As the President of the Civil Liberties' Union in India I feel it is my duty to

enter my protest against any such attempt to defame any organisation which is running candidates in the ensuing general elections."

Mr. Das has this final fling at our beloved Panditji:

"Truth is often a casualty in the elections. But we expected a higher standard of conduct

from Mr. Nehru, both as the President of the Congress and as the Prime Minister of India."

But Pandit Nehru *deliberately* made this insinuation: that was the only way of getting round the Mahasabha in the ensuing elections. Was he not elected to the Presidency of the Congress only with the object of winning the elections?

—O:—

MAHATMA'S POLITICAL ETHICS

By Prof. IQBAL NARAIN SRIVASTAVA, M.A.

"After Mr. Gandhi went away, I fell to thinking about the different elements that met in him. There was the St. Francis, vowed to the simple life of poverty, in harmony with all creation and in love with all created things. There was the St. Thomas Aquinas, the thinker and the philosopher, able to sustain high argument and to follow the subtleties of thought in all their windings. There was also the practical man of affairs, with a legal training to back and strengthen his sense for affairs—the man who could come down from mountain tops to guide with shrewd advice transactions in the valley."—EARNEST BARKER.

MAHATMA GANDHI was remarkable indeed in being the subtlest and the most understandable of those intellectuals who have also been rich in practical wisdom. He was something more than this. He was a principle in himself. An inspiring and a thought-provoking challenge to the West, our Mahatma had been a revolution and a reformation not only to India but to the whole world in all spheres of life—moral, social, economic and political. The truth of this statement will be borne out by an analysis of the political ethics of Mahatma Gandhi, which is attempted here.

Mahatmaj's political ethics may be discussed under the following heads:

I

FOUNDATIONS OF HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Unity of Life: Mahatma was a political thinker because he was a seer of life. To him, life was a wholesome unity. It could not be divided into watertight compartments as moral, social, economic or political. To him, all aspects of life were inter-twined like the twigs of a bush. Thus Mahatmaj's political philosophy was a part of his philosophy of life—life which was to Mahatma, a living quest of the Higher Self.

Love: An important implication of his view of the *Unity of Life* was that man is one with creation. Naturally he should live and let live. Men must essentially be humane. Kindness, fellow-feeling and sympathy should be his greatest virtues. In a word, he should be a great lover. It was in this spirit, that Mahatmaj declared, "If love would not have been the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death." Our Mahatma, in fact, was a spiritual mystic in revolt against the facts of difference and dissension. Harmony was the quest of his life. And in love, he found a cohesive force. And this love and not power, service and not exploitation, is the cornerstone of his political ethics.

Ahimsa: Love, naturally implies non-injury, non-violence and conscious self-suffering and sacrifice. All these virtues were summed up by Mahatmaj in one

word—*Ahimsa*—which naturally became the basic idea in his political philosophy. Indeed our Mahatma's "greatest battle has been," as Miss Mande D. Petre has remarked, "against the spirit of domination and violence and he has gone forth, even more totally disarmed than David against the Goliath of human force and passion for he has carried only one weapon that of non-violence."

His faith in spirit: As already stated, life for Mahatmaj in its ideal sense was a quest of the Higher Self, for the spirit in man, being a part of God, wants to be one with Him. Mahatmaj had faith in this spirit of man, which he termed soul force. His politics was, in fact, political ethics, having its source of strength in spirit and soul force instead of metal and steel power.

II

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF HIS POLITICAL ETHICS

From the aforesaid discussion, the following characteristics of Mahatmaj's political ethics emerge:

Its Religious Tenor: Mahatmaj spiritualised politics. Like Jefferson, he thought of politics in moral and religious terms. To him, politics was religion and religion was brotherhood. Barker was justified when he stated:

"I should, therefore, celebrate in Mr. Gandhi—the man who could mix the spiritual with the temporal and could be at the same time true to both."

Gandhiji once himself said:

"If I seem to take part in politics it is only because politics today encircle us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out no matter how one tries. I wish to wrestle with the snake. I am trying to introduce religion into politics."

Thus Gandhiji did contradict by his ideas and also by the facts of his own life the gloomy view of Aldous Huxley that "Man of religious genius cannot take part in large-scale politics without being corrupted by them."

The Harmony of Means and Ends: As Mahatmaj was essentially religious in his political philosophy, his political ideals could admit of no duplicity. For him, ends did not justify means. Noble ends and

noble means must go together, for ends do grow out of means. Today the world suffers from a big paradox of life, which presents us daily with innumerable instances of human beings virtuous in ends, vicious in means, selfish in ends but deceptively selfless in means. But this paradox, though a keystone of the so-called modern practical politics, did not inspire Mahatma's political ideals in any way.

No. Antithesis between Individual and Society: One notices the aforesaid harmony of means and ends in Mahatma for the simple reason that he did not admit of any antithesis between individual and society. To him, "Man is the architect of human society. He is the root of mankind . . . a measurement of liberty and progress." He also realised that society is the soul in man. Without society man cannot grow, cannot become himself. Consequently Mahatma realised that a man should feel his indebtedness to society and serve it. According to Mahatma, a man who acts as a parasite on society degenerates himself.

A Synthesis of Idealism, Realism and Practical Wisdom: It has to be noted that though Mahatma was Platonic in his idealism—always, dreaming of his *Ram Rajya* like 'Plato's philosopher king'—yet he was greater than Plato in his political wisdom. He combined in himself, idealism and practical wisdom. He rather insisted that idealism to be real must be practical. He once stated that

"Abstract truth has no value unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it."

Gandhi, in fact, was a great idealist but a greater Karma-Yogi. For him, the highest ethics must necessarily be the highest expediency.

III

MAHATMA'S POLITICAL IDEALS

Let us now briefly analyse Mahatma's political ideals under the following heads:

His View of Liberty: Gandhi was above everything a philosopher devoted to freedom. He wanted freedom for life in its wholeness. The purpose of freedom for him was welfare, both moral and material, spiritual and worldly. Liberty consisted for him in justice and equality of opportunities for all to realise their best selves. His faith was that

"Progress, if it is to be real, must consist in liberty actually enjoyed by individuals . . . the sum total of liberty actually enjoyed by individuals constitutes social progress."

But he never treated 'liberty' as a licence. He could dream of no liberty which could be anti-social. To Mahatma, liberty implied duties rather than rights. In the Gandhian vocabulary, individual liberty was, in fact, identified with public duty.

His View of Democracy: There are three main things to be noted in his view about democracy. In the first place, he stressed that democracy must have the greatest possible measure of local autonomy as its

basis. He believed that concentration of power is 'anti-democratic.' Conversely speaking, decentralization was to him the very soul of democracy. Men, he believed, should do their actual living and working in communities of a size commensurate with their bodily and mental stature, communities small enough to permit genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities. He opined that these communities should be federated in larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse power might not arise. His belief was that larger a democracy grew, the less real would become the rule of the people and smaller would be the say of the individuals in deciding their own destinies. Here again our Mahatma was near Jefferson. In the second place, he held non-violence to be the life spirit of democracy and the psychology of the true democratic. According to him, thus Great Britain which is non-violent at home and violent abroad is democrat at home and autocrat abroad. In the third place he believed criticism to be the 'Ozone' of a really democratic life. It is essential to purge the government of its anti-national leanings. Being a great corrective of administration, it is, in fact, the corner-stone of every democratic regime.

His View of State and Its Functions: He advocated the concept of a welfare State. He believed that citizens form the State and so the State must live for the citizens. He had indeed, as Barker has pointed out,

"a Platonic feeling that governing and administrative persons should be content with the opportunity of service and not expecting great rewards."

He believed the greatest good of all to be the end of the State. Dr. Dhawan in his thesis has pointed out that Mahatma, "is a philosophical anarchist, because he believes that this end can be realised in the classless and stateless society of autonomous village communities." It seems difficult to agree with Dr. Dhawan. He considers autonomy to be opposed to the existence of the State while it is only opposed to centralization of power. Gandhi never wanted to abolish the State. He instead desired the State to be maintained as *Ram Rajya* which had decentralization of power and free criticism of the ruling authority as its chief features.

His Political Strategy of Revolution: Gandhi believed that resistance of injustice and tyranny was but inevitable, human and essential, for man has in him a hatred for injustice and cruelty. But he gave the political world a new weapon to fight against injustice and tyranny. It is not the atom-bomb or a dazzling spear—but a sword of gold named *Ahimsa*—'non-violence.'

"Non-violence does not mean," as Gandhi himself said on August 4, 1920, "weak submission to the will of the evil-doer but putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant."

"Resistance" thus in him, "finds its outlet," as

Romain Rolland puts it, "not in violence but in the active forces of love, faith and sacrifice."

Personal suffering and sacrifice, faith and will to

also an advocate of world federation. He insisted that the whole world should be treated as one big family.

He wanted us to "widen the circle of our love till it

COCHIN CALLING

How do you reach this tropical paradise? Simple enough if you are in Bombay or for the matter of fact, anywhere else in India. The Air Services take you on a thrice-weekly flight to Cochin within a few hours. An itinerary of Cochin, Trivandrum and Cape

Malabari fisherman on the sea, with the palm-fringed vista of the old Cochin town before you, you may for once forget the cares of the world and relax. The hotel itself has a lovely bar, a good swimming pool, a couple of motor launches always at your disposal at reasonable rates and you should, as a rule, be out of

JAMBUKESWARAM
Sacred Siva Temple in South India

ON THE BANK OF THE GODAVARI

By NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

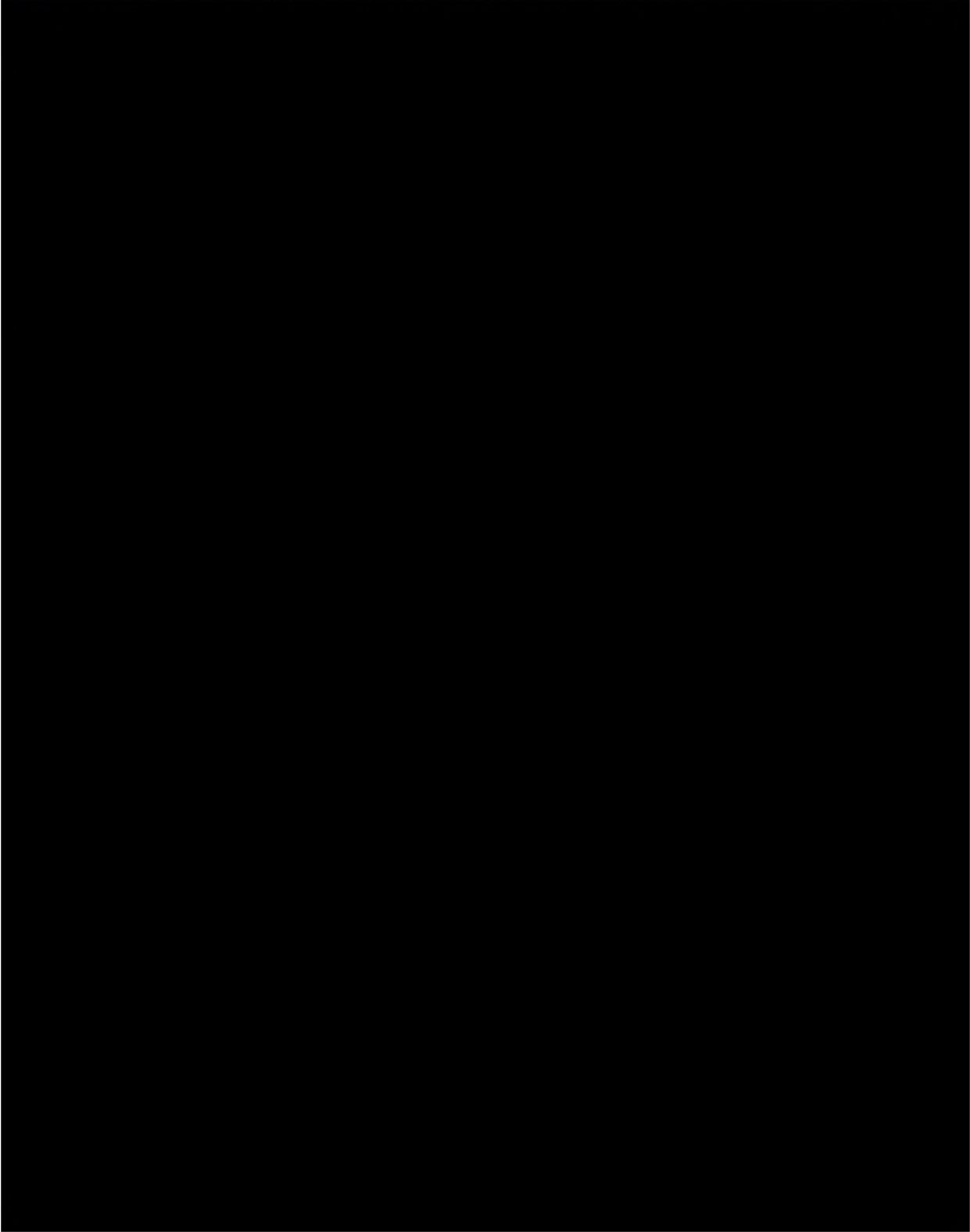
I had come to know of the Andhra Sramik Dharma landscape had totally changed. Our train after cross-Rajya Sabha some three years ago and I was eager ing the borders of Orissa was proceeding through the

The train reached Kovvur at 4-30 p.m. I was led to Sri Sarma's quarters by a young volunteer who had been waiting for me in the station. Kovvur is a small town of the West Godavari District of Andhra, situated on the western bank of the river Godavari. The town is very neat and clean. The main road of the town starts directly from the station and reaches the northern extremity of the locality. The road is

Various stories associated with Gautama are current at Kovvur. One of them runs as follows:

One day while Gautama was practising religious rites a cow entered the cornfield in front of his Asrama and began to devour ripe corn. The Rishi who was seated *padmasana* opened his eyes and saw what mischief was being done by the animal. Immediately he tore a *kusa* grass from his *asana* and

20 feet high from the ground-level runs from south to north along the course of the river. This highway with the help of the Adivasis of the Agency area waged war against the British Government, were un- hides the view of the Godavari though it is only a veiled in the Mendhak water. It is a high



here that no authentic account of the Naga-rani, except that contained in this book, has yet been published.



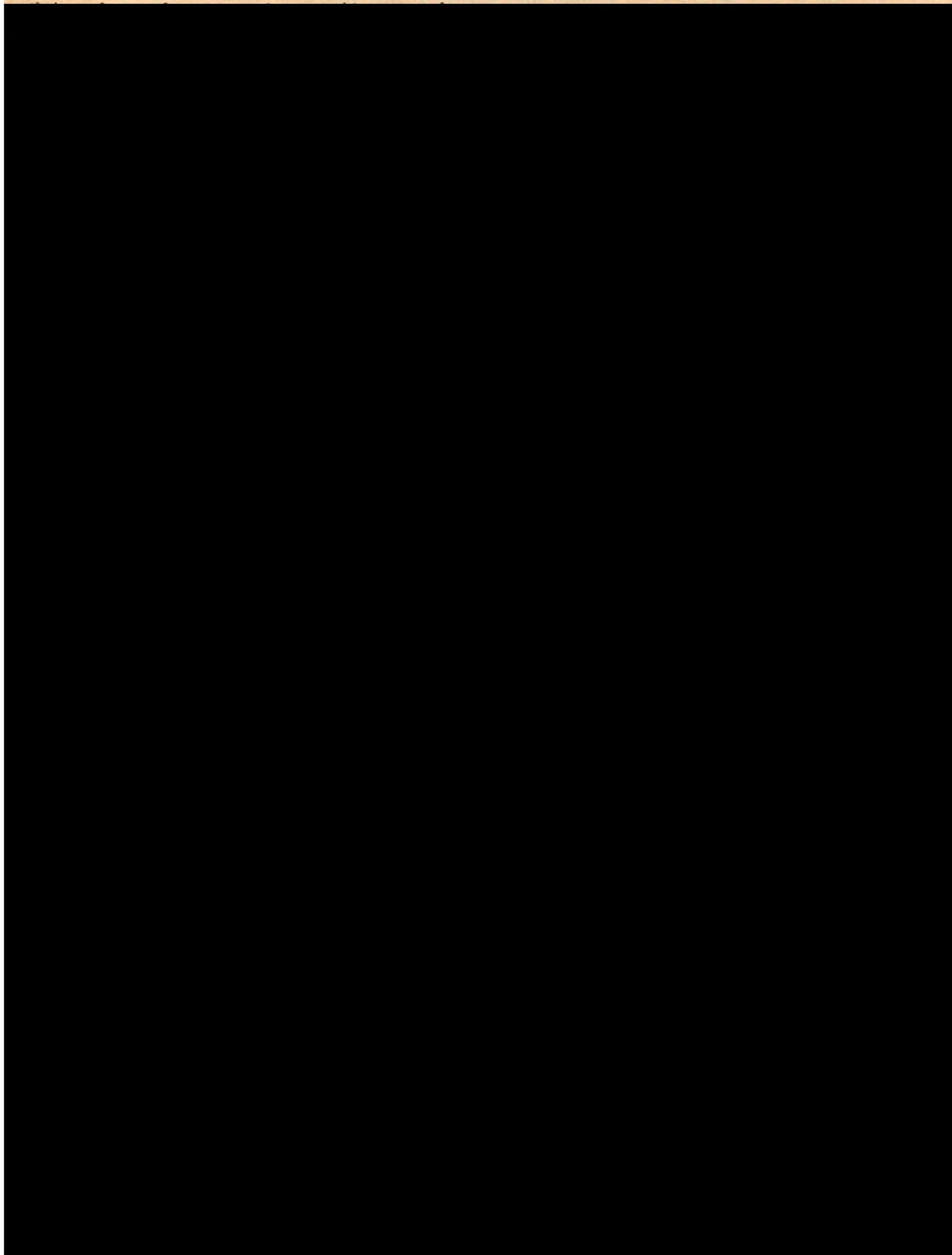
Next day I was free from all engagements. So after taking my breakfast, which consisted of coffee, some *idlis* (a kind of cake which is a mixed preparation of powdered rice and gram), *chutney* and chilli powder, I went out for sight-seeing. First of all I reached the market-place which was nearby. There were heaps of ripe mangoes in the central place of the market. I saw Netaji Subhas Chandra's picture adorning almost every shop. Netaji is held in high esteem here by all classes of people.

There is not a single Bengali resident at Kovvur. Of course, a Gaudiya Math founded thirty years ago

MONTANA
Mining and Cattle-raising State

By A. B. GUTHRIE, Jr.

In the north-western State of Montana, in the residents of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountain United States, population is small and space is tains assert there is not a month in Montana with-



INDIAN ART AND INDIANS

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

ALL lovers of Indian Art should be grateful to Rai Krishnadasji who has built up this Museum, bit by bit, piece by piece, through many years of earnest and arduous labour and sacrifice. And no one knows better than I do the great value of this collection* and its many unique items of art-treasures representing the multifarious phases of the great history of Indian Painting throughout the ages. You are going to see today only one phase of this great treasure-house of Indian Art. And when I was asked yesterday to come and open this exhibition I was asking myself, why the organisers of this show have chosen to concentrate our attention on the Historical Portraits† which may or may not represent the best masterpieces of Indian pictorial art, and I was asking myself, why the supreme examples of other phases of Indian Painting in the collection (marvellous in their masterly colour compositions and linear designs, and of imaginative qualities of supreme spiritual values) have been ignored and why emphasis is being laid on the historical portraits, many of which could not represent the highest achievements of Indian pictorial art, though there are many historical pieces in other collections which are great masterpieces of art and deserve high praise as repositories of supreme aesthetic and spiritual values, apart from their values as interesting and important documents of history.

Scholars and historical students, as a rule, with some rare exceptions, are notoriously blind to the aesthetic, spiritual and technical values of the masterpieces of Indian Art and their supreme values as cultural expression of Indian civilization which have won the admiration of all connoisseurs of visual arts in Europe and America, and which leave, even now, the majority of our Indian scholars cold and un-responsive, because they have never learnt the A B C of the language of our visual arts and are unable to decipher the peculiar and difficult language of Indian Art or to interpret the great spiritual truth which they hide in the mysterious language of a new order of Beauty with a new system of grammar and rhetoric, and which are diametrically opposite to the cheap realistic and naturalistic languages of the general body of European Art. And I know several distin-

guished members of the Archaeological Department who still believe that *after all* the Gandhara School of Sculpture, with its realistic outlook, and accurate anatomical presentation is a superior expression of Indian Art to the great masterpieces of Gupta and post-Gupta sculptures of the mediaeval schools. This deprecatory attitude of the majority of our Indian scholars towards the great monuments of Indian Art is very typically illustrated in the first volume, just published, of the projected *History and Culture of the Indian People*, planned and sponsored by the Hon'ble Dr. K. M. Munshi, one of our distinguished Ministers, and President of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In the volume on the *Vedic Age* just published, there is not a single reference to the state of the cultivation of architectural, pictorial, or sculptural art, in the Vedic Age, though a chapter is devoted to Indus Valley culture and its visual arts. I am not claiming that there are many authentic vestiges of actual remains of visual arts of the Vedic Age. But I am sure my friend Dr. Vasudev Saran Agarwal will bear me out if I say that there are innumerable data in the Vedic texts, from which one could easily reconstruct a tolerable picture of the state of the cultivation of the Fine Arts during the Vedic Age.

The tragedy is that our great Indian scholars, very well grounded in all departments of knowledge, have neglected the data for the history of Indian culture that are buried in the records of Indian visual art, their motifs and formulations. Coomaraswamy and Havell have very clearly demonstrated that most of the later formulations of Indian Art are actually derived from Vedic sources and root-ideas. And my friend Dr. V. S. Agarwal has at least demonstrated in ancient Indian terracottas the unmistakable records of Vedic contributions. And to cite a very relevant matter, very pertinent to our Exhibition of Historical Portraits, the great French scholar Sylvain Levi, the father of Indian linguistic studies and of many phases of Indian culture, had recovered for us a series of portraits of Vedic R'shis, of Vasistha, Atri, Angirasa and Arundhati, which he believed were authentic likenesses handed down by continuous traditions. If we refuse to recognize in these effigies the proof of the practice of portrait-painting during the Vedic Age we shall be justified in refusing to accept even the inscribed portraits of Nur Jahan and other beauties of the Mughal harem as authentic historical documents and brand them as concoctions of the imagination of the Mughal portrait-painters. My friend Rai Krishna-

* Address delivered by Prof. O. C. Gangoly in opening the Exhibition of Historical Portraits at the Benares Hindu University on December 25, 1951.

† Derived evidently from the very rich collection of ancient Indian paintings of the Bharat Kala Bhavan which is now part and parcel of the Museum belonging to the Benares Hindu University.

dasji collected for me a valuable pictorial document, one of the treasures of this collection, which enabled me to contradict the contemporary evidence of Dr. Niccolas Manucci who had asserted that it was impossible to obtain actual likenesses of the inmates of the Mughal harems owing to the strict purdah observed to conceal the guarded flames of Mughal harems from the masculine gaze of portrait-painters.

It is popularly believed that the art of portrait-painting was introduced into India from Persia during the time of the Mughals. But all our Sanskrit scholars shall protest against this popular fallacy and unite their voices to assert loudly that there was a continuous history of the indigenous Indian schools of portrait-painting practised from remote antiquity, long before the advent of the Mughals. And our Sanskrit dramas of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods are full of continuous references to the art of portrait-painting. But the history of our indigenous schools of portrait-painting goes back to much earlier times. We have authentic literary proofs of the practice of portrait-painting during the time of Kaniska; I am ignoring the stone effigies of Kaniska and Huviska, very well-known to our antiquarian scholars, but I am referring to *painted portraits*. The history of Indian portrait-painting can be taken much further back, to the times of the Buddha himself, on the basis of the evidence of many passages of the text of the *Divyavadana*. But it can be taken still further back to pre-Buddhistic times on the basis of the legend of Nagnajit recorded in the Tibetan translation of the text of the *Chitra-lakshana*, the original of which is now lost.

As regards the later history we are too familiar with the coin-portraits of the Gupta kings. But I have recently discovered in the famous Dasavatara Cave Inscription a distinct reference to numerous painted portraits of one of the Rastra-kuta kings, a reference to which has been missed by our scholars who have several times dealt with this great document of Rastra-kuta history, because most of our scholars do not care for the history of Indian Fine Arts and these references have no meaning or significance for them in setting forth the history of Indian culture in its many-faced revelations. I have been recently studying some valuable historical portraits from Rajasthana, bearing identifying inscriptions of the princes depicted, as well as the names of the artists who have drawn the portraits. From the large number of documents collected by Coomaraswamy and other scholars and a large number of Hindu portraits which have recently come to light, it is now

possible to present a connected history of the indigenous schools of portrait-painting, practised throughout the centuries, quite independent of the Mughal school of portraits imported from Persia. But this is not the time nor a suitable occasion to present even a summary history of the Indian art of portrait-painting.

But we cannot miss this opportunity to recognize and acknowledge our debt to various scholars, particularly to Dr. Stehoukine, Dr. Goetz, Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Aravamuthan who have made valuable discoveries and contributed scholarly studies on various phases of the Iconography of Indian Historical Portraits, many of which are not known to our Indian scholars, having been published in various French and German journals. I am sure the distinguished curator of this Museum has put together a large number of portraits which should be of great use to our historical scholars and open out a new approach, a new vista to the many-faced temples, and the shining shrines of Indian Art. I congratulate Rai Krishnadas for adopting the clever tricks of priest-craft, of offering tempting baits of historical data to the unwilling worshippers to persuade them to come and worship in his temple of Beauty. Even if they enter the temple of Indian Art through the back-door of historical approaches, they are sure to be converted into ardent devotees of the aesthetic merits of Indian Art, the finest revelations of Indian culture.

I have conscientious objection to make speeches in the immediate vicinity of pictures which have more valuable messages to deliver to us in their silent language of line and colour and which we frequently dishonour by our talkative habits, which prevent us from listening to the priceless messages, which I humbly claim, can never be gleaned, from the written or printed words of our books and cyclopaedias or the doubtful records of our inscriptions over which our scholars love to quarrel with their contradictory readings and interpretations. The clear and graphic records of our pictorial art are transparent in their meanings and intentions which offer unambiguous evidence and which are certainly above all manner of quarrel or of controversy.

I verily believe that it is much more interesting to look at pictures than to listen to such uninteresting talks about them. I have great pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open. May it lead to many brilliant moral, intellectual and spiritual consequences. *Ayamarambham Subhaya bhabatu.*

THE SUN RISES AGAIN IN JAPAN.

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

It is thrilling to walk round Tokyo's business centre Ginzan. Not so much for its heavy traffic, its attractive shop-windows and show-cases exhibiting jewels, brocades, chinawares and teak-furniture having a cheap price, but rather for the unending stream of teeming shopping men and women. Ginzan's come-back is something symbolical of the spirit of the Land of the Rising Sun. It demonstrates how in Showa's 20th year Japan has once again been able to stand on her own legs. The stream of pedestrians is just like that of any other big million-city, among whom may be seen Japanese women in wooden sandals, sauntering along making a rhythmic sound with their sandals striking against the pavement of the streets. Even the menfolk in Japan move about in short but quick paces. Everybody seems to be in a hurry. Everybody has got the feeling that it is but a question of racing with time, but still one can afford to wait a little for giving a courteous reply or for rendering help in some other way. Above everything else a Japanese must be very courteous in his or her behaviour. Discipline in the life of a Japanese is very rigorous, since he or she must learn how to show proper respect for elderly people, for relatives and for parents. Early in life a Japanese is inculcated with the very spirit of a severe discipline. Discipline is inherent in his or her nature.

At the street-corner the police is found to do his duty with dignified gestures of hand and with sharp and shrill blasts of his whistle. Now they no longer carry any sword with them. Instead they carry either pistols or short wooden batons. On a Western mind it makes rather curious impression to see their assumed air of dignity. But a Japanese may not notice it himself, because he is afraid of the police and has good reasons for being so. The police is the protector of all that remains of the Imperial military tradition. The police has been called to form the nucleus of a new army which is springing up mushroomlike, thanks to American backing. Scarcely five years after Japan took a solemn vow not to carry arms again a new army is now in the making.

As regards the bustling street-scenes in present-day Tokyo it may be said that big green tram cars heavily pressing forward through the traffic create a very interesting impression in a foreigner's mind. Until recently units of the occupational forces were allowed to travel free in these tram cars. Now however it is a very common sight to find them handing over 10-yen notes as fare to the conductors. Even in the olive-green army buses which go a long way in supplementing Tokyo's inadequate conveyance net one has got to pay something as fare. The occupation job is an unwellcome affair today.

Men and women are now covering their mouths with bandage-like pieces of cloth as a hygienic protection against infection. In a big city like Tokyo one cannot help breathing in bacilli. Hygiene is taught to boys and girls in schools. Almost everybody wears specs in Japan and the cause of their being myopic rather early in life is attributed to learning difficult Japanese characters in school-days. The written characters which like so many other things are a Chinese heritage have been the cause of a lot of trouble for the education-minded Japanese people. Compositors employed in a big newspaper press in Japan have to deal with some 6 to 8 thousand characters. An average educated person, however, tries to confine his knowledge within 1000 characters. The majority of the readers of newspapers cannot understand all the characters. The average reader can, therefore, understand only a fraction of what is actually printed in the paper and this has proved to be a national handicap. Even newspaper reporters cannot quite clearly describe that which he was told in an interview for the same reason. But when it comes to the question of understanding a subtle hint, the Japanese are more quick than Westerners.

Japanese women are also found to wear specs, but they are very few and that is because they were not required to learn so much as their men-folk. They do not learn more than just a few hundred characters. They are, however, found to use artificial teeth as their teeth decay rather early due to their frequently using the tooth-brush and a strong tooth-paste which is apt to damage the enamel of the teeth. It is also a common sight to see a Japanese gentleman growing a moustache. Perhaps the Japanese are the only Asiatic people having a good growth of beard. Sometimes they may be found to have long whiskers. School-boys in their teens wearing uniforms clip their hairs short like the Americans and the Germans.

In street-corners coloured advertisement-kiosks with the help of loud-speaker blare forth American slogans, in between reading out advertisement text: "All Right Louis Drop That Gun" is the dominant slogan of the day.

American soldiers drive up to Ginzan in brand new models of petrol-driven "Foreigners Cab" having English-speaking chauffeurs. The Japanese, however, must remain contented with driving in ramshackle gas-driven taxi-cabs which are but a symbolic relic of the past. According to the latest report released by the occupation-authorities, the Japanese have now got the necessary permission for buying cars for personal use only. Till recently the sale of such cars was reserved only for foreigners. But the Japanese knew how to

circumvent these regulations, as a result of which both business men and the military posed as buyers of cars on behalf of their friends. It is now hoped that the Japanese will be the masters of their own house shortly and so will be in a position to pay back any good turn like that. The underground passages to the tube railways that were bombed during the war have now been reconstructed. The tube is a modern and rapid means of communication with shops and service-facilities of different types located underground. From scores of side quarters one can find one's way to the Ginza with the help of small arrow-marked road indicators. Ginza is the very throbbing heart of the town, to which everybody would like to find a way. In old Tokyo it was difficult even for the Japanese to find out the thing wanted. The new city-guide after the English pattern, introduced by the occupation-authorities was, therefore, hailed with enthusiasm even by the natives. It was, however, not possible to introduce the traffic co-ordination system prevailing in American towns in Tokyo itself, exactly in the same way as it could be done in Kyoto for obvious reasons, as the former city was built thousands of years ago in square patterns. But still as much as was possible had been done. The Royal Palace is situated apart in the centre of Tokyo as a shady island surrounded as it is by a moat and a high wall.

From this central point radiate A-B-C avenues in all directions as the spokes of a wheel. The gap between these avenues is filled up by streets bearing the numbers 1-2-3 as the finest threads of a communication cob-web. According to the ancient Japanese system, every quarter had its own number and every apartment within was numbered also according to its age. Just like in American towns telephone wires have been posted above the ground in Japanese towns. Between telegraph posts they look like fishing-net hung up for drying. Had the Japanese peasants continued with their revolt ever since the beginning of the 18th century against the introduction of all forms of Western technical inventions in their own country, telephone wires would have to be laid underground. The peasants' revolt of the 18th century originated in the superstitious belief that the telegraph could operate only when the wires were besmeared with a virgin's blood. The Japanese were so hideously hide-bound just about a century ago that in the countryside it was even found difficult to make any statistical record of the population. The country people had a firm belief, having a deep root in the queer idea that the authorities were out for mischief by kidnapping their maidens. This led to the tragic consequence that houses in Japan were numbered to mark the turn for the execution of the maidens of the different houses with a view to saving them from falling into dishonour at the hands of the government officials. Streets originating from or near the Ginza are flanked

on both sides with wooden huts having swing doors, made of parchment-like paper and illuminated by red paper lamps having black signs. The wooden huts serve either as tea or coffee houses, bathing establishments, restaurants or small Geisha hotels. Between them are, however, located cabarets and night-clubs of different types of elegance. These buildings originally belonged to those who were the first to recover from the effects of bombing. They used to cater for the pleasures of the soldiers, occupation-authorities and showed great cleverness in this art. They were shrewd enough to play the role of caterers before the occupation-authorities for looking after the needs of the soldiers. They, therefore, got top priority in obtaining all the necessary materials for effecting quick repairs to damaged buildings and they lost no time in going full ahead with their job. And so as if out of nothing sprang forth mushroomlike bars, night-clubs and similar other houses of entertainment galore, from the traditional Japanese Kabuki-theatre down to the simple camouflaged Geisha hotel. There was then even a question of reconstructing the famous Yoshimura, "the city without night," where two thousand girls used to live with the so-called "mamas" who used to hold big shares in this business with artists, suppliers and procurers and all types of other go-betweens. It was, as it were, a strictly isolated world having an atmosphere of eternal pleasure. It was a world which had its own language, its own morals, manners and its own hierarchy. But the plans for the construction of this paradise of pleasure have not yet been put in operation, in spite of the big Japanese financiers' tempting description of the possibilities for recreation and pleasure that the hard-pressed occupational bosses might get in that paradise. The gradual introduction of a new life of entertainment brought in its wake a sharp rise in the importation of young girls from all parts of the country and this, in spite of the fact, that the activity of the go-betweens, who were formerly allowed to look after the interest of this business, has been officially banned. These girls were bought very cheap from poor parents and were supplied as bar-tenders, dance-partners, society girls and sometimes even as pure prostitutes and attendants in bathing establishments. Filthy lucre was at the bottom of all this mischief. The right of franchise for the Japanese woman was introduced for the first time on the 10th of April, 1946, but it made little difference in her social status. A solitary exception is however formed by those groups of women who found employment either in the offices of the big cities or found some professional work elsewhere.

A woman in Japan is meant only to serve her man and to satisfy his whims and caprices. She must serve the opposite sex either in restaurants or in some other establishment and must ever help him to eat

and drink, if she is required to do so. If she works in a factory she will be in duty bound not to leave that factory within the period of contract signed by her parents with the management of the factory. During this period she must remain contented with the food served in the factory for factory hands and must sleep in the lodging supplied by the management. In almost every Japanese restaurant a guest is received by a girl, who fulfills all the duties of a hotel steward by taking out shoes from her master's feet and by helping him to take off his dress. She may even help him to don the Kimono and wear a pair of slippers. Then she will lay a bed for him on the floor, which is covered with mattresses. When serving food she does not neglect to supply her master with the *sake* and a dish of raw fish. After that she must check up whether the electric heater has been properly placed on the floor and is functioning properly or not. When the time for retiring comes, she prepares a hot-bath for her master and fills in the hot water bottles. In short, she must do everything for the comfort of her master.

The chimneys of factories in Japan are belching forth smoke again. It may sound incredible but it is nevertheless true that the boom in production reached in the course of the second-half of last year exceeded even that reached by the Japanese industry in the year 1940, when for an eventual attack on China and

the U.S.A. the Japanese authorities geared up production to the utmost capacity of all the factories of Japan, which numbered several thousands. It is, therefore, not at all to be wondered at that Ginza's shopping housewives and the business people must stop now and then to express their heartfelt thanks to gods and to their good-natured and amiable emperor Hirohito, who has been responsible for all this prosperity of present-day Japan. Though in a way they should rather be thankful to events in the East, notably the Korean war for their being freed from American bondage. It would have been more apt, if instead of thanking Hirohito they turned their faces towards the East in sending their thanks to the North Korean capital Pyongyang, Peking and the Kremlin for their present happy position. But for the events of historic importance taking place in the Far East and for which both Peking and the Kremlin are responsible, Japan would have still remained a vassal of the U.S.A.

Now she is emerging forth as an ally of the U.S.A. and is being aided by the latter in rearming to ensure peace in the Far East as the bulwark of defence against the rising tide of communist menace from the Asiatic mainland. The present phase in her emancipation from foreign domination illustrates vividly that virtue can not but have her own reward.

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FUTURE OF PART 'C' STATES (Contributed)

At the beginning of September last, Parliament passed the Part C States Bill adopting a policy which would allow the largest practicable measure of autonomy and responsible government for the areas specified in Part C of the First Schedule of the Constitution of India. The Part C States are Centrally administered areas and include Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura, and Vindhya Pradesh, together comprising an area of 77,000 sq. miles and a population of 8 millions.

BRIEF HISTORY OF PART C STATES

When the integration of the 562 states in the country took place, after the transfer of power by the British, the part C States were formed into separate entities and owing to certain administrative or strategic consideration or some other special reasons, the Centre assumed direct responsibility for the administration of these territories. Ajmer, Coorg and

Delhi were already Centrally administered areas when the Indian Constitution became operative.

Ajmer—then including Merwara—was formed into a Chief Commissioner's Province in 1871 under the Forest Department of the Government of India, the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana becoming the Chief Commissioner. In 1881, the Resident in Mysore was appointed the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. Before October 1912, Delhi province was a part of the Punjab, when it was erected as a separate province under a Chief Commissioner. The Delhi Chief Commissionership was enriched in 1915 by the addition of a tract of land in the United Provinces comprising 65 villages. Under the Constitution of India, Ajmer, Coorg and Delhi have continued to remain as Chief Commissioners' Provinces due to the fact that in Ajmer and Coorg there has been no unanimous wish among the people for their merger with the contiguous territories and in the case

of Delhi, it is the federal capital and the Centre has always felt the necessity of reserving in their hands full power regarding vital matters of its administration.

The remaining seven Part C States—*Bhopal, Bilaspur, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura* and *Vindhya Pradesh* were created by the late Sardar Patel for certain special reasons.

The United State of *Vindhya Pradesh* consisting of 35 states known as Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand states is by far the largest in area and population of the Centrally administered areas. Of the total area of the state, forest forms about half and the revenue from it to the state exchequer amounted to Rs. 70 lakhs, which means about a third of the total receipts in 1950-51. Even so, the state of affairs in the forest administration was, not in the distant past, far from satisfactory and the forests were in a deplorable condition. *Vindhya Pradesh* is normally a surplus area, in spite of the fact that one-fourth of the culturable area is lying waste. Rich in unexploited mineral resources, the state remains one of the most backward regions in Central India. It is not well-served by railways and communication is mostly by road. Metalled roads are few and far between and during the monsoon, parts of the state are sometimes cut off from the rest. Much headway has to be made in the development of the state as well as in raising the tone of its administration. The state was, at the outset, a Part B State. Continued dissensions and mutual recriminations amongst public men were the order of the day and the ministers failed to inspire confidence amongst the people. The situation reached such a stage that the Centre was forced to bring its administration under its direct control with effect from the 1st January, 1950.

With an area of about 7,000 sq. miles and a population of 8 lakhs, *Bhopal* was one of the major Princely States brought under the administration of the Centre on June 1, 1949. There has been popular demand for the merger of the state with the adjoining territories. However, the Merger Agreement with Bhopal specifically states that "the administration of the State of Bhopal shall be taken over and carried on by the Government of India and that for a period of five years next after the date of transfer, the State will be administered as a Chief Commissioner's Province."

Bilaspur, a tiny state in the East Punjab Hill States with an area of 453 sq. miles and a population of a lakh was taken over by the Government of India in October 1948 in view of the location of the head-works of the Bhakra Dam in the state. The Project which is of an all-India importance will substantially affect the state, a major portion of which will be under water.

Himachal Pradesh comprises 21 Punjab Hill States covering an area of about 11,000 sq. miles. The forest

area constitutes more than a third of the state whose most important source of income is from the forests. Introduction of agrarian reforms in Himachal Pradesh is the crying need of the day. The state has no well-developed roadways and is as economically backward as any other Part C States.

The three border states—*Tripura, Manipur* and *Kutch*—have been formed into Chief Commissioner-ships because of their strategic importance and their security has been given top priority. Further, in the case of Kutch, the problem of agrarian reforms and the development of road communication call for immediate attention and the Centre's active assistance is imperative to clear the arrears in its development.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

During the early days of the British rule in India, the Centrally administered areas were called Non-regulation Districts, since they were originally treated as outside the scope of the Regulations enacted by the Governments of the Presidencies. The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 stated that no general enactments would by themselves apply to these areas except in so far as any provision of any enactment was declared by a notification of the local Government to be applicable to them; otherwise the regulations previously enacted for them would remain effective. Several of the areas under this Act were, by the passage of time, taken out of the operation of the Act, one of them being Assam (excluding tribal areas) which became a Governor's Province. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Chief Commissioners' Provinces comprised, among others, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and Delhi. When the new Centrally merged States were created after the transfer of power, the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 1947 was applied to them, enabling the Centre to exercise powers of administration and legislation over these units. The States' Merger (Chief Commissioners' Provinces) Orders, 1949 and 1950 raised the administration of the new Centrally merged areas to the level of Chief Commissioners' Provinces. All enactments including notifications issued under the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, which were in operation at the commencement of the Acts continued to remain in force till amended or repealed. In December, 1949, Parliament applied the more important Central enactments to the newly created Chief Commissioners' Provinces.

The Indian Constitution enumerates ten Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Government of Part C States Act, 1951, as passed by the Parliament in September, 1951, is a mile-stone in the progress of democracy in these areas. Though the Act does not usher in an era of full-fledged Self-Government in Part C States, it makes, no doubt, an honest beginning in the democratisation of these units by associating non-officials in their executive set-up. While the Act

excludes altogether Bilaspur from the scope of its provisions, it provides for the three border States a Council of Advisers to assist the Chief Commissioner in the discharge of his functions. For the remaining each of the six Part C States, the Act makes provision for a legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers.

The Legislative Assembly in each of the six States is empowered to enact laws for the whole or any part of the State with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the State List or in the Concurrent List. So far as Delhi is concerned, certain vital subjects with respect, among other things, to public order, powers of municipal corporations and certain public utility authorities are beyond the pale of the law-making powers of local Assembly. Any bill passed by the Assembly is presented to the Chief Commissioner who reserves it for the President's assent. The President may give his assent to the bill or return it for reconsideration either *in toto* or in part.

As regards the administration of Part C States, Article 239(1) of the Constitution of India states:

"A State specified in Part C of the First Schedule shall be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed by him or through the Government of a neighbouring State."

The Chief Commissioner is the representative of the President in the Centrally administered areas. His powers are wide and multifarious. So long, these areas remain a separate entity in the Constitution and so long as the ultimate responsibility for their good administration lies with the Centre, the Chief Commissioner or the Lieutenant-Governor is expected to take more active part in the administration than a Governor or a Raj-Pramukh. The Chief Commissioner is in the Cabinet, presides at the Cabinet meetings and plays his part not merely as the head of the State but also as a responsible minister. He summons, prorogues and dissolves the Assembly. He may address or send messages to the Assembly. He takes part in the proceedings of the House. In respect of each financial year, he presents to the House a statement showing the estimated receipts and expenditure of the State for that year. He is aided and assisted by a Council of Ministers except where he has to discharge a judicial or quasi-judicial function. In the case of difference of opinion between the Chief Commissioner and his Council of Ministers, the matter is referred to the President whose decision is final. In the State of Delhi, every decision taken by the Council of Ministers in respect of New Delhi will be subject to the Chief Commissioner's concurrence. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.

FUTURE

The Part C States differ greatly from one another both in size and population. They present different

stages of progress in their economic development and some have special problems to face. Generally they are backward. The people of these areas cannot be denied their share in the administration merely because the states are small and backward and the expenditure involved in the association of the people in the execution set-up is much more than they can bear. Speaking in Parliament in the course of the debate on Part C States Bill, the Minister for States said that if the revenue and expenditure of the ten Part C States, in regard to matters on the States List were isolated, then together these ten States had at present a deficit of Rs. 5 crores. By bringing into being Legislatures, he estimated, this would be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs. However, if democratic institutions are to be developed and if people of the Centrally administered areas are to play their part in the administration of their states, such items of expenditure are inevitable. So long they exist as separate entities in the Constitution, these areas, should, by evolution, have the type of responsible government as is prevalent in Part A and Part B States and the solution of the recurring financial liability is correlated to the tackling of the problems of the Part C States from the long-range point of view.

As soon as the administration of these areas became the responsibility of the Government of India, the Centre had to deal with five-fold problems in the Part C States, *viz.*, maintenance of law and order, reorganisation of administration, introduction of an independent judiciary, economic development and development of democratic institutions. Accordingly, the administration of Government departments was completely overhauled. Courts of Judicial Commissioners have been set up and brought to the standard laid down in the Constitution for the Part C States. Schemes for bringing under cultivation waste and kans-infested lands in Bhopal, transformation of the minor port of Kandla in Kutch into a major port, building of bridges on existing roads and construction of new roads and railways in the states of Vindhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Kutch, making provision for medical and educational facilities in all the backward units have been taken up and are progressing satisfactorily. In short, the Centre has been doing much in uplifting the Part C States to the level of Part A and Part B States.

The ultimate and practical solution of their problems lies, however, not in their separate existence, since, from the financial and economic standpoints as well as from the wider interests of the country, responsible government for small units will encourage in them separatism and breed a sense of insularity, but in their integration with the adjoining areas with which they have geographical and other affinities. In respect of Delhi, however, merger cannot be resorted to since the Centre would like to have exclusive powers over the administration of the Capital and would not like

to share power with any other subordinate authority. So far as merger or alteration of territories in respect of other Part C States, Article 3 of the Constitution lays down that

"No Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries of any state or states specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule or the name or names of

any such state or states, the views of the Legislature of the State or as the case may be, of each of the states, both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof have been ascertained by the President."

The sentiments and wishes of the people of Part C States can be ascertained only after the elections when the Legislatures on the basis of adult franchise will come into existence.

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THE ASIATIC ELEMENT IN EUROPEAN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a commonplace of history that modern European civilization is directly derived from and inspired by Greece. "We Europeans are the children of Hellas," writes Fisher at the beginning of his survey of the history of Europe. The main trends of modern thought, empiricism as developed by Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, etc., and rationalism as expounded by Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel and others are vitally connected with Greek thinkers. The sack of Byzantium by the Turks, the consequent migration of Graeco-Christian scholars to Italy and their teachings in Padua were, no doubt, the chief causes of the Aristotelian renaissance in European thinking. Especially, the 4th of November 1497 is a notable landmark in the development of modern thought, since on that date Prof. Leonius taught the philosophy of Aristotle in the lecture-hall of the Padua University in the same language in which Aristotle himself taught it 17 centuries back in Athens. But Greek thought and philosophy had seeped in European mind through the study of Arab thinkers, long before the lectures of Leonius, Gaza and George Scholarius. In Padua itself, an illustrious band of professors, steeped in Arabic philosophy, taught and translated the works of Muslim thinkers, especially Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Paul de Venis (died 1429 A.D.) and others of his times were the most shining stars of this brilliant galaxy that illuminated the West with the light of Islamic thought. In France, the University of Paris became the seat of Arabic learning and produced Siger Brabante (1284 A.D.), the best known exponent of Rushd. Frederick II (1240 A.D.) learnt Arabic, espoused Arabic culture, established a library in Sicily and a University in Pimples for the teaching and study of Arabic philosophy, engaged Arabic scholars like Michael Scott and those belonging to the Taibun family to translate Arabic works into Latin and thus became the great protagonist of the new thought in Europe. Almost at the same time, the school of the Franciscans, started in 1219 A.D., which became very popular because of the simple living and high ideals of

its followers, was vigorously preaching the tenets of its doctrine that was derived from Muslim writers. Roger Bacon (1214-92 A.D.), the father of modern science and Don Scotts, a great exponent of Rushd, were the most brilliant products of this sect. Many other scholastic thinkers were similarly influenced through voluminous Hebrew translations of Arabic works, by the new fashions of thought set by Arabic philosophers.

These sweeping movements radiating from Sicily and Spain were shaped by historians like Ibnul Qutiya (d. 977 A.D.) and Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076 A.D.), geographers like Al-Bakri (d. 1094 A.D.) and Al-Idrisi (d. 1154 A.D.), biographers, like Ibn-Bashkuwal (d. 1183 A.D.) and Aba-Jaffar-al-Dabbi (d. 1203 A.D.), poets like Ibn Zaydun (d. 1071 A.D.), Al-Mutamid (d. 1091 A.D.), scholar-scientists like Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 A.D.) and philosophers like Ibn Tufail (d. 1125 A.D.), Ibn Baa'ja (d. 1138 A.D.), Yusuf-Ibn-Yahya (d. 1191 A.D.), Ibn Maimun (1135-1208 A.D.) and greatest of all Ibn Rushd (1126-98 A.D.) and his followers. Most of these thinkers were migrating to Provence, Barcelona, Saragosa, Marseilles and other places in Spain, France and Italy after the sack of Cordova in the last crusade. These thinkers and, specially Rushd reinterpreted Aristotle in the light of earlier Islamic thought as formulated by Razi (926 A.D.), Kindi (870 A.D.), Farabi (870-950 A.D.), Sena (980-1037 A.D.), Al Beruni (973-1048 A.D.) and others. Rushd's treatment of Nautic Nous (*nafs-e-natiqa*), the primeval ocean of consciousness, and his insistence on its precedence in the scheme of being, partakes more of the nature of Eastern idealism than the materio-realism of Aristotle. In fact, his predecessors, upon which he drew, were born and bred in an atmosphere of Irano-Arabic cultural synthesis that was deeply instilled in their thought and perspectives. Razi belonged to Re in Western Iran, Kindi lived in Baghdad, a name which is probably a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Bhagvaddatta (God-given), Farabi flourished in Vasiya near River Amu and Bu-Ali-Sena studied at

Bokhara, a name which appears to have been given to this place because of the situation of the famous "Navavihara" of the Buddhists. This region was full of philosophies and its whole environment was instinct with a deep speculative spirit. Hundreds of great Buddhist universities, crowded with thousands of learned Buddhist scholars, were flourishing in every corner of this land as evidenced by the itinerary of Hiuen-Tsang and the discovery of the remains of countless shrines, topes, images, paintings and Pothis in the ruins of Kucha, Miran and the Tarim Basin and other places. (See Sir Aurel Stein in *Revealing India's Past*, published by the India Society, London, 1940). It was also there that the boundaries of Islamic and Tibetan Kingdoms met and marched together and their mutual relations and policies were shaped. A treaty was patched up between the two and thereby the Buddhist and Mohammadan cultures embraced each other. Earlier, Chinese, Iranic, Hellenic, Indian and even barbaric elements co-mingled there in that vast religious amalgam which we call Mahayana Buddhism. In the 8th and 9th centuries this great synthetic and syncretising sect was breathing a spirit of free thinking in Islam and inspiring a new philosophy of life in it. The asceticism and tenets of the followers of Mahayana penetrated into the schools of the Sufis and the Akhwans-us-safa and produced the philosophers mentioned above. In particular, their leader, Farabi hailed from a family which was recently converted to Islam from Buddhism, hence he lived like monks and clothed himself like a Bhikkhu. His life was a model of simplicity and high-thinking. His disciples Abu Aadi, Abu Sulaiman and Mohammad Sajistani became the forerunners of a new sect in Baghdad, which denounced all distinctions of caste and creed and preached a message of pious and peaceful living which was in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism.

This atmosphere of thought was so tense that even the orthodox-minded Al-Gazali (1059-1111 A.D.) was shaken by doubts, which prompted him to wander like a Sufi in rags and blankets from place to place. This spirit evoked also some fine poetry in Persian and worked a wonderful development in all humanities. The animating force of this environment was, as said above, Mahayana Buddhism as moulded by the great Indian masters Ashvaghosa (cir 78 A.D.), Asanga (cir 350 A.D.), Vasubandhu (cir 400 A.D.), Dinguaga (cir 425 A.D.) and Dharmakirti (cir 600 A.D.). The Vijnanavada of these thinkers, which influenced the Muslim philosophers, Farabi and Rushd. and through them, the Franciscans of Europe, was an adaptation of pristine Buddhist empiricism with the idealism of Brahmanic thinkers. While it accepted the principle of flux and change (Kshanikavada), the theory of the chain of causation (Pratitya-samutpada), the doctrine of experiment and scrutiny (Samyakdrastivada) and the principle of negation of anything permanent or immanent over what is fleeting and progressing (Anityavada), preached by the Buddha, it blended them with the concepts of Over-Self. (Parmatman).

Eternal Noumenalism (Brahman) and transcendental universalism of the Upanishads and other schools of Brahmanic philosophy. Thus, it effected a synthesis between two rival schools of thought; and this synthesis was the prototype of the synthesis that Farabi attempted of the thoughts of Aristotle and Plato and other thinkers did of Islamic, Indian and Hellenic philosophies. In this way, Hindu thought, filtering through Islamic thought and mingling with Hellenic and Christian thought, shaped modern scientific thought. It leads to a symbiosis of ideal and real attitudes and of a sense of ultimate values and a pursuit of mundane objectives, which lies at the root of the progress of civilization in our age.

As in the realm of thought, so also in that of inspiration Asia gave an effective lead to Europe. In recent times, Father Joseph, the preceptor of Cardinal Richelieu, was inspired for his noble mission by a little-known book, *Barlaam and Josaphet*, which some wandering monks left at Le Trembley. This book was the Greek version of some Arabic translation of an Indian work relating to the life of Gautama Buddha. Describing the effect of this book on Father Joseph, his biographer Aldous Huxley writes: "It was as though the voice of God was speaking from its pages confirming him in his resolution and for his consolation expatiating upon the peace and happiness of spiritual life."—*Grey Eminence*, p. 26.

Earlier, Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens as early as the 4th century B.C. of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates. There was also some belief sometime that Christ came to Taxila and studied in the Buddhist Vihara there. This may be wrong, but the fact that Christianity was influenced by Buddhism which left its mark "on the heretical gnostic sects of some of the more orthodox forms of Christian teaching" is well-established. (V. A. Smith: *The Oxford History of India*, p. 128). Buddhist influence on Christianity was so pronounced that Christian missionaries were known as Baudhas. In a recently discovered Malayalam manuscript, two Christian missionaries who came from Baghdad and converted the Chera King of Cranganore to Christianity are described as Baudhas. This shows that in popular estimation, there was very little difference between Buddhism and Christianity and when the Indian King embraced the latter he was fully sure that he was doing nothing against his national culture and religion.—(See T. K. Joseph: "An Indian Christian, date A.D. 317," *Journal of Indian History*, April 1948).

The sect of the Essenes, a small Jewish community on the shores of the Dead Sea, and the Therapeutae (I think Therapantā), a similar order existing near Alexandria, which were the precursors of Christianity and its church, were modelled after the Buddhist doctrine and establishment.—*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. V, p. 401; Vol. XII, 318-19).

Besides being an important element in European thought and religion, Asia contributed a great deal to the growth and development of modern European culture.

The present culture of science, democracy and industrialism has, in all appearances, emanated from Europe. In the period of Renaissance which ranges from the 12th to the 15th centuries, A.D. there was a spirit of enquiry and discovery in Europe, that led to the opening of the New World and the cultivation of positive science. But a culture does not grow in vacuum or emerge suddenly as Minerva from the head of Zeus. It has a particular chrysalis within which it matures before it comes out in the world of objects and realities. To study, therefore, the culture of the Renaissance it is necessary to examine the matrix within which it grew. Glancing at Europe of that age we find a patchwork of squabbling states, derelict economies, effete religions and broken institutions, which crumbled to pieces as invasions occurred. All over the continent the darkness of medievalism was deeply brooding. As seen above, she was shaken into awakening by the impact of Arabic thought, and through it, of Greek and Indian learning, and in consequence she embarked upon an age of intellectual activity. But mere flights of thought cannot carry any Columbus to the golden lands of the new world. An apparatus of sailing, a mariner's compass and a tradition of great voyages is required for that purpose. Likewise, the printed book and the written paper are required for the dissipation of medieval gloom from the minds of men through the spread of knowledge. These things and many others of their kind came to Europe through a band of Eastern invaders, the Mongols.

These Mongols, who battered into Europe up to Kiev (1240 A.D.) and Lower Silesia (1241 A.D.) and overran Russia, Poland and Germany were impelled by a cataclysmic upheaval in the plains of Central Asia. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Asia was shaken by a great commotion. Mighty movements of masses of men, convulsive contacts between nomadic and settled ways of life and giant upsurges of expansive forces of culture characterized this vast cradle of civilization. The Mongols, moving north and south with the swinging pastures of the Steppes were organized by Changiz Khan into a disciplined bellicose people, who swept over the vast plains from one end to the other, and spread the Chinese and with it the Indian culture which they had imbibed, far and wide. The real nature of these Mongols is, in fact, hidden in the dust and blood of wars to such an extent that in popular estimation they are scourges and terrors of civilization. But they had a nobler aspect. They were a rational people *par excellence* and had a receptive and inquisitive bent of mind. They were steeped in the tolerant traditions of China and Ser-India. Hiuen-Tsang relates how a Tartar Khan listened to his

discourses with eagerness and adopted the religion that he preached. The land, in which the Mongols lived and moved, was full of Indian colonies teeming with numberless followers of Buddhism. Chokkuka in the region of modern Yarkand, Shailadêsha in the region of Kashgar, Godana in the region of Khotan, Chalmadan in the region of Cher-chen, Bharuka in the region of Uch-Turfan, Kuchirajya in the region of Kuchar and Agni-dêsha in the region of Karashaher were the chief centres of Buddhist culture and learning. Volumes of old texts of dramas, medical treatises, astronomical and mathematical works, parables, stories and scriptures have been unearthed from the sand dunes of these regions by modern scholars. The Mongols moving in these regions had thoroughly assimilated this culture. Hence their dealings with the world were characterized by broad tolerance, which was a novelty in those days of stiff-necked fanaticism. Their capital at Karakoram was full of representatives of every nation and religion. Christian envoys, Buddhist priests, Mohammadan divines, Parisian, Italian and Chinese artisans, Byzantine and Armenian merchants and Arab and Indian astronomers were present there. They were open to all religions and cultures. In 1269 A.D. Kublai Khan sent a mission to the Pope with the intention of finding some common mode of action with Western Christendom. He was also greatly influenced by the teachings of the Tibetan Buddhist scholar Saska Pandit and hence got the entire Buddhist canon translated into Tukharien language. The Mongols regarded the Dalai Lama as their guru and gave him the land of Tibet as gift. Mangu Khan also had numerous Nestorian Christians at his court and respected all religions alike. Under these rulers, the Mongols developed a great regard for Chinese manners and had adopted the military techniques, the use of gun-powder and fire-arms, the fashion of printing books on paper, the use of the compass, the science of heating with coal and gas and the knowledge of enamel and lacquer from China. Wherever they went they diffused a knowledge of these things and Europe especially owed them these basic requisites of scientific research. The travels of Marco Polo (1298 A.D.) presented new perspectives to European minds and his glowing description of the golden lands of the East lured Columbus and others towards distant Eldorados. Thus, the facile story of Europe's geographical and scientific discoveries is only an epilogue to the tale of the culture of Sino-Indic East. Without the latter the first cannot at all be understood or explained. *

* This article is a part of the first chapter of my book, *Toynbee's Philosophy of History*, to be shortly published.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHI AND MARX: By Kishorlal G. Mashruwala. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. viii + 112. Price Re. 1-8.

Shri K. G. Mashruwala, who is a renowned exponent of Gandhian philosophy, has tried to present in this booklet his views regarding the outstanding differences between the philosophies of Gandhi and Marx. He has come to the conclusion that, ultimately, the latter spring from the reliance of one on non-violence and of the other on violence for the achievement of their ends.

The reader will, however, be prone to feel that Marxism has been presented in an unjustifiably static character, while one or two very significant aspects of Gandhiji's political or economic ideas have been similarly left out. Thus, for example, the discussion on trusteeship should have included Gandhiji's ideas on the inheritance of property, without which the exhortation to become a trustee reduces itself to no more than a mere moral exhortation, without having much of an effect upon the existing structure and concept of private property.

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. xi + 165. Price Rs. 2.

The present collection should form one of the most important additions to Gandhian literature. It contains Gandhiji's thoughts on such questions as the Distribution of Wealth, Capital and Labour, Strikes, the Zemindary system, Communism and so on. Where whole articles were not available, the Editor has chosen to give extracts from his writings, speeches or reports of interviews when they bear upon the question at issue.

On the whole, the selections have been well made, and succeed in giving a consistent picture of Gandhiji's socialistic ideals as they shaped themselves under the demands of non-violence.

INDIA OF MY DREAMS: By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. vii + 129.

Shri R. K. Prabhu has brought together in this booklet Gandhiji's writings on a large number of topics. Gandhiji wanted to build up a new society and a new life through his experiments in India. His thoughts on this subject have been arranged in a series of chapters for the general reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GLIMPSES OF DAKKAN HISTORY: By M. Rama Rao. Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 5.

This is a short popular sketch of the political history of the Deccan region (in its stricter sense of trans-Vindhyan India excluding the extreme south) under its successive dynasties from the earliest to modern times. Though originality is not to be looked for in such a work, it has on the whole the qualities of lucid exposition and accuracy to its credit. This last statement however is subject to some exceptions. Thus the treatment of the Satavahana dynasty (Ch. IV) requires a thorough revision, as the author sticks to the old and discredited theory of its duration and chronology, its original home and so forth: it suffers likewise from inaccuracies such as the reference to the conquests of Satakarni II, not to speak of the omission of king Krishna from the dynastic list. The author's repeated reference to the *Traikutas* (pp. 26, 28) is unfortunate, while his account of Samudragupta's defeat of the Bharasivas (p. 29) appears to rest on no surer basis than the similarity of names. There are a few misprints such as Suvarnagin (p. 18), subha and Tapati (p. 142) and Asaf Jha (pp. 134, 151). The work stops abruptly and unaccountably with the middle of the 19th century. The complete want of diacritical marks is regrettable.

The paper, print and general get-up of the book are good. It contains, besides, three maps, a select bibliography and a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PARTNERS: UNITED NATIONS AND YOUTH: By Eleanor Roosevelt and Helen Ferris. Sole Distributors: The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 2.

No world ideal can be built up with success unless the spirit of the ideal is imbibed by the rising generation, the youths in their teens. The hopes and dreams for the United Nations that is to be, the way the people of the world work together in their international organisation should be understood correctly and clearly by the youth of the world if strengthening the foundation of the U.N. is really desired. It is gratifying to find that Mrs. Roosevelt has taken upon her frail shoulders this arduous task and produced a book, with Helen Ferris as joint editor, which, to say the least, is magnificent. It gives a clear impression of the various activities of the U.N. in a charming way which must be attractive to our youths in their teens. Graphic accounts of the activities of the U.N. in its various departments in the development of food, health and education find place in the book. We

believe the book will command the widest possible circulation. The responsibility for distribution has been placed in worthy hands.

D. B.

TWO NEW PALA RECORDS: By *Manoranjan Gupta, B.Sc.* Published from 209-C Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 19 + 2.

The present brochure under review contains the Sanskrit texts of the Belwa copper-plates inscriptions of Mahipaladeva and Vighrahpaladeva with an introduction in which the author sets forth the circumstances of the discovery of the epigraphs, their find-place and focusses attention on certain problems such as (a) what was the "original place" of the *Kaivartas*, (b) where lay *Sahasanga*, the Jayaskandhavara of Mahipaladeva and *Panchanagari*? (c) wherefrom did the Brahmins like the donee Jivadhara Sarman come here? (d) how was the service in the Ganesh temple kept up?

The writer is not a professional teacher of history. It is therefore all the more creditable that he has attempted to light up an obscure corner by steeping himself in the epigraphic lore of ancient Bengal. One may not agree with his brief for the identification of *Panchanagar* with modern *Pachbibi*, of *Sahasanga* with *Godagari* or the identity of *Paundra* with *Pundarika*, yet the wealth of topographical detail supplied by him about Belwa—its situation within an inner ring of twenty-two fortalices (*gadi*), hemmed by watery barrier almost on all sides—points to the place as having been the headquarters of the *Kaivarta* power. *Sannakaivartabritti* warrants the better meaning of "in the neighbourhood of *Kaivarta settlement*," not jagir or property as Mr. Gupta would have us believe. If it is so, credit goes to him for having spotted out the seat of the *Kaivarta* power lying amidst water-logged marshes and jungle-clad mounds of earth. We feel confident that this brochure, enriched with diagrams, maps and plates, will be welcome to all lovers of Bengal history. Opinions printed in the back cover should be deleted in the next edition and the name and specific issue of the journals in which the epigraphs were first published be added at least in the footnote.

N. B. Roy

HINDUSTAN HAMARA OR OUR INDIA: By *Anthony Elenjmittam.* Orient Book Company, Calcutta 12. Aug., 1949. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this delightful book presents here the third of a series written in a vein of poetical rhapsody, carried occasionally in verse and dramatic form which breaks out in a spontaneous manner. It brooks no restriction in spite of division into chapters, but glides off from subject to subject, harping on the right sort of patriotism, inclusive by its very nature, not exclusive. The varied and miscellaneous reading which the writer has at his command is used in a number of pointed references, and all this heightens the effect. Very rarely is there a picture or sentiment that may be taken exception to, like that on p. 106, and the reviewer feels tempted to say Amen when the writer says: "Now is come the time for all Indians, worthy of their royal citizenship of this Aryavarta, of this ancient Bharat, this *Hindustan Hamara*, to shed all fears and sense of helplessness and despondency, all covetousness and mean grabbing instinct, of disruptive lusts after power and pleasures, and to help themselves and their immortal land to reach the heights that are her due."

P. R. Sanyal

DAWN OF RENASCENT INDIA: By *Dr. Kalkinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Nagpur University.* Pp. 11 + 127 + vi. Price not mentioned.

The book contains five chapters, a Bibliography as well as an Index. These chapters formed the subject-matter of the Mahadeo Hari Watheodkar Memorial Lectures of the Nagpur University which the author delivered in February and March, 1950.

The author has traced in the book our social history of the first century (1757-1857) of the British rule. The latter half of this century was a glorious period for Bengal. And in any account of Indian renaissance, she necessarily comes in prominent colours. The non-Bengali writers are often found to ignore or overlook the pioneer attempts of the Bengalis in the spheres of education, culture, social reform, literature and politics. This is no less due to their ignorance. We, therefore, congratulate the author for this brochure, which has brought out the activities of our immediate forbears in great relief. He has, however, not forgotten to give an estimate of the endeavours of other provinces, particularly Bombay and Madras in this direction in course of the narrative.

Of the subjects dealt with in this book, some deserve our special commendation. In 'Background and Genesis,' the author has given a masterly survey of the social and political condition of Bengal at the time of the transference of power from the Moslem to the British hands. "Out of evil cometh good." The troubles and sufferings of the late eighteenth century gave birth to an age which was enviable for any country or people. This led to the re-discovery of our Indian self. The Sanskritic studies of the nineteenth century at home and abroad not only unfolded the glorious past of the Hindus, but the treasures of knowledge, brought to light in consequence of these studies, opened out new channels of thought and enquiry for the world savants. In 'Discovery of the Past,' Dr. Datta has thrashed out these things fairly and a bit elaborately, too. Other three chapters deal with the 'new education' and the various activities consequent on the cultural impact of the West. In one of these the author has tried to give a running account of the literary and scientific organisations, and new trends: literature, and in another, of social reform. These three chapters constitute the vital portion of the book and require particular scrutiny.

In an attempt of the social history of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India, especially Bengal, results of the new school of research during the last two decades may be largely drawn upon with profit. A synthetic account of this period has now been rendered possible. If the author could have rest satisfied to pen down a synthetic account, he would have been able to do sufficient justice to the subject. But trying to do it otherwise, the formidable bibliography, running upto seven pages, and the bewildering array of footnotes have been of little service to him for presenting things correctly and accurately. Wrong dates, wrong names of places, newspapers, institutions and persons, exploded theories and untenable notions abound in this small brochure. Let us mention only a few. Raja Rammohun Roy's school could not have been founded in '1816' (p. 18). The Academic Association was in a moribund state even in 1839, and nobody heard of it since. The birth-place of Surya Kumar (Goodive) Chakrabarty was not Comilla (p. 33) but Dacca. The Vernacular Literature Society had not one Secretary in E. B. Cowell at its inception in 1851 (p. 45), but two secretaries in H

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Pratt and M. Townsend. The first Hindi newspaper, *Udant Martand* was started not at Kanpur (p. 47) but in Calcutta. *Stri Sikshavidhayaka* was first published not in 1824 (p. 77) but in 1822. Miss Cooke has been spelt as Miss Coke four times on pp. 77 and 78. Rev. Carey (p. 79) should be Archdeacon Corrie. *Sambad Kaumudi* was first published not in July 1819 (p. 100) but in December, 1821. 'The British India Society' on p. 118 should be the Bengal British India Society. In 1832, there was no Sadharan Brahma Samaj.

The omission of even the mention of the 'Tattva-bodhini Sabha,' no less a cultural than a religious body, in the book is to say the least deplorable. If the subject-matter is recast in the light of up-to-date research, the book will be very much appreciated by the reading public.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (Centennial Issue—1850-1950): Published by Harper Brothers. Editorial Office, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 6, U.S.A.

The courtesy of the United States enabled us to go through this sumptuous volume of 288 pages celebrating the centenary of this Magazine. The editors, contributing editors and writers have all co-operated to make it a symbol of the affluence that in course of less than two hundred years has made the United States of America the dictator of conduct in mid-20th century.

No activity that has contributed to this greatness has been left untouched—the U.S.A.'s abounding natural wealth, the qualities of her men and women, the hordes from Europe that have sought and found opportunities for reaching the flowering of their personalities within the frame-work of a pioneering civilization which has yet to demonstrate the validity of the claim that the 20th century is in a special sense "the American Century."

The great republic is in its leadership basically Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. But this dominance has not stood in the way of her being the great "melting pot" into which the Celt, the Teuton, the Slav have been able to coalesce and during the process make good and develop into good Americans without a hyphen. This achievement has been related in the volume, the writers undertaking to give us the light and shade of the story. The "disciplining" of industrialism and its various abominations has a lesson for us specially when our own industrialists have shown in their conduct the worst of its features.

Today when the world is resounding with fears and cries of a Third World War, it is good to turn to Thomas Mann's assessment of this detailed delusion arrived at in a spirit of detachment in his article entitled "The Years of My Life." This German thought-leader mediates between the American and the Soviet ways of life when he says: "There is much that is curiously akin between the Russian and the American people—an innate affability and openness, an absence of reserve in human intercourse, qualities that are sharply distinct from the aloof individualism of the French or English character"—qualities that will enable them, we hope, to avoid the crisis which politicians in both States have been spoiling to precipitate.

This praise is modified by the feeling that the story, as told in this volume, would have gained in dignity if non-Europeans had been invited to appraise it and given opportunity to show the Americans as "others see" them.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA-SAMHITA, Vol. V, Indices: By N. S. Sontakke, B.A. (Tilak), C. G. Kashikar, M.A. (Tilak). Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, Poona. Price Rs. 50.

This is the concluding volume of the critical edition of the Rigveda with the commentary of Sayana which completes the work in about 5500 beautifully printed pages of Royal octavo size. It contains as many as nine valuable indices, e.g., Pada-suchi, Uttarapada-suchi, Khilanada-suchi, Mantra-suchi, Khilamantra-suchi, Risi-suchi, Devata-suchi, Chhandah-suchi and Sarvanukrama. The last in the list gives seriatim, in a tabular form, references to the hymns both according to the Mandala and Astaka enumerations, the *pratikas* thereof, the number of verses in each hymn, its *ṛsi*, *devata* and *chhandah* as well as page references to the present edition. It will thus be immensely helpful in tracing all valuable details of information about the Rigveda. The volume will therefore be useful not only to students of the Veda but it will—far more than its predecessors all noticed in these pages (August 1935, June 1940, July 1940 and September 1948)—be of great use to every scholar interested in the hoary past of India. Unfortunately the price is almost prohibitive for the proverbially poor scholars of our country. It is more than four times the price of the first volume and just double that of the fourth published respectively about twenty and five years back.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SISHIR KUMAR GHOSE—Sahitya-sadhaka-charitamala series: By Brajendranath Banerji. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.

Sishir Kumar Ghose (1840—1911) was not only a great journalist and patriot but he was a wonderful man. His life-story is inextricably interwoven with that of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. As Lokamanya Tilak says: "The *Patrika* is the manifestation of the spirit of which he was full—nobody may talk of the *Patrika* without being reminded of Sishir Kumar Ghose." A short life-sketch of the great man is given in this book, but special stress has been laid on his writings in Bengali. His contribution to Bengali literature should not be passed over. That it is no mean contribution is evident from the very rare file of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the early years which the author discovered sometime ago, from *Sri Amiya Nimai Charita* in six parts, from *Naisa Rupeya* a farce, and from other Bengali books. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was at first published in 1868 as a Bengali weekly from Jessore, then for a few years as a bi-lingual paper from Calcutta. It was converted into a full-fledged English weekly in 1878, and in 1891 it appeared as an English daily. Sishir Kumar made it what it is today. There is no dearth of biographies, in English and Bengali alike, of Sishir Kumar Ghose. Brajendranath Banerji has tried to make the life-sketch replete with up-to-date information. Before the publication of the *Patrika* Sishir Kumar used to contribute to *The Hindu Patriot*. He was its "Jessore Correspondent" and used to sign as M.L.L. A letter from the Jessore correspondent dated August 22, 1860, reporting cases of oppression of the royts by Indigo Planters has been published in the Appendix. The book is well-written. Anyone going through the short biography will meet with some new information about the great man.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

JAINA-DHARMA: By Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen.
Published by Visva-Bharati. Price eight annas.

Earlier than Buddhism and no less rich in the profundity of its spiritual and ethical appeal, Jainism by a strange historical irony is probably the most neglected branch of Indology. Dependable and readable books on the subject are so few that we warmly congratulate the Visva-Bharati Publishing Department for presenting to the public Dr. A. C. Sen's *Jaina Dharma*. He has discussed in lucid Bengali the historical context of Jainism up to the time of Parsvanatha and Mahavira and analysing the special contributions of these two last Tirthankaras, the learned author has given a very convincing statement with regard to the schism of the Digambara and Svetambara Orders, their conflicting ideologies and highly complicated—often confusing—scriptural traditions. Here Dr. Sen has rendered a real service to the general public who are eager to know something about Jainism and yet are ever frustrated by conflicting dogmas and traditions. The author apparently suffered from severe limitation of space, for while he barely touched the topic of literary and cultural contribution of Jainism, he could not develop it satisfactorily. We shall be glad if a companion volume be published, discussing in detail the folk-element, *Kathasahitya*, in Jaina literature and its relationship with the Epic and Pauranic Brahmanical literature. The book is a model of clarity and condensation and readers will appreciate how simply he has given within ten pages an exposition of the basic elements of Jaina philosophy.

KALIDAS NAG

BHARAT RASTRATANTRA: By Sri Charu Chandra Chaudhuri. Published by Esha Publishing Co., 190-C, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta 29. Pages 186. Price Rs. 2-8.

The Constitution of India in English—a volume of 250 pages containing about 400 sections and eight schedules is fairly big for ordinary readers. Besides being couched in legal technicalities it is not an attractive reading to persons other than lawyers and teachers of political science. But every citizen of India should be acquainted with the main provisions of this important document. Sri Chaudhuri's book on Indian Constitution in Bengali will remove a long-felt want from which the Bengali-knowing public were suffering. The author in a short compass not only gives in a consolidated form the entire matter of the original, it being besides a commentary and explanation of the important provisions, but also quotes subsequent decisions and observations of the Federal Court and High Courts and other authorities on the subject. The author points out in several places, after a comparative presentation of the U.S.A. and other constitutions, the pitfalls of the Indian Constitution, which is very illuminative. Thus the book is a pleasant reading for the common man with average education, and for the students it has additional attraction, it being written in a fascinating and chaste language with English-Bengali and Bengali-English vocabulary added at the end. The author's approach and presentation is so clear and vivid that we venture to think that a translation of this volume into Hindi and other Indian languages will meet with immediate success and benefit a large section of our countrymen ignorant of English. We would recommend this book to every Bengali interested in the Constitution of his country and every public library should keep a volume of this publication for the benefit of its readers.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

DARSHAN-DIGDARSHAN: By Rahul San-krityana. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 847. Price Rs. 12.

An encyclopaedia of the world's principal philosophical systems, covered rung after rung in the halcyon days of their highwater mark of mental flights to the heights of truth. Greek, European, Indian and Islamic thoughts on the eternal verities of life have been surveyed with scholarly sympathy and scientific detachment. As one reads through the pages of this voluminous work, one is greatly struck by the breadth and depth of human endeavour to unveil the Reality. A monumental work, indeed, and of vital importance to students of philosophy as well as laymen.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **MADHUPARK:** Thick Cardboard. 1947. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 3-8.

(2) **BIJAL:** Thick Cardboard. 1948. Pp. 146. Price Rs. 3.

Both written by Prof. Premshankar H. Bhatt of Siddharth College, Bombay, and published by C. Shantilal and Company, Bombay 2.

Prof. Bhatt combines in him the roles of a poet and a critic, and the collection of 12 articles reprinted from his contributions to various magazines between 1937 and 1946 on old and modern writers in verse and prose, like Akho and Sawal, Narmud and Navalram, as well as promising young writers like the inspired composer of *Ilakavyo* and *Jyoti Rekha*, have been noticed with the ability of a practised critic and therefore deserve more than a passing comment. The work is really good. Not content with what he has done in these two directions, he has essayed Fiction. *Bijal* is a story of Kathiawad life, where in indigenous Kathiawad's dialect are set out various combinations of the phases of life, lived there, and vindication of natural justice. As a first attempt, it is not a failure but such as the reader makes up his mind to finish at one sitting.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GATHAS OF HOLY ZARTHROSHTRA: By Ardeshtir F. Khabardar. Printed at the Sanj Vartman Printing Press, Bombay. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 848. Price Rs. 20.

This monumental and remarkable work, the result of strenuous research work for more than a decade, is unique in throwing light on this somewhat recondite and controversial subject. His effort has been to show that what is found in the Hindu Vedas is found in the Parsi Gathas. The words and ideology are identical. He has transliterated the corrected original text in English, Gujarati, and Devnagari script of all the stanzas of the seven yasnas of the Ahurvaite Gatha, and translated them into English and Gujarati prose and also Gujarati verse together with their transformation in the pre-Vedic written language, with all their accents. Full notes and explanations, Astrological and Phonetical references have added to the value of the work. Mr. Khabardar till now has to his credit many works in poetry and prose, but this particular phase of his instinct for research has come out for the first time. We are sure that both Indian and European scholars would welcome the work and also profit by it.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Political Institutions in Ancient India

In the course of his address as President of the Ancient Indian History section of the fourteenth session (1951) of the Indian History Congress held at Jaipur Dr. U. N. Ghoshal says :

The subject of political institutions in Ancient India has engaged the serious attention of a large number of our scholars at some time past. To them we owe an inestimable debt for the care with which they have unearthed the numerous and valuable data from the most varied sources of our ancient history, as well as for their interpretations which, though not always convincing, have invariably been suggestive and stimulating. And yet I can not but feel that the time has come for a more critical approach to the study of this valuable aspect of our ancient civilisation. This task I have set before myself in my *History of Hindu Public Life*, of which the first part dealing with the period of the Vedic *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas* was published in 1945, and the second and third parts relating to subsequent times down to the end of the Gupta period is in an advanced stage of preparation. On the present occasion I crave your indulgence for using a small extract from the unpublished portion of this work to illustrate my views on the subject. In brief, my discourse will deal mainly with some aspects of our ancient political institutions during the five or six centuries intervening between the end of the epoch of the Vedic *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas* and the rise of the Maurya empire, or to put it briefly, the pre-Maurya period.

At the outset I have to notice the extraordinary paucity of truly historical documents relevant to our study. Indeed, within the chronological limits defined above, such documents are practically confined to a relatively small tract of country at a fixed date. I am referring, of course, to the writings of the Greek and Roman authors relating to the monarchies and republics of the Indus valley at the time of Alexander's invasion. These writings, as is well-known, are based upon the reports of Alexander's officers who were highly trained observers with almost unique opportunities of watching contemporary events in the land. In their accounts of social and religious conditions of the Indians, they could sometimes be misled by wrong information or by hasty generalisations. But with their experience of States and governments, they could be trusted to draw a true picture of Indian political institutions in their time. It must, however, be admitted that the great value of these observations is to a large extent discounted by their fragmentary character.

For the rest, the most important authorities for our present purpose consist of historical traditions relating to well-known kingdoms and republics that are preserved in the Buddhist and Jaina canonical works. Fragmentary as they are, these traditions deserve high credit. For not only do they go back to a

relatively high antiquity—the Pali canon being generally assigned to the first century after Buddha's death, and the Svetambara Jaina canon to the period following c. 300 B.C.—but they refer to characters and incidents that were allegedly associated with the careers of founders of the two faiths. Even where, as in the case of prefaces to the Vinaya regulations, the stories might be suspected to be apocryphal, their account of political institutions and principles may safely be taken to be based upon genuine tradition. Of the later traditions and legends like those that have clustered around the figure of king Udayana of Kausambi from Bhasa's time onwards, it is only necessary to say that their value for obvious reasons is almost negligible.

The historical traditions to which we have referred above are relatively scanty. A more copious, though less authentic, source consists of the general notices of monarchical and other governments that are found in three distinct classes of works, viz., the *Dharmasutras*, the *Arthashastra* and the *Jatakas*. To these have to be added the similar references in the Buddhist and Jaina canon supplementing their more or less genuine historical traditions noticed above, as well as the data of Panini and his fellow grammarians. To utilise this mass of material, it is necessary in the first place to assess the relative worth of the different sources. Now the *Dharmasutras*, as is well-known, deal with the type of society and State which is featured in the older Vedic literature. But while the ideas of the older authors about the working of the social units are embedded in a mass of hymns and prayers or charms and incantations (as in the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda*), or else are inter-twined with dogmatic exposition of the sacrificial ritual (as in the *Yajus-Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas*), it was left to the *Dharmasutras* to give a systematic account of the same. What is more, the conception of the king as a distinct unit of the social system made it possible for the *Dharmasutras* to deal independently with this institution for the first time. The account of the *Dharmasutras*, however, is subject to two important drawbacks. In the first place, by taking the king to be an indispensable element of the social scheme, they were led almost completely to ignore the non-monarchical type of polity (*samgha* or *gana*) which, as we know from other sources, played no mean part in contemporary public life. Secondly, the *Dharmasutras* deal with the king's function not in its objective aspect, but in the background of his *dharma* which has its distinctive place in the comprehensive *dharma* of the *varnas* and the *asramas*. It is evident that this attitude could not but lead to an imperfect consideration of aspects of the king's government which were not strictly relevant from the point of view of his *dharma*. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the king's *dharma* in the *Dharmasutras* is not a mere abstract principle, but it is institutionalised in the shape of concrete rules and principles governing his relations with his people. It follows from the above that in the history of Vedic

literature the *Dharmasutras* give us the first systematic, though far from complete, account of the institutions of government. Again, because of the high authority belonging to these works as a branch of the Vedic literature, the standard laid down by them for the king's guidance as regards general principles as well as concrete details of administration could not but leave its stamp in an undefined measure upon later political development.

Unlike the *Dharmasutras* which are dominated by the Vedic theological tradition, the works of the *Arthashastra* schools and teachers (of which unfortunately we have only one complete specimen in the undoubtedly late treatise of Kautilya) grew up independently of this influence. In this difference of their outlook we have to seek the key to their distinctive treatment of political institutions. The type of society and State treated in the *Dharmasutras* and the *Arthashastra* works is essentially the same, as it consists of the standard list of four *varnas* and four *asramas* with a king ruling the same. But while the *Dharmasutras*, as stated above, look at the institutions of government from the standpoint of the king's *dharma*, the *Arthashastra* by contrast deals with the same (in fact, if not in theory) in the light of his temporal interests and sometimes even of those of the individual *amatya* or other official. In contrast with the *Dharmasutras*, again, the *Arthashastra*, true to its meaning, treats the art of government in the widest sense of the term, so as to comprise the whole body of the king's administration, not excluding inter-State relations and the art of war. Thus the *Arthashastra* gives us what is wanting in the *Dharmasutras*—a realistic (we might almost say, a scientific) treatment of political institutions which, for reasons that it is not possible to explain in the present place, we would assign to the pre-Maurya times. To the *Arthashastra* we owe our oldest known account of a strong centralised administration controlled by the king and a highly trained and organised bureaucracy, a complete code of laws, an elaborate system of inter-State relations and a highly developed scheme of internal and foreign policy. In these respects the *Arthashastra* masters doubtless drew upon their experience of historical administrations. At the same time because of the thoroughness of their treatment they could not but influence, for good or for evil, the lines of subsequent development. We may sum up by saying that the *Arthashastra* has preserved for us a more complete picture of pre-Maurya public life in all its branches than any other source, while at the same time it has helped to shape its future growth on realistic lines.

Unlike the canonical *Dharmasutras* and the technical *Arthashastra*, the *Jatakas* (or to give them their full title, the *Jatakavattavannana*) constitute a body of folklore which for its size is unrivalled in the literature of the world. The stories (nearly 500 in number) consist, as is well known, of five parts, viz., 'the story of the present' giving the occasion on which the story is told by the Buddha (*paccuppannavatthu*), (b) 'the story of the past' in which the Buddha tells the story of his previous birth (*atitavatthu*), (c) 'the verses' constituting the core of the story (*gatha*), (d) 'the word-for-word commentary' on the *gathas* (*veyyakarana*), and (e) 'the connection' identifying the characters of the present times with those of the past (*samodhana*). Of these parts, the second and the third have long been recognised to be a mine of precious information for the social, economic, religious and political conditions of the people of Northern

India in the early centuries of Buddhism. In so far as the material bearing on the public life of the times is concerned, the stories often give us vivid pictures of the activities of kings, queens, princes, ministers and other officials down to the meanest subjects, in the context of their normal, almost day-to-day, life. In particular, while they illustrate the high and even noble ideals inspiring the best rulers, they throw at the same time a lurid light upon the ugly spots of the administration which are apt to be ignored in the more or less formal statements of the canonists and the political thinkers. The authors of the *Jatakas*, again, were evidently men of worldly experience and shrewd wisdom. Their accounts are evidently based on keen observation of contemporary institutions, while their piquant comments put into the mouths of human as well as non-human actors, in the scenes often reflect intelligent criticism of the same. It must, however, be admitted that a great gulf separates these naive tales of fictitious kings and their subjects from genuine historical tradition. Not only do we miss in them important details, but the institutions themselves are apt to be simplified from the point of view of the story-teller. Sometimes, again, the influence of the elevated ethics and the stern monastic discipline of Buddhism has combined to warp the authors' description as well as judgment of the ancient institutions. With all these faults it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the picture of pre-Maurya public life in the *Jatakas* is more true to life than that found in the other sources.

Of the minor sources bearing upon our present problem it is unnecessary to speak at great length. As for the general references in the Buddhist and Jaina canon to the working of the ancient monarchical and republican administrations, they are evidently of high value. They belong to the same circle of ideas as the genuine historical traditions and share in the characteristics of the same. To this we have to add that the casual and matter-of-fact fashion in which their data are always given is a guarantee of their being true to life. Turning to the last-named source, I have to observe that the data of the grammarians are the scantiest in amount. But what they lack in quantity is compensated by their quality. This follows as a natural consequence of the strictly impersonal and objective character of the rules laid down by those authors.—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

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Characteristics of Child Art

The following is an excerpt from the address delivered by D. P. Roy Chowdhury, as published in *Swatantra*, at the opening of the Lawrence School Art Exhibition on December 10, 1951 :

The principal characteristics of child art are sincerity, directness and simplicity, but it would not be possible to define its place unless we had made a comparative study of other forms of art practised by matured artists, particularly by those who delight in breaking away from discipline, to win freedom of expression at any cost.

Patience and ceaseless study are essential assets of an artist who means to communicate his message without effort or dragging the sympathetic observer to difficulties. This expectation is nothing short of a moral obligation. When such a motive is associated with representational art that records human emotions, it should be fit for a ready appeal at least to those who have prepared themselves to receive the message in earnest, no matter how the pattern, the technique or the medium dominates in the pictorial arrangement. Therefore, the first impression must be made to last till the purpose of the work is absorbed by the observer. Any deviation in this respect is likely to jeopardise the very cause art stands for. Therefore, when a reciprocation is in urgent need, the interpreter cannot afford to rely on a thing which is not true to what he has experienced in his physical environment, nor can he indulge in creating patterns of puzzles. The pursuit in the latter case has an unholy name, called abstract theme. Some feel that such a thing does not exist in art forms when an identity is sought or projected through a concrete and vivid form.

Since every visible form executed either in the round or in flat is too obvious to be transformed at will, it cannot be made to fit in with a quality which has no connection whatsoever with the surface appearance. In the circumstances, whatever the range of imagination one is allowed to discover a quality which is non-existent, it will end in a fruitless result, the cause being eclipsed by abstruse explanation. Therefore, a conscientious test of a good work of art will be what appeals at once to those who are ready to receive the message a thing of beauty can transmit. The reaction is identical with that of tuned cords which respond to each other's call, one vibrating even after the other has stopped. So does the reaction of a contact with the beautiful. It grows.

Further analysis of the non-existent quality in the abstract theme will reveal that every imaginative function in this regard is motivated by an interest which is strictly personal and based on temperamental qualities. The possibility of wishful thinking of a quality cannot be altogether dismissed if the observer is bent upon satisfying his inclinations. Such an attitude leads to conscious self-deception, which I consider should not be the mission of an artist who is not only a seeker after truth but a straightforward interpreter as well.

The moral aspect unfortunately does not appeal to the senses of those who are apparently crazy to be original by repeating borrowed patterns. The source does not matter so long as the effect can give some shocks to healthy nerves. They want to disturb you somehow or other. They want things to move from inertia. The formidable weapons used for the drive are screaming colours, violent and unsteady

lines, one challenging the other for self-assertion. The victims of the battle-field are the dwellers of the rooms where the pictures bearing such qualities are hung. The poor dwellers must take precaution to save their nerves or they succumb to the pain caused by the modern artistic trend. The social status of the suffering individual demands it; therefore, there is no escape either. We have doubts whether such a method of psychological torture was ever in force in the medieval period of history.

There may, however, be a difference of opinion with regard to the ideal of beauty. But making all due allowances to the difference of character, standard and objective of art forms, one fails to understand how the fundamentals of truth associated with a thing of beauty can be lost sight of. A true form of beauty, in whatever manner it is presented, echoes in the heart and lives within, to grow for a better understanding. The result is a joy that gives relief to the mind. It is constructive, it grows and initiates one into a higher existence.

But the revolutionaries have a different approach to their subject and ideals. They refuse to accept the progress made by man through ages. They disown the legitimate heritage and rely on discord and destruction to lay the foundation of their dream castles forgetting entirely the fact that the materials necessary for the reconstruction will have to be collected from the debris of the destruction they have themselves caused. The consequence is a going back to nowhere and starting afresh without an ideal or standard as a guidance. I may add here that standard is not made in a day. It is the result of great contributions through ages.



One may well question what is the root cause of all these reckless activities? The probable reason is frustration as a result of successful failures to approach within a measurable distance of the masters of the past. That is one aspect. The other is encroachment on the unsophisticated expression of a child by ignoring the discipline that should govern the adult's behaviour.

Folk art has somehow got linked up with child art under pressure of sudden awakening of culture. In consequence of which, a drive has been manoeuvred to go back to the village. The mission of the fanatic enthusiasm is to liberate people from the clutches of bad taste. The only course to make the mission effective is to teach the greatness of folk art and make people appreciate the same without any reservation. The purpose being reinforced by Swadeshi sentimentalism, the success unfortunately appears to be considerable. It is reported that quite a number of persons have really submitted to the call to serve the purpose.

The victims of this cultural domination have gone to the extent of covering up smart distempered walls of their city houses with coats of pure cowdung. The purpose behind the adherence to the new faith is to create a false rustic atmosphere and extend a fitting reception to the ultra-modern folk art known as *patachitras*. The consequence of the appreciation is queer. Stream-lined modern architecture is amazingly transformed overnight into palatial huts.

Now, let us see how much of the child's innocence and sincerity has been absorbed in this enterprise and how far the new experiments have succeeded in getting rid of the spirit of the genuine indigenous folk art. For this, we have to examine the factors which obviate complications for an undisturbed expression. To meet this end, it is necessary to collect the essential assets that go to make a good picture. The most vital point being filling up of the space, which means confidence in every bit of addition to the composition of a picture. Second comes knowledge of form which helps to build a pattern to suit a specific pictorial theme, and the third is adjustments of colours which have to settle down in harmony. A little clash among the neighbours is likely to blow up the whole of the arrangement. It is something like bringing an exposed flame in contact with a highly explosive object.

Folk art could not afford to pay attention to such vital points deemed acceptable to a scientific demand on account of their patterns being subjected to a rigid traditional hall-mark. The patterns of folk art were a gift handed over from one generation to another. Hence there was no market for sale in the absence of the traditional motives. It was due to the fact that the buyers were generally local people, who felt quite satisfied if they could get what was familiar to them. Therefore, the current patterns were free from experiments and confined to a limited few, such as, portraits of gods and goddesses, studies of birds or animals or certain scenes depicting village life. The presentation hardly faced troubles, the patterns being formalised, hence the lines that defined the forms were decisive. In the circumstances, it will be seen that the skill behind the presentation of folk art was the result of repetition that was being carried on for hundreds of years. It is no wonder, therefore, that a special character had formed in the execution, the most interesting feature being delicacy and strength in lines as well as simplicity in arrangement. The simplicity was an inevitable coincidence resulting

from handicaps and not achieved by calculation, because highly developed science had no influence in this sphere. These, in short, are the merits and demerits of the indigenous folk art, which had developed in the main through mechanical processes and not necessarily through an urge for an individual's self-expression. But its modern version is carrying on a devastating campaign to establish its cunning appearance as simple. This is manipulated behind the shield of highly developed Western science.

The effect thus brought into existence reminds one of the antics of a clown in a circus. In the circus, the clown tries to demonstrate childish achievements hoping the cultivated crude display of the expert will be taken as simple. It is no doubt an ambitious disguise, but any one who does not want to betray himself will discover the clash between the refined and the crude. Modern folk art is playing the part of a clown to register an impossible affinity between the advanced science of the West and the profound ignorance of the rustics. Such a combination can never work together for a clear expression. In the circumstances, a prejudiced approach directed by Swadeshi sentimentalism or foreign appreciation charged with dictatorial qualities is nothing else but an unwarranted intrusion into a pleasant ignorance which the village artists were contented with. Hence we can safely say that everything that is crude is not necessarily a work of art which can claim such a high standard as simple, even if strong sentiment demands the verdict. Simplicity is not the result of the choice of the subject, but its intrinsic value is recorded by the manner it is presented. This is where comes the



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difficult task of one who sits in judgment, since the criterion is the question of relative values which decide the total effect.

A child's domain of art is a dreamland, it is clean of suspicion. Why not we take shelter therefore for a while to be relieved of the ordeal of cold intellectual pursuits. Every child is a born dreamer and the dreamer is the maker of the artist. The artist in his workshop loves to live in excitement, always curious and ever alert to give vent to his expression to the limit of his capacity, often challenging the scope of his medium. He is fearless in this regard, because his presentation of facts is always dictated by a conviction which is derived from imagination and the conclusion is final. He is privileged this way, since no authoritative help is permitted from outside, nor has he time to devote to reasoning or calculation as the ever discontented experienced man would do. Intellectual consideration therefore is a trespass into the sphere where the emotional aspect rules and protects itself behind the ramparts of unshakable conviction.

In graphic or plastic art, the child's imagination grows to fit in with the object he creates, not unlike the work of a matured artist who permits the imagination of the observer to grow on the pattern created. The latter is a vision projected through experience, whereas the former is experience born of imagination. Therefore, we have to associate ourselves with the pictures just as the child did at the time of interpreting his vision by the help of a pictorial language. In short, we have to rejuvenate ourselves to come down to the level of the child to understand him and his expressions. There is no other course because unless you know the temperament of the individual artist it is difficult to follow the reflections of his thoughts on graphic forms.

Basic Education

It is evident that basic education has come to stay. Dr. W. M. Ryburn writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Basic education provides a system of education which is far more related to life than has been the system to which we have been accustomed. The centre of all work in school is practical activity, which is life activity. The truth of this depends, to be sure, on what the central activity is. But since there seem to be clear signs that agriculture is going to be the activity generally taken up, there can be no doubt about the link with life in the case of the great majority of the inhabitants of this country. Under basic education it is possible to centre the work of the school round something which is, in a real sense, life for most of the pupils attending. Work in school will, therefore, take on a new meaning, the purpose of what is done will be self-evident, and school will be seen to be a place where there is some other reason for what is done besides that of passing an examination.

Basic education ensures a balanced development of the child. Many years ago Mr. Meyhew said that Indian education was far too narrowly vocational in that it led to one type of occupation only, the white-collar job. Basic education means a long-overdue reform which will ensure that this narrowness is done away with, and that the bias towards the academic

is done away with. Every child will get the chance to develop all his powers, and the great majority, who have no bent towards the academic, will be adequately catered for.

Basic education centres round activity. The basic school is an activity school. There is no need to point out how this brings it into line with modern educational thought. One has only to see the change in children's attitude and interest when basic education is introduced, to realize how it enables us to carry out our aims and to make our schools centres of activity.

Basic education will help to establish the idea of the dignity of labour, and to get rid of the stigma which is attached to work with the hands.

The strong emphasis on social development and social training which we find in basic education is another point in its favour. Because of this emphasis the system will be of the greatest help in developing the social conscience, in defeating exaggerated individualism, in developing the spirit of co-operation, and in giving real training in the art of living together.

Basic education is a democratic system. It caters for all, no matter what their talents may be. In this it is in strong contrast to the system we have had, which caters for only about ten per cent of the population.

In basic education we have something which promises to be a truly national system. It has its faults. No system is perfect. But as faults and defects reveal themselves, they can be dealt with. For example, the first idea of providing the teacher's salary out of sale of products is gradually being dropped in the light of experience. But it gives us a system with possibilities.

So far basic education has been tried out in primary and middle schools. Those who are pushing the movement consider that they are now beyond the stage of experiment in such schools, and that they have proved the worth of what they advocate and have been putting into practice. The next move is to extend basic education to high schools and even to the university level. We cannot escape from the fact that in the movement for basic education we have an enthusiasm that is not commonly found.

This enthusiasm and consecration was one of the things which impressed me at the All-India Conference on Basic Education held at Sevagram in March last. I have rarely been in a conference of teachers where there was such enthusiasm for action, and quick action.

One had hoped that with independence the country would be freed from the hold of English which has so be-deviled education. One's hopes have not been realized. But basic education means education in the language of the people and not in a foreign language.

Administration should be a co-operative endeavour between teachers, pupils and parents. Pupils should be associated with the staff in planning and execution of activities. The crafts to be taken up should take into account the needs of the locality in which the school is working. The period of training of teachers should not be less than two years, and even three years was suggested for those of lower academic qualifications. The profits earned from craft work should be used for the recurring expenses of the school. Pupils should be paid according to the work they put in.

Here we have a 'live' movement which merits our support. There may be features of basic education which do not appeal to us, but my position is that on the whole it will be a blessing to the country.



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The Russian Language

Professor P. Kuznetsov, Doctor of Philological Science, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* :

Russian is the language used by the Russian nation, the largest of the nations comprising the U.S.S.R. and the one with the highest and most advanced culture and richest literature. Though the bulk of the Russian-speaking population is concentrated in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (the R.S.F.S.R.), there are sizeable Russian settlements in other parts of the U.S.S.R. as well. Besides, the Russian language is a means of intercourse for the many different nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

In the Russian language there are a large number of local dialects which differ somewhat as regards phonetics, grammatical structure (morphology and syntax) and word stock but which are so close to one another that people speaking different dialects can understand each other with no difficulty. Those dialects fall into two main categories: the North Russian, embracing chiefly the North and East of the European part of the R.S.F.S.R. and the major part of Siberia; and the South Russian, embracing chiefly the Southern part of the R.S.F.S.R., part of the North Caucasus, and part of Siberia. Between these two, in a narrow strip running from the North-West to the South-East, are found the transitional Central Russian dialects. To the Central Russian group of dialects belongs the Russian language as spoken in Moscow, the capital of U.S.S.R., which is situated in this strip.

As regards grammatical structure, Russian as a whole exhibits the same features as the main ancient Indo-European languages (Latin, Greek, Sanskrit), namely, three genders—masculine, feminine and neuter—and a developed system of declensions, that is, the inflection of the word according to grammatical cases, indicating its relation to other words in the sentence. In the Russian language, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and numerals are inflected according to case. The case system is well developed, there being six different cases. Nouns are not all declined the same way, there being three main declensions, (not counting the survivals of several ancient types that have now disappeared).

Adjectives are declined differently from nouns. In the plural all nouns have the same forms in the majority of the grammatical cases (certain differences are to be found only in the nominative and genitive cases). Adjectives do not have gender distinctions in the plural. Impersonal pronouns are declined like adjectives.

Adjectives in the Russian language have full forms and short forms; the short forms are now used only as predicates and are not declined, although changing

according to gender and number. The full forms are used both as predicates and attributes.

The personal pronouns are characterized by their irregular declensions: the nominative case and the oblique cases are formed from different roots. For example, the nominative case is 'Ya' (I) and the genitive case is 'mnya' (me).

The verb has three tenses, the present, past and future. In the present tense the verb changes according to person and there are two types of conjugations, with different endings for the various persons. In the past tense the verb does not change according to person but does according to gender and number, depending upon the gender of the noun that governs it. An essential peculiarity of the Russian verb is a grammatical category known as aspect, in which verbs differ in form depending on whether they express completed or incomplete action (irrespective of whether this action takes place in the past or the future). Verbs of the imperfective aspect have the three tenses indicated above, while verbs of the perfect aspect have only two, the past and the future.

Syntactically the Russian language is characterized by free word order.

The relations between words in a sentence are expressed not only by cases but also by a combination of cases and pre-positions—auxiliary words which stand before the word to which they immediately refer.

The Russian language has an extremely rich word stock, as a result of which the most varied concepts, both the most abstract and the most concrete, can be expressed in a concise and exact form. The wealth of synonyms permits the most subtle shades of meaning to be conveyed.

The chief dialects of the Russian language differ somewhat phonetically, mainly in the pronunciation of unstressed vowels, which in the Southern dialect and in the transitional dialects undergo a strong change. The differences in the grammatical system amount chiefly to certain peculiarities in the case and person endings, but the main grammatical categories are the same in all the dialects.

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The South Russian and the North Russian dialects also differ lexically to a certain degree, the differences being found in part in words that belong to the basic word stock, that is, those words which express the most widespread, vitally necessary concepts. The South and the North have different words for horse, cock and a number of actions connected with cultivating the soil. But on the whole the word stock of all the Russian dialects represents an amazing unity, the differences on the whole being small.

The Russian language together with the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian comprise the East Slavic subgroup of Slavic languages, forming one of the branches of the Indo-European family of languages.

The oldest monuments of the Russian language date back to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. But there are grounds for believing that a written language existed in Russia earlier than that.

The East Slavic tribal dialects, which formed the basis of the modern East Slavic languages, detached themselves from the common Slavic language as a result of the migration of the Slavic tribes over the territory of Eastern Europe, at the same time preserving a very great intimacy with the rest of the Slavic languages.

These East Slavic dialects became the basis of Old Russian, that is, the language of the ancient Russian nationality, which took shape on the territory of the Russian state with its centre at Kiev at a time which has not been established exactly but which was undoubtedly before the 9th century. Old Russian, whose dialects differed one from another to a very slight degree, was the source of all three of the modern East Slavic languages. The Kiev state remained a more or less solidly united body until approximately the end of the 11th century. The feudal era that followed, during which the individual principalities grew stronger and more isolated, was marked by growing differences between the Old Russian dialects. The isolation was still further intensified by the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, which led to the desolation (although not complete desolation) of the Southern area of Russia and to the disruption of connections between the South-Western lands and the territories of the North and East.

Beginning from the 14th century a centralized Russian state began to take shape in the North-Eastern part of Russia, with its centre at Moscow whose establishment is linked up with the formation of the modern Russian language. This language, the

language of the Russian nationality, later the Russian nation, was based on the Old Russian dialects spoken on the territory of the Russian state. These dialects, the dialects of a single centralized state with a single economic, political and cultural centre, began to lead a common life and drew together, at the same time moving away from the Old Russian dialects spoken outside the Russian state. The Old Russian dialects that remained outside the Russian state, on the territory of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, originally coming within the Lithuanian principality and part of Poland, formed the basis of the modern Byelorussian and Ukrainian languages. Only later did the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples become re-united with the fraternal Russian people (a part of the territory in the 17th and 18th centuries and the rest only after the Second World War).

Inasmuch as the leading role in political and economic relations in the newly-formed Russian state was played by the South, the dialect of the South, the Kursk-Orel dialect (the dialect of the modern Kursk and Orel regions), became the basis of the Russian national language. People from various parts of the Russian state streamed into Moscow, the greatest number coming from the South. Moscow is situated on the very border between the North Russian and South Russian dialects. Moscow monuments of the 14th century have, in the majority of cases, Northern features. A study of these monuments shows how, in the course of the following centuries, the Moscow speech, whose standards later became the standards of the literary language, was more and more influenced by the Southern dialect.

A study of the monuments shows that by the 13th century the living spoken Russian language was very close to the modern Russian language as regards grammatical structure and especially morphology.

The development of the grammatical system of the Russian language, in particular the unification of various types of declensions, the loss of the dual number and the expression of any number of objects by only the plural number, and the reduction in the number of tense forms reflect the process of abstraction performed by the human thought over a long period of time.

The literary language of ancient Russia arose on the basis of the Old Russian living language, apparently long before the era of the oldest monuments that have come down to us. In the oldest monuments this language is strikingly reflected in several types

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of manuscripts, primarily in legal documents (deeds and the Russian *Pravda*, the most ancient poetic monument of Kiev Russia, the *Lay of Igor's Host*, 12th century).

With the introduction of Christianity in the 10th century what is known as the Old Slavic language became widespread in Russia. The Old Slavic is based on one of the South Slavic dialects (the Southern Slavs adopted Christianity earlier than the Russians). This language was used in the church service and religious writings, as well as in certain other literary forms, such as parts of annals, treatises and, later, in narrative literature. Inasmuch as all the Slavic languages, which are now very closely related, were still more closely related in the 10th and 11th centuries, this language was comprehensible to the Russians and met with no difficulties whatsoever in its diffusion. In the course of the following centuries both forms of the literary language—the one based on the living old Russian and the one based on the Old Slavic—developed in close co-operation. On the one hand, many elements of the Old Slavic language penetrated into monuments close to the living language, and even into the spoken language itself. As a result, even at the present time the Russian language has a large number of words of Old Slavic origin, some of which have entered the spoken language and some being used in formal or poetic speech. The role of words of Slavic origin in the Russian language is approximately the same as the role of Sanskrit elements in the Indo-Aryan languages. On the other hand, the Old Slavic language in Russia has been definitely influenced by the living Russian language. The Russianized form of Old Slavic has come to be called Church-Slavonic, and is used to the present time in the Orthodox Church.

Despite the existence of common standard for the literary language, one single standard did not exist in Kiev Russia, and the local dialectal peculiarities, primarily the phonetical, were reflected in the written language. In the era of feudal dispersion the influence of the dialects on the written language became somewhat more pronounced.

Two forms of the literary language (the Church-Slavonic and the one close to the living tongue) were also characteristic of the era during which a centralized Russian state was taking shape with its centre at Moscow (the 16th and 17th centuries). But in this era new tendencies were noticeable in the development of the literary language: in the first place, single standards gradually spread over the entire territory of the Russian state, and in the second place there was a steady increase in the number of monuments close to the new language. The final transition to a literary language based on the living national language, one that was employed in all literary forms, was made on the border between the 17th and 18th centuries (the period of Peter the First). From that time on the Church-Slavonic language came to be used only by the church.

During the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century intensive work was carried on to elaborate standards for the new literary language. The leading scholars and writers of the time took an active part in this work. Most prominent of them was M. V. Lomonosov (middle of the 18th century) and A. S. Pushkin (beginning of the 19th century). Lomonosov was the first to write a complete Russian grammar, and produced brilliant examples of the new literary language both in poetry and prose. Lomo-

nosov is noted for his theory of the three styles—the lofty, the middle and the low (the vernacular)—based on different proportions of Church-Slavonic and spoken Russian elements. This theory determined the style in which works in different literary genres should be written. For its time the theory was progressive inasmuch as it took its main point of departure from the living language. Even in the lofty style, in which more church-Slavonic words and expressions were used, archaic or incomprehensible church-Slavonisms were not permitted. The subsequent development of the literary language led to a violation of the borders between the styles indicated above. At the same time the living folk language was penetrating into the literary language on an ever wider scale and in all genres. The real founder of the new Russian literary language was Pushkin, Russia's greatest poet, who wrote in the living language of the people while at the same time recognizing the necessity of using for definite stylistic purposes (first and foremost, in poetry) Slavonisms as elements that were an organic part of the Russian language.

Since Pushkin's time the Russian language has hardly changed at all structurally. Naturally, the word stock of the Russian language is constantly developing, constantly acquiring new words that arise from changes in the social structure (especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917), the development of production, culture, science and so on. A number of obsolete words have dropped out. But the foundations of the language, its grammatical system and basic stock of words and its phonetic

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system are in all essentials what they were in Pushkin's time, and "the modern Russian language differs very little in structure from the language of Pushkin." (J. Stalin: *Concerning Marxism in Linguistics*).

With the formation of a Russian national language (in the main, beginning with the 17th century) the local dialects merged into a single national language, with one of the dialects (the Kursk-Orel—see above) forming the foundation of this language and the other dialects losing their individuality, merging with this language and disappearing in it. Since language develops very slowly this did not happen at once, and many logical dialectal features have not been fully lost up to the present time. But with the spread of universal literacy and schooling, especially in the past few years, the loss of local peculiarities and the general diffusion of the literary standards is proceeding at an extremely rapid rate.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Russian language acquired importance in the U.S.S.R. as the language of the most socially and culturally advanced people. It became the source from which the numerous languages of the U.S.S.R. took social, political, scientific and technical terminology. At the same time the Russian language assumed world importance: words expressing new social and political concepts (like 'Bolshevik,' 'Soviet') have passed from the Russian language into all the languages of the world.

Beginning with the oldest known monuments, the Russian language has used the Slavic Cyrillic alphabet, or Kirillitsa, named after the supposed inventor of this alphabet, Konstantin, whose name as a monk was Cyril. Much less often used in ancient Russia was another Slavic alphabet, the Glagolitic alphabet or Glagolitsa. (Some scholars believe that at one time this alphabet was more widespread). Under Peter I, in the era when the new literary language was taking shape (at the beginning of the 18th century) the alphabet was modified—the shape of the letters simplified and extra letters eliminated—as a result of which the so-called lay Cyrillic alphabet which Russians use today came into being. This same alphabet, modified to a certain degree, is used by the majority of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and by several Slavic peoples abroad (the Bulgarians, Macedonians, Serbs). A reform of the Russian spelling was carried through in 1917 in order to simplify it, and another few extra letters were eliminated.—*Tass News Agency of the U.S.S.R.*

The Institute of Public Administration

The Institute of Public Administration was founded in 1922. Its first president was Lord Haldane, who was the following year to become Lord Chancellor and had in 1918 been chairman of the committee on the machinery of government which recommended far-reaching administrative reforms. Developments in

the machinery of government and techniques of administration were at that time attracting the interest of public men and officials, for the period following the 1914-18 war saw the beginning of vast changes and increases in corporate administrative organisation.

The Institute was founded to advance the study of public administration and to promote the exchange of information and ideas on all aspects of the subject. It is a non-political body, membership of which is open to civil servants, local government officers, members of universities making a special study of public administration, and those who have become eminent in public service. In 1948, membership was extended to public boards and other corporate bodies.

At first the Institute provided opportunities in London and elsewhere for exchange of views on a wide range of subjects relating to central and local administration and for the intensive study of particular problems. Later, regional groups were formed in Australia, and close contact between the Australian branches and those in Britain has always been a feature of the Institute. Similar institutes were formed in Canada, New Zealand and the United States. In 1948, the Institute of Public Administration was chosen to be the British national section of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. Through the exchange of literature with kindred bodies the Institute becomes aware of developments in the practice and science of administration in other parts of the world.

From its early years the Institute encouraged the universities to introduce courses and examinations in public administration and the introduction by universities of diplomas in this subject was one of the results of that policy.

The Institute sponsors the publication of serious studies in public administration either as books or pamphlets, publishes a quarterly journal *Public Administration*, organises conferences and arranges lectures centrally or regionally, runs a library and information service at its headquarters, and undertakes surveys of administrative questions.

It also promotes research in various ways, in particular bringing together on specific projects those who hold responsible posts in the public services and members of university departments who are experienced research workers so that the experience of practical persons and the knowledge and thought of scholars are united for the solution of the problems under consideration. Facilities for training courses are available at the Institute's offices and such courses can be arranged to meet the requirements of corporate members. The Haldane Essay competition, first held in 1924, was instituted to stimulate administrators to constructive thought about their work: it is open to all members of the public services.—*The Economic Review of Affairs in the United Kingdom*, September-October, 1951.



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Pilot Plan on Fundamental Education Sponsored in Delhi by Unesco

New Delhi, Sept. 4, 1951—A pilot-model project aimed at greater literacy and the fundamental education of the literate is now functioning under the joint sponsorship of the Government of India and the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (Unesco).

The project was conceived at the Unesco Asian Seminar on Rural Adult Education held at Mysore in 1949, and on the basis of plans made at the seminar, the programme was launched last year with a literacy campaign. This campaign consists of holding classes to teach the reading and writing of Hindi symbols for beginners, and the production and distribution of proper literature for new literates.

The scope of the project was enlarged early this year to take in social, economic, health and cultural education. Dr. Emily Hatch, wife of the internationally famous pioneer in rural fundamental education, Dr. Duane Spencer Hatch, is the Unesco Adviser, and her daughter, Miss Nancy Hatch, her voluntary, unpaid assistant.

Mrs. Hatch has centered her efforts around the small Janta College at Alipur, in the State of Delhi. There the staff seeks first to focus the basic needs of the villagers through careful, house to house surveys. Subjects outlined so far cover cottage industries, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, games and recreation, co-operative societies, principles of rural social organization, civics and citizenship—spraying the economic, cultural and social targets the Government has set up.

To stir interest in literacy among villagers, the Delhi State Education Department uses three Caravan Melas, each consisting of three motor truck vans—one carrying a library, the second motion-picture equipment with foot-lighted stage trailer, and the third exhibition and demonstration facilities.

The vans light up nearly half an acre. Films are shown during day and night and the trained staff organizes sports programmes, dramas, exhibitions and illustrated lectures. When the caravans leave after three days, squads of 15 to 20 men and women teachers remain behind to conduct literary classes. They live in the villagers' homes from four to six weeks, seeking to establish permanent adult education clubs and to train leaders to continue the work.

Dr. Spencer Hatch and his wife have devoted the greater part of their lives to pioneering rural reconstruction in India, beginning with the YMCA. They started with an experiment in Martandam in Travancore, devising improved methods of agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts for the villagers, at the same time continuing their own education in direct terms of the needs of such work.

Hatch's 18 years' experiences and studies were crystallized into one of the first comprehensive reports on a definition of, and techniques for, fundamental education. Revealed in films he produced and in three books, *Up From Poverty*, *Further Upwards*, and *Toward Freedom*. From *Want*, the study now is used as a pattern the world over.—USIS.

Inter-American Women Consolidate Federation

Heloise Brainerd writes in the *Worldover Press*, November 16, 1951 :

Mexico City: Under the presidency of Senora Tina Vasconcelos de Berges, the well-known literary figure, the Inter-American Congress of Women has held its second gathering, with delegates from 16 nations of the Americas. Five women were present

from the United States, one from Canada, delegations of a dozen or so from several Central American republics, with fewer from other Latin American countries and of course a large number of women from Mexico. Attendance ran into several hundred.

Topics covered by the conference included questions of special interest to women, and the definitive organization of the Federation of Women of the Americas, which was created at the First Congress four years ago.

In the plenary sessions there was lively discussion, even though the seven committees had prepared the ground well. Some delegates felt obliged to air political grievances which would compromise the position of others, but in the end the Congress adopted such conclusions as would be expected from a group of liberal-minded women. If Communists sought to gain control, they did not succeed.

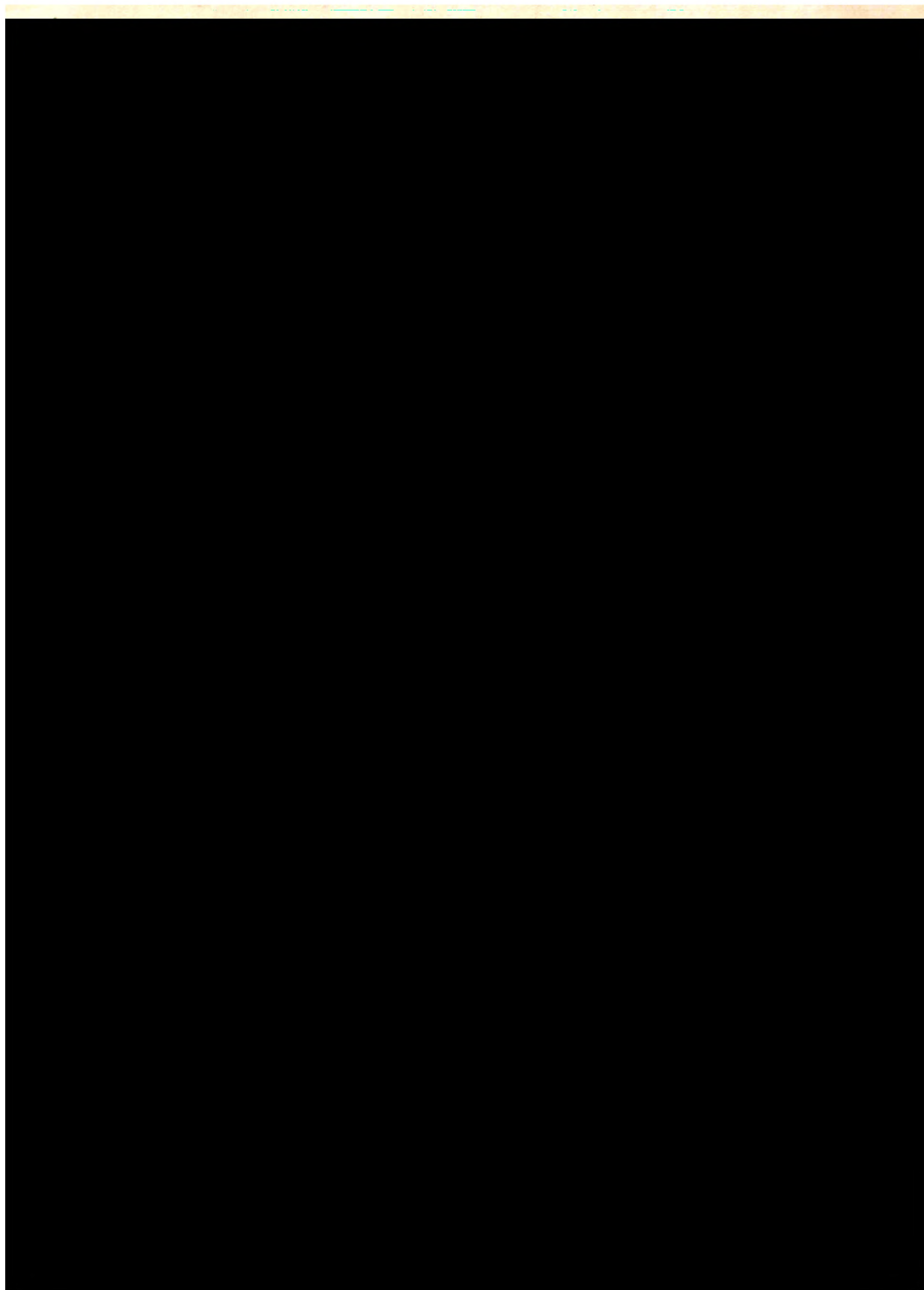
Much enthusiasm was manifested for carrying on and strengthening the Federation, which represents associations of women, not individuals. Its by-laws were therefore revised to make it more effective. It is anticipated that in two years another Congress, the Third, will be held in some American country.

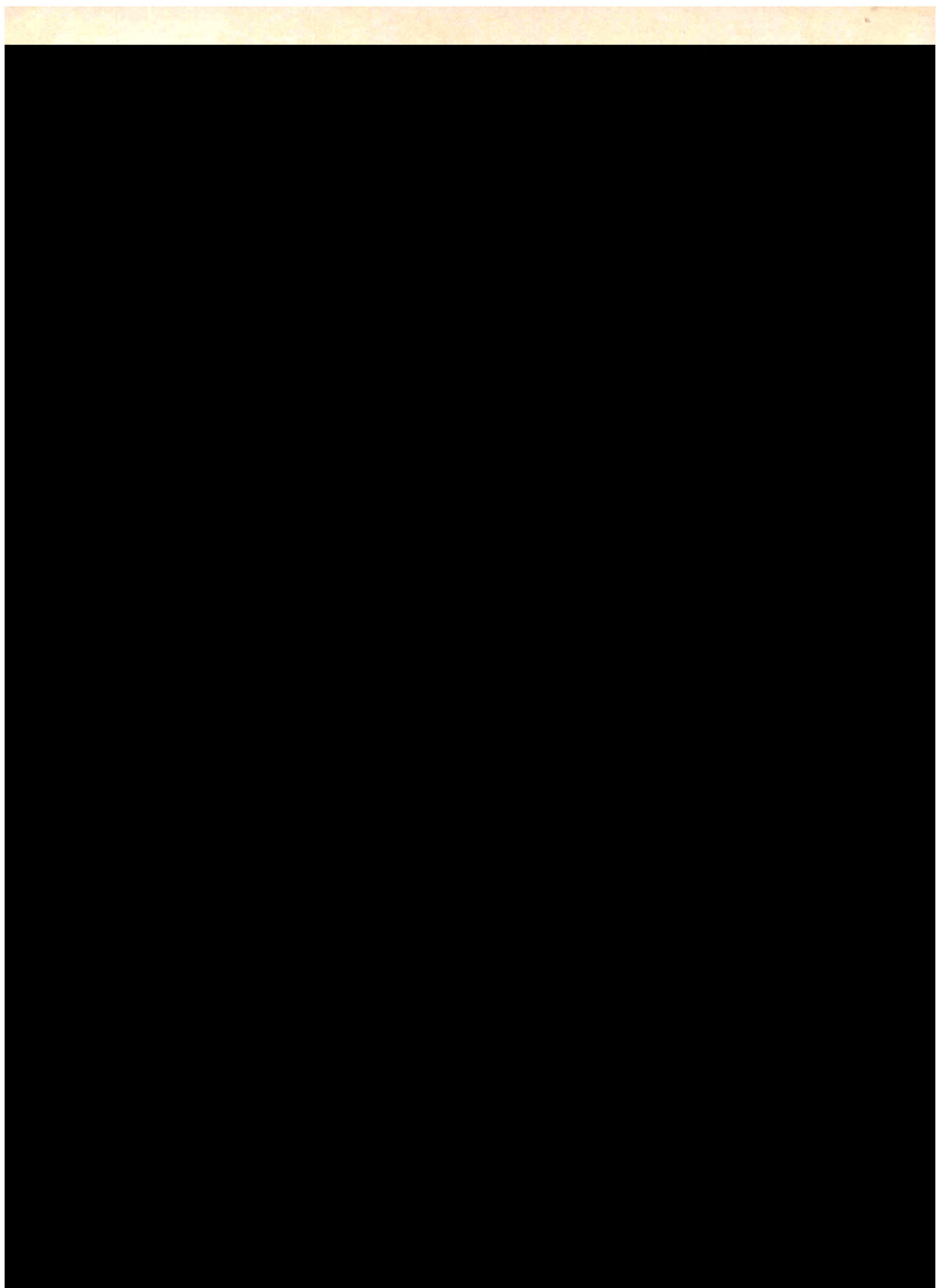
Meanwhile Mexico City will be the seat of the Federation for this period, with an able Executive Committee composed of citizens of Venezuela, the United States and Mexico.

The earnest women who went to Mexico at great personal sacrifice may not move the world quickly, but their demand for peace and better living conditions will surely influence the slow course of events.

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NOTES

The Verdict of the People

The elections are virtually over, excepting a few results in the North and in Uttar Pradesh. Of course, the elections to the Upper Houses and the Council of State is yet to come. But the issues are clear.

In general it may be said that with the exception of Bombay, the victory of the Congress has been in the reverse order of the literacy index, so far as the elections to the State Assemblies are concerned. In the South and markedly so in Madras and Travancore-Cochin the literacy index is the highest, and it is there that the Congress has fared its worst. Hyderabad has not got such a high degree of literacy it is true, but there also the literate sections of the communities were campaigning hard against the Congress in most areas.

In West Bengal had the parties in opposition put up a better selection of candidates, or had they backed suitable independents as was done in Madras and Orissa, the Congress would have fared far worse. As matters stand all the choicest nominees of the Congress—together with a good few of the worst type—have been defeated, with the sole exception of Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister. The educated sections of the people, the *bhadralok* class—the menfolk more particularly—practically abstained from voting as they did not want to vote Congress and they did not like the type of candidates the opposition groups had put up. This is fully proved by the returns from the urban areas where the percentage of voting was as low as 15 per cent, inclusive of false votes by impersonation, and even here female voters were, in the majority.

The electoral rolls were defective in the extreme, and the defects seem to have been left in with a purpose. Very large numbers of persons, resident in Calcutta for last decade or more, were not in the rolls though their servants, ex-servants and dead relatives were included. Indeed people who died two years or more back, were all there, if the Calcutta North-East Constituency rolls are a fair sample. This allowed mass scale impersonation with impunity, more so since the question of a "challenge" was not only made expensive—Rs. 10 per challenge—but also uncertain due to the whims of the presiding officers. As a result, in urban areas at least 25 per cent of the votes cast were false. The marking by ink of the voter was a farce and, now it transpires, the fate of the ballot papers in the boxes was at the mercy of the guardians of peace. Where they inclined towards the left, the ballot papers took flight from the boxes of the others, and *vice versa* if they were "loyal," the major sufferers being the non-party independents in either case. In Calcutta, the enormous hiatus between the polling and counting gave ample opportunities to the nefarious election fabricators, with most curious results, which are too numerous to relate in these columns. The Congress has been openly accused for these malpractices. We are in a position to state that in certain parts of Calcutta the "extreme left" out-classed all and sundry in such matters.

Party schisms within the Congress helped the opposition everywhere, with marked results where the electorate were politically conscious to any appreciable degree. Popular discontent and a sense of frustration amongst the saner sections also aggravated the people's mind. Thus we find the *Hindu* of Madras,

which cannot by any stretch of imagination be called anti-Congress, commenting, in its February 3 issue, on the Madras elections as follows:

"The verdict of the electorate amounts to a decisive repudiation of the Ministry that has been in power. Practically all the important Ministers have been thrown out. While an element of personal feud undoubtedly contributed to the overthrow of one or two of them, the cumulative effect of the Ministerial reverses cannot be explained away. The fact that the defeated Ministers themselves have confessed to total surprise at these developments merely shows how little they were aware of what was happening in the State. They indeed seemed to set little store by public opinion. . . ."

"The verdict of the electorate must be regarded as no less decisive against the Congress organisation and direction in this State. Unlike in such 'problem' States as East Punjab and Bengal, the Party here has not been distracted by differences of opinion between the Ministry on the one hand and the local Congress party on the other. On the contrary, the Ministry has been only too amenable to control and suggestion from the latter."

"At the time of the resignation of the Omandur Ministry we pointed out that it was essential that the new Ministry should reflect political realities by giving adequate representation to the different sections of opinion that had emerged within the Congress. If this had been done the open breaches that have since come about and precipitated the disruption of the Congress particularly in Andhra, might not have occurred. But those who were in charge of the machine were in no mood to heed such advice. It was perhaps too late, by the time the elections approached, for the Madras Congress to have made a determined effort to stop the rot; the internecine quarrel had reached the all-India level. But a little more anxiety to accommodate honest differences and to conform in the letter and the spirit to the Congress President's exhortation to set up men of integrity and independence as candidates might have gone some way towards healing the breach. Considerations of expediency, however, seem to have overweighed with those who were entrusted with the task, in far too many cases; with the result that tried Congressmen of many years' standing were provoked to contest as Independents or even to join other parties, especially those like the K.M.P. The fact that a larger proportion of successful Congressmen have been returned by a smaller percentage of the total votes polled in their respective constituencies than almost any other of the successful groups, while a multiplicity of candidates was a feature in almost every constituency, should make two things clear. The Congress did not lose more than others by the splitting of votes; on the other hand, its candidates had less pull with the

electorate by and large than the others. That does not show much discrimination in the choice of candidates.

"The emergence of the Communists as a powerful group has been regarded as the most significant feature of the new political landscape. While we are certainly not inclined to underrate this portent we think it may be an even more unwise thing to overrate its importance. It is necessary to discriminate, for instance, between the success of the Communists in the Andhra districts adjoining Telengana and their sporadic successes elsewhere. Outside Andhra their most notable success was in Malabar where they got 25 per cent of the seats. Here, as in the Coastal districts of Andhra, Communism has been actively at work for some years and has capitalised the widespread discontent due to chronic want. In the north it has exercised coercion and intimidation also on a large scale; the anarchy prevailing in Telengana materially helped it. In the Tamil Nad, Communists have won only 14 out of 185 seats, six of them being from Tanjore."

With certain modifications the picture is the same in the "problem province" of West Bengal. The picture is somewhat different in Travancore-Cochin if we are to consider the opinion of the *Hindu*, as reflected in its editorial of 11th January, as correct. Therein appear the following comments:

"The growth of the influence of the extreme Left in the State, though it will take nobody by surprise, has a number of lessons for other parties by which they may yet profit. The Communists have concentrated on a comparatively small area but they have intensively cultivated it. They have established close contacts with the rural poor and been largely successful in exciting their hopes. Lavish promise of securing for them free all the land they wish to possess is one of the chief baits. Organisationally speaking, the Communists have not frittered away their energies by setting up candidates where they had no reasonable chance of success. And they seem to have fared better than other parties in the matter of persuading their supporters to go to the polls and record their votes. In a State where, thanks to the high percentage of literacy, the polling has been very high relatively speaking, the areas in which Communists have been active have generally shown an even higher rate of polling than the average. And the Communists have shown, too, something of the wisdom of the serpent in deciding, where they assessed their chances as slender, to support Independents or occasionally even men of other organised parties, no doubt hoping to be able to benefit by this policy in the long run.

"The Congress, on the other hand, committed a tactical blunder in adopting an uncompromising attitude in these respects. It might have usefully agreed to set up in places, where it had no high hopes Independents, men of integrity and local influence, even if these would not agree to merge themselves in the Congress. From the analysis published elsewhere it

will be seen that, though the Independents gained only 11 seats, they secured a very high poll in more than a score of the other seats, in many of which the Congress fared pretty badly. Again, the rather belated discovery that there is little ideological difference between the Congress and the Travancore T.N.C. might have been advantageously made earlier. True, these dissidents are insistent that the Tamil areas of Travancore should be separated and added on to Tamil Nad. But if the request was *per se* reasonable, it is proper to turn it down summarily on *a priori* grounds such as that the request smacks of linguism?"

Our own information is that the Travancore-Cochin elections were further complicated by the bad selection of candidates by the Congress. Herein the picture tallies with what we have ourselves observed in West Bengal. In West Bengal, the Congress selections were bad in most cases, vile in some cases and positively notorious in a few instances. As we have already remarked Congress escaped defeat in West Bengal simply because the opposition camps chose equally noxious nominees in most instances.

CONGRESS "VICTORY" IN WEST BENGAL

Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, who has been leading an "ivory tower" existence these last four years, draws some very erroneous conclusions, as quoted *infra*, which bodes very ill for the future of the Congress in West Bengal, from the Congress victory, which is Pyrrhic in our opinion.

Dr. Roy who was speaking at a reception held at Indian Association Hall analysed the results of the elections and said that the Muslims in West Bengal everywhere had helped the Congress in the elections and the Congress could take pride in it. The Non-Bengalees in West Bengal who had close ties with the State had also helped the Congress and had contributed largely to its victory. All thanks were due to them, Dr. Roy said.

But merely voting the Congress to power would not do, Dr. Roy said. The supporters of the Congress should now come forward to co-operate with the organisation and should point out the mistakes that the Congress might commit in future. Mistakes if pointed out in a friendly way, could always become helpful. If all those who had helped the Congress to power could not work unitedly in the coming five years, those who were in opposition to the Congress would not miss the opportunity. They would take advantage of their disunity and would try to make the Congress unpopular.

Speaking of his victory Dr. Roy reiterated that it was not a personal victory but a victory of the organisation to which he belonged. Whatever success had come to him in his life, Dr. Roy said, had come due to his association with the Congress and all thanks should go to the large number of people who had helped the Congress to power in West Bengal.

Seven ministers defeated, including the three—Bhupati Majumdar, Prafulla Sen and Harendra Roy Chowdhury—who only, besides himself, had the attributes and qualities of ministership amongst all his colleagues, and Dr. Roy talks about co-operation and victory! But perhaps Dr. Roy was speaking in a jocular vein. Dr. Roy's conclusions regarding the Muslim electorate in West Bengal is equally faulty in our opinion and the W.B.P.C.C. president, Sri Atulya Ghosh, whom we quote *infra* is correct to the best of our information:

"Referring to the comments recently made by Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy that the Muslims and the non-Bengalees had helped the Congress in West Bengal to win, Sri Atulya Ghosh, in reply to a question said that he did not agree entirely with the observation. If that was true, Congress would not have lost the seats in Baranagore, Howrah Town and Asansol.

In reply to another question, Sri Ghosh said that it was up to the Congress Central Parliamentary Board to decide if some of the defeated Congress candidates were to be brought back through the Upper House. The Provincial Board would be guided by the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board in this respect. But he felt that when the Congress was in power it would not be unfair if such a method was adopted. Sri Ghosh added.

Asked whether the defeated Ministers would be brought back through re-election, Sri Ghosh said that there was no such thing as 'defeated Ministers'. To them, all were Congress candidates. Wherever there had been defeats, the Congress candidates and the Congress as such had been defeated. There was no such thing as 'personal defeat'."

We are in agreement with Sri Ghosh regarding Upper House selection. We can quite imagine what the opposition of the "extreme left" would have done if they had come to power.

We would conclude about the West Bengal elections by quoting the following summary from the *Hindusthan Standard* of February 14:

"Analysis of the trend of polling in different constituencies during the general elections in West Bengal reveals a surprisingly low percentage of voters turning up at the polls in Calcutta and some of the urban areas, as compared to the percentage in other areas.

In Calcutta, the nerve-centre of political activities, the lowest percentage of voters turned up at the polling centres. Of the total number of about 14,14,300 voters in the city, not more than 35 per cent exercised their franchise.

Hooghly district recorded the highest percentage of votes polled in the State's 15 districts. In the district, of a total electorate of about 6,89,300, more than 81 per cent cast their votes. Besides Calcutta, low percentage of polling was also recorded in some of the districts. In Nadia, where there had been a large influx of refugees during the last five years, approxi-

mately, 34.2 per cent of the voters went to the polls. In Malda, the percentage of polling was about 40, while in Darjeeling it was 45. In all the other districts, the percentage was more than 50.

One very interesting feature of polling was that while middle-class people seemed to be rather reluctant to turn up at the booths, the labour electorate was very much enthusiastic about exercising their franchise. But strangely enough, the majority of the labour electorate cast their votes in favour of Congress, as against the Communist or other parties known to be working in the labour sphere. In the labour belt in and around Calcutta in 24-Parganas and Howrah, Congress candidates secured collectively 1,20,717, as against C.P.I. nominees securing 64,160 and Forward Bloc, Marxist and Ruiker, 19,452. It was also equally evident that major reverses in Congress rank were due to the failure of the Congress to inspire the support of middle-class electorate.

In Calcutta, the Congress captured 17 out of a total of 26 seats, and polled collectively 40 per cent of the total votes cast. The C. P. I. candidates, secured 15 per cent of the total votes polled, and captured 4 of the city seats. Forward Bloc (Marxist) captured 3 seats and polled 3.5 per cent of the total votes polled. U.S.O. had 14.5 per cent of the votes polled to their credit but were able to return only 2 candidates.

In 24-Parganas where there is a large labour belt, Congress captured 23 of the 40 seats. Communists 8, K. M. P. P. 4, S. R. P. 1, Forward Bloc (Subhasist) 1, Jana Sangha 1 and Independents 2. In the district, approximately 66.6 per cent of the total electorate cast their votes.

In Midnapore district, of the 35 seats, 12 went to Congress, 9 to Jana Sangha, 7 to Communist, 6 to K. M. P. P. and 1 to Independent. In the district, approximately 67 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise.

Of the 20 seats in Burdwan, 13 seats were captured by Congress, 2 by Communists, 2 by K. M. P. P., 1 by Hindu Mahasabha, 1 by Forward Bloc (Subhasist) and 1 Independent. Of the electorate, 63.5 per cent cast their votes.

Of the 11 seats in Birbhum, 8 went to Congress, 2 to Forward Bloc (Marxist) and 1 to K. M. P. P. The percentage of polling was about 60.

In Bankura district, Congress captured 11 of the 14 seats, while the rest were captured by Hindu Mahasabha. Of the electorate, nearly 65.5 per cent exercised their franchise.

In Nadia where 34.2 per cent (approximately) of the electorate exercised their franchise, Congress captured 14 out of a total number of 16 seats in the district, and the remaining two seats went to U. P. B. and Independent.

In Maldah district, Congress captured 6 of the total of 9 seats, while of the rest, Communists captured

1 and Independents 2. Forty per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

In Darjeeling district, where 45 per cent of the total votes were polled, Gorkha League captured 3 of the total 5 seats, Communists 1 and Congress 1. In Cooch Behar, all the 6 seats were captured by Congress, the percentage of polling being approximately 69. All the 16 seats in Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpur went to Congress nominees. In Jalpaiguri district, 50 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise, while in West Dinajpur, approximately 62.5 per cent of the electorate cast their votes."

It will be seen that the Congress success was most marked in the backward rural areas, with the exception of Midnapur, where the Congress selection was particularly bad, thanks to the crass obstinacy of a particularly inept minister, who lost deservedly. We have not given all the district summaries for lack of space, but they would have borne out our point if given.

Here also, in West Bengal, as in the rest of India, the electorate were less interested in the House of People elections as the following table, also from the *Hindusthan Standard*, would show:

	Seats contested	Seats won	Votes polled
Congress	34	24	32,05,162
Communists	9	5	7,23,304
Jana Sangha	7	2	4,57,148
Hindu Mahasabha	6	1	3,24,870
R. S. P.	3	1	1,08,881
Other Parties	10	1 (U.S.O.)	2,67,398
F. B. (Marxist)	6	nil	3,44,225
K.M.P.P.	10	nil	6,79,146
Socialists	7	nil	1,52,289
R.C.P.I.	1	nil	26,233
F. B. (Subhasist)	2	nil	86,738
Ram Rajya Parishad	2	nil	13,110
Independents	23	nil	11,83,352

LEFTIST VICTORIES

Coming now to the "Leftist victories," we would say, now that the din and the dust has subsided, that the victory does not seem to be so fruitful to the winners as it seemed. Indeed if the outlook is dismal for the Congress in Orissa, Madras, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, it is no less unsatisfactory to the Communists despite all their planning and meeting with others. Their "victory" in Madras has already proved abortive, where it seems the "Consolidated Right" won more seats in opposition to the Congress than the "United Left." There are talks proceeding elsewhere as the following extract from the *Hindusthan Standard* of February 22 shows, but it does not seem to lead anywhere:

"The central leadership of the Communist Party of India is also currently discussing threadbare among themselves the political implications of the election results.

One of the most important issues before all the Left parties is the question of Left Alliance or Left Unity. In a general way, the question boils down to: With whom to unite and on what programme and where?

Unity talks have already taken place between the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party at Lucknow and then at Banaras recently where the spokesmen of both the parties are stated to have exchanged their fundamental viewpoints in the post-election period and sought to explore the common grounds, if any, between them. Their discussions were not conclusive.

One of the major points in which the two above-said parties differ is in regard to the C.P.I. While the R.S.P. leaders are reported to be for the inclusion of the Communists if possible, in any scheme of Left Unity, the S.P. leadership is suspicious about the Communists though the former is stated to have lost some of its rigidity about the latter. Non-Communist Left Parties are, however, suspicious about a probable swing of the C.P.I. either to the extreme Right or the extreme Left.

The nebulous developments on an All-India plane, are, however, being reflected in the activities of the political parties in West Bengal specially in the Trade Union organisations under their control."

In the House of People elections, which are almost complete, the Communist dominated groups have scored just over 5 per cent of the wins. This goes to show that on an All-India basis their influence is far less marked than in local politics where parochial considerations, local factions, personal jealousies and internecine feuds predominated.

As matters stand it seems to us that the Congress would have scored a resounding victory all over the Union and would have received the sanction of its nationals in unambiguous mandatory terms, if Pandit Nehru's speeches regarding reforming the rank and file of the Congress and about selecting men of "unimpeachable integrity and moral fibre" for the elections had been proved to be sincere. The Communist party's dreams have ended in moonshine in the elections taken as a whole but that does not end all danger in our political theatre. On the contrary. This election may not content the electorate for five years, and the disruptionists may be better organised and supported in the next. The trend of the actual polling show some very disturbing facts, the most disturbing being the signs of political *dementia praecox* of the electorate, for which incongruous utterances of Pandit Nehru, such as what he said at his press interview on February 28, are greatly responsible. We quote some passages:

"Sri Nehru referring to Communists' activities said that their tactics in India had been 'utterly disruptionist' and most injurious to the very ideal they put forward.

"One of the most distressing features of the situation here," said Sri Nehru, "is when people who know nothing about Communism talk and shout about it. When I say that—I sympathise a great deal with Communist theories and Communist objectives—I mean that there is no essential, basic difference between Socialism and Communism and matters of this kind."

"I am interested in certain economic interpretation of history which Marx gave out but I am not interested in many things which Marx had stated. I think Marx is out of date today. To talk about Marxism today, if I may say so, is reaction. I think Communists with all their fire and fury are in some ways utterly reactionary, in outlook. They differed in different parts of the world in their outlooks."

"Undoubtedly, said Sri Nehru, Communism had certain fine sentiments and idealism. That was why it drew very fine young men and young women."

King George VI

On February 6 last died King George VI of Great Britain, head and symbol of that "Commonwealth of Nations" which was but only the other day the British "Empire."

The cause of his death at 56 years is the dreaded disease coronary thrombosis following a thickening of arteries.

The announcement of the King's death—at Sandringham, Norfolk—came at 10.4 G.M.T.

It said that he returned to rest at night in his usual health and passed peacefully away in his sleep.

King George stood bareheaded in a bitter wind when he said good-bye to his daughter at London airport. That was the King's last public appearance.

A "Reuter" reporter who was there said he looked unusually sad. "It was as if he sensed he would never see his daughter again," he wrote.

"He surprised the crowds by standing bareheaded in the icy wind though his hands were blue with cold.

"Princess Margaret was drawn with cold and the teeth of the spectators were chattering but the King stood up well."

News of the death of the monarch who had called himself "a very ordinary person" came with stunning force to a people who had believed he was recovering from an operation on September 23 when a surgeon cut away a part of his lung.

Born on December 14, 1895, second son of King George Fifth and Queen Mary, who survives him at the age of 84, the late King succeeded to the throne on December 11, 1936, after the abdication of his eldest brother, King Edward the Eighth.

On receipt of the news Princess Elizabeth immediately broke off her world tour to fly home to the throne of England.

She wept when the news was brought to her more than 4,000 miles away in an African jungle at the Royal Lodge, Nyeri, Kenya.

Prime Minister Nehru conveying the news of the death of the King to Parliament said: "I have to convey a sad news to the House. It is with deep regret that I have to inform the House that a short while ago occurred the death of His Majesty King George the Sixth of the United Kingdom."

"As you know," Shri Nehru continued, "he was unwell for a considerable time but he had recently recovered and was recuperating and, in fact, he was thinking of undertaking a voyage to recuperate still further. So the news that came a few minutes ago was in the nature of a surprise and shock and I am sure that this House will deeply sympathise with Her Majesty the Queen and the Princesses and the people of England with whom the King was so popular."

"Whatever the views of persons may be, here or elsewhere, on the question of royalty or republicanism, each country decides for itself. We decided in favour of a republic and we are the Republic of India. But it is a significant thing in this world of republics now the British Royal House has stood firm, firm not in law merely but firm in the affection of the people of the United Kingdom. All of us know, those who have had any opportunity of visiting England or other parts of the United Kingdom, how extraordinary were the feelings of affection felt by the people for King George. Therefore, I have no doubt that his death will come as a sorrow and a shock to them."

The Prime Minister requested the Speaker to "convey to Her Majesty the Queen the sense of our deep sorrow at this event." He also suggested that Parliament should not meet tomorrow in view of this happening.

There has been a lot of rabid talk—even public meetings—condemning the official orders for mourning. We would have deemed all that worthy of consideration if we had come across a single instance, in the length and breadth of India, where the so-called leftist workers, in offices and factories, had refused to stop work and take a half-holiday. In the absence of any such instance, we can only term that as empty verbiage, exceedingly contrary to our national traditions which condemn all unseemly demonstrations against the memory of the dead.

The Sterling Agreement

The Indo-British Sterling Agreement, which has been in operation since August 1947, has been extended for a further period of six years ending on June 30, 1957.

The agreement, now operative, will include the proposals agreed between the two Governments tentatively in December 1950, providing for an annual release of up to £35 m. for six years from July 1951.

Letters confirming agreement on these proposals were exchanged between Mr. Butler, British Chancellor of Exchequer, and Sir C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, during latter's visit to London last week. Copies of these letters were laid on the table in Parliament by the Finance Minister on 13th February, 1952.

The six-years agreement will also incorporate the proposals announced last October providing for the transfer of £310 m. from the blocked account (No. 2) to the Current Account (No. 1). This will normally be held by the Reserve Bank of India as a currency reserve and has to be drawn "in an emergency" with previous consultation with the British Government.

The sterling balances of India on August 14, 1947, stood at £1,137 m. of this £222 m. was paid to the British Government in payment of sterling pensions and for the surplus stores and equipment left in India by Britain after World War II. A further sum of £156 m. was paid to Pakistan as her share after the separation of the Pakistan currency from that of India, bringing the total disbursed under these to £378 m. Deducting these from the total amount, the sterling balances stood at £570 million on February 8, 1952, the date of exchange of the formal letters. Thus India has consumed £189 m. during the last five years or so to meet her current balance of payment deficit mainly attributable to heavy food imports. A total of £210 m. at the rate of £35 m. per year, will be withdrawn during the six years from July, 1951. This with £310 m. transferred to the current account, will leave on the expiry of the present agreement £50 m. only in the blocked account and this will automatically be transferred to the current account on June 30, 1957.

The two Governments have now agreed to consult together, if in any of the years covered by the present agreement, India finds it necessary to exceed the release of £35 m. and to draw upon the releases for subsequent periods by more than £5 m.

The lobby circles are of opinion that this agreement will "finally dispose of a vexed problem" and set at rest any lingering fears arising out of the attitude of the leaders of Britain's Conservative Government on the question of India's sterling balances.

The present agreement will, however, relieve Great Britain from the grave financial crisis through which she has been passing since the Korean war. The existence of sterling balances, intensified the severity of the issue. The present decision on the part of India as not to embarrass Britain in her crisis, is however appreciated. Such co-operation and mutual help are essential for the growth of congenial relationship between the two Governments.

But we cannot agree with the decision of the Finance Minister on two points, one of which, we apprehend, will encounter financial encumbrance to the country.

The agreement has been made for the fairly long period of six years. Any prolonged commitment is not comprehensible under the varying world conditions of today. It would have been better if the agreement were for a shorter period with provisions for timely modifications. The world situation may change in any moment bringing a total upset in the whole economic situation of the world. Anything and everything may happen within the next six years which may require more than the proviso of £5 m. in excess of £35 m. annually. Any rigid restriction on the meagre financial resources of India, leaves open the possibility of undermining economic development. Besides, the agreement has been extended beyond the life tenure of the present government and as such encroaches upon the future government. Thus the present government is intruding into the powers and authority of the future government. The Finance Minister might have mentioned that to the British Chancellor when negotiating the agreement and have limited the extension of the agreement till the next election.

The thing which is most striking and perhaps humiliating to national prestige is the suspicion entertained by Britain on India's future behaviour with her. Britain could not trust Independent India regarding payment to British officials as pensions and annuities. On August 14, 1947, she capitalised the dues at £310 millions, and deducted it from India's sterling balances and took the responsibility of payment to her own account. Under such circumstances, it is curious as to how and why India, with bitter experience of the past, should be asked to have confidence in the behaviour of Britain and block her sterling balances instead of utilising them at a time like the present, when she is in dire necessity of essential commodities like food, machines and tools for her industry!

Kashmir and Anglo-America

Americans, Democrat and Republican, may rail at Jawaharlal for his supposedly unneutral policy that tempts and encourages the Communist Bloc. British papers like the *Truth*, a weekly made famous by Labouchere during the last decade of the 19th century, as an upholder of Liberal principles, have under other auspices so far degenerated as to characterize Jawaharlal's reference to Gracey, the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief, as "Babu mentality." This the paper did in course of a review of Gracey's article. Under the caption "General Gracey Replies," the article proceeded:

"The truth of the matter, of course, is that the feeling of inferiority aroused in the breasts of the Indian politicians when they compare themselves with the grand fighting men of Pakistan is increased by the knowledge that British officers do tend to bestow upon their old comrades-in-arms a respect which the hysterical little Pandits of New Delhi can never enjoy. That is why they suspect intrigues where no

intrigues exist. British Army Officers are not politicians."

The following is an extract from an editorial entitled "Indian Congressional Fissure," published in the *Truth*:

"What, more than anything, has maintained Mr. Nehru's influence, has been the shouting match in which he is engaged against Pakistan. The strange admixture of bellicosity and a distinctly suspect pacifism, which is his chief stock-in-trade, seems to go down very well with his followers, who cannot fail to be aware that he seems to be succeeding in his plan to keep the Muslim State of Kashmir indefinitely shackled to the new Indian Empire.

"Mr. Nehru himself declares that posterity will applaud his Kashmir policy. It is, from his point of view, certainly safer for that policy to be left to the remote future than to the free vote of the Kashmiri people."

This is an example of the depths to which the Anglo-American papers and public men sink. But this is not the end of the chapter. The Communist Bloc are also dissatisfied with India for Nehru agreeing to stay within the "British" Commonwealth. Winston Churchill has since September last started again on his mischief-making. The death of King George VI and the enthronement of Elizabeth II, has given him the opportunity as Prime Minister of Britain to add the word "British" as a prefix to "Commonwealth." Eire has very properly protested against the use of this word. The Irish State is bound in "external relations" with Britain, and this relation does not open out the chances of a come-back of Dublin Castle rule, or more properly, misrule. This chapter should be closed now. Allen Johnson, has given us a picture of the labours of his hero Lord Mountbatten. But he does less than justice to Lady Mountbatten who has latterly developed a habit of flying to India as Red Cross Society's Chief in the Women's Section. And it so happens that whenever the Kashmir problem gets hot, she is here. This interest in India is liable to misinterpretation.

But these external influences we can neglect or ignore. Kashmir represents to India her fight against the "two-nation" theory. The Australian jurist Sir Owen Dixon and the U.S.A. jurist, Doctor Frank Graham, have failed and deserved to fail. Dixon gave one interpretation to Nehru and another to Liaquat Ali; so has Graham. Their military advisers are no better. The Belgian General Devoile, Dixon's military adviser for a while, carried in his own plane valuables to oblige a Pakistani lady friend. And when found out later raised the same cry as Gracey does. And Graham's military adviser, the Canadian General Jacob Devers presented a plan of demilitarization and withdrawal of troops by the two States which said different things to them.

Here is the text of this precious plan:

Preamble: To accomplish the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir within the shortest possible period and a pre-requisite for a free and impartial plebiscite to be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan subscribe to the following agreements:

(a) *Principal Agreements:* The Governments of India and Pakistan:

1. Reaffirm their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures and specifically pledge themselves that they will not commit aggression or make war with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. Agree that each Government, on its part, will instruct its official spokesmen and will urge all its citizens, organisations, publication and radio stations not to make warlike statements or statements calculated to incite the people of either nation to make war against the other with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir;

3. Reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire effective from January 1, 1949 and the Karachi Agreement of July 27, 1949;

4. Reaffirm the acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations;

5. Agree that subject to the provisions of paragraph eleven below, demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the Kashmir Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, shall be effected in a single continuous process;

6. Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952, unless another date is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments referred to in paragraph nine;

7. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

A. On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn;

(2) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State; and

(3) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the 'Azad' Kashmir forces will have taken place.

B. On the Indian side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn;

(2) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remain-

ing in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in B(1) above will have been carried out. So that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph 6 above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of four 'Azad' Kashmir regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 4,000 civil armed forces, 1,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 1,000 line of communication troops, and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of seven regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 5,000 civil armed forces (militia) and 2,500 line of communication troops.

8. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way as to involve no threat to the cease-fire agreement either during or after the period referred to in paragraph six;

9. Agree that representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments assisted by their military advisers will meet under the auspices of the United Nations to draw up a programme of demilitarisation in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs five, six, seven and eight above;

10. Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above;

11. Agree that the completion of the programme of demilitarisation referred to in paragraph nine above will be without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations Representative and the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the final disposal of forces as set forth in paragraph four (A) and (B) of the January 5, 1949 Resolution;

12. Agree that any differences regarding the programme of demilitarisation contemplated in paragraph nine above will be referred to the military adviser of the United Nations representative and if disagreement continues to the United Nations representative whose decision shall be final.

1. D-day to be 30 days after the principal agreements have been signed by representatives of the two Governments in India and Pakistan.

2. D. plus 31 to D. plus 90.

(A) The United Nations observers' force to be greatly increased and equipped with necessary jeeps, helicopters and communication equipment to assure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in demobilisation of forces and give stability and backing to local Governments in maintaining order.

(B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops (3,500 northern and Gilgit Scouts provided).

(C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

(D) The Azad Kashmir armed forces to be reduced.

to four battalions and 3,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 2,000 line of communication troops.

(E) A civil armed force of 4,000 civilians to be created in the 'Azad' territory of Kashmir.

(F) The regular Indian forces including the line of communication troops to be reduced approximately by one-half.

(G) The 6,000 militia in the Jammu-Kashmir territory of the Indian side of the cease-fire line to be reorganised into a civil force of 5,000 civilians.

(3) D. plus 91 to or about July 14, 1952:

(A) The three regular Pakistan infantry battalions to be withdrawn to Pakistan.

(B) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to 28,000 men including line of communication troops.

(4) July 15, 1952:

(A) The Plebiscite Administrator arrives in Srinagar and is inducted into office.

(B) The 3,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts are reduced to 1,500 by disarming and disbanding.

(C) The 'Azad' Kashmir line of communication troops are reduced to 1,000.

(D) The regular Indian forces including any State armed forces are reduced to seven battalions of infantry of 900 men each and 2,500 line of communication troops.

(E) Above reductions will allow the Plebiscite Administrator to adjust the proportion on each side of the cease-fire line in accordance with the recommendations in number seven of the twelve points and with the procedure established to paragraphs four (A) and (B) of the resolution of the UN CIP of January 5, 1949.

Note: (1) The plan can only be accepted as a whole. Dates, times and strength can be altered on agreement between the two Governments. (2) No Indian or Jammu and Kashmir national, Pakistani or 'Azad' Kashmir national to cross the cease-fire line.

In his letter of request to Dr. Graham, dated January 16, Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, stated that on December 11, 1951, General Devers put forward a comprehensive plan of demilitarisation preparatory to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. It is believed that these proposals were also communicated to the Indian military advisers.

These are the only proposals which can be at all described as "General Devers" demilitarisation plans.

The letter added, "Having regard to the formal character of the conversations and in accordance with normal diplomatic practice I refrained from referring to them in my letter of December 11, 1951."

Now, we turn to the most significant development in the U.N.O. Security Council's last session. This is the intervention of the Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, who in a speech delivered on the 17th last, covering about 6 sheets of typed matter, traversed the whole Anglo-American position, wrangled against their

imperialism as they do against his. These do not interest us, and we summarize it as a record of facts:

"M. Malik opined that there was no justification for refusal on the part of U.S.A. and Britain to recognise the Constituent Assembly recently set up in Kashmir for determining the wishes of the people of Kashmir on vital issues affecting their interests."

The Soviet delegate suggested that Kashmir be allowed to settle its own future without any outside intervention. M. Malik accused the "Anglo-American Bloc" of interfering in the internal affairs of Kashmir and said that they had consistently prevented a just solution of the problem for the following reasons:

- (1) They adopted an "imperialistic" attitude towards the region;
- (2) They wanted to turn it into a "trust territory" under Anglo-American control; and
- (3) They intend to use it as an armed base and to station forces in the region.

Tax-Evaders

The special representative of the *Delhi Express*, belonging to the chain of newspapers controlled by Sri Rammath Goenka, in its issue of February 9 gave a summary of the 1951 report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. The facts are startling though nothing startles us today, used as we have become to jobbery and corruption. We reproduce this summary:

"Nearly Rs. 30 crores of concealed income, the Report says, was discovered up to the end of 1951 from the beginning of the Commission's work.

"Out of a total of 1,540 cases referred to it by the Government of India, the number disposed of comes to 661. The Commission concentrated on the big cases involving large amounts of concealed income during the year and disposed of 324 cases involving Rs. 18,12,26,975 of concealed income.

"A hunt for the small fry leaving breathing time to the big game to adjust themselves and to obliterate the available evidence would not have been fair to the revenue or to the general public," the Commission observes.

"After referring to some of the methods of evasion the Commission refers to the introduction of the 'white ants' which had 'exercised a wonderful selectivity so as to attack only particular pages which contained vital information' for the determination of the issues before the Commission.

"In many other cases of importance, the investigation is 'in an advanced stage,' and hearings are expected to take place during the current year.

"All the four years of the Commission's existence were not devoted to investigation alone. During the first year (1948) the Commission was almost entirely engaged in examining the income-tax law and made recommendations on its revision which largely formed the basis of the Income-tax Amendment Bill presented to Parliament last year.

"The 'average yield' per case during 1951 was

Rs. 5.95 lakhs, and Rs. 94,000 during the three preceding years—1950, 1949, 1948. This result, the Commission observed, was on account of its decision to take up and dispose of, as early as possible, the heaviest of the cases instead of the smaller ones which may be numerically larger, but which would not yield concealments of any magnitude.

"The Commission has recommended to the Government that investigation into tax evasion should be undertaken as a regular work by the Income-tax Department.

"It has suggested that there should be a wing in the office of the Central Board of Revenue on the lines of the inquiry branch in the U.K., with experts to tackle all difficult and intricate cases of tax-dodging.

"It is only when the board's detective squad is both adequate in number and well-trained and equipped in technical skill that they can hope to match the skilled tax-dodger, who has the best brains in the country, keenly watching for any weakness in the law of its machinery, to escape taxation, the Commission's report said.

"The current year began with 879 pending cases, out of the 1,540 referred to the Commission by the Government of India during the last four years. The outstanding cases need not cause any undue alarm, the report said, as once the bigger cases were disposed of it would be a much easier process to deal with the smaller ones.

"Of the 661 cases so far completed by the Commission, the large majority came under the category 'settlement cases' in which the amount of tax due was settled in agreement with the party.

"Thus, of the total amount of concealed income of Rs. 29.15 crores discovered during the last four years, as much as Rs. 25.40 crores covered cases settled by agreement.

"The other category of cases is 'reported cases,' those in which the assessee's refuse to admit till the last moment, and the Commission makes a report to the Government about the amount of concealed income involved on the basis of evidence derived through investigations.

"Describing the dilatory tactics and obstruction adopted by the assessee's the Commission said it was an uphill task to gather evidence relating to a period of eight years from 1939-40 to 1947-48, with which it was charged. 'The methods of evasion have been as intricate and wide as human ingenuity is capable of.'

"One typical instance related to 'a leading businessman and capitalist of influence and distinction,' who 'cultivated tax evasion as a fine art.'

"By a clever scheme of formation of a chain of limited companies, several of which had their head offices in the then Indian States and in Burma, he so managed the affairs as to attract the least tax on foreign profits remitted to such companies.

"But attempts at evasion starting at first as legal

avoidance, actually amounted to fraudulent evasion later. The assessee's accounts showed amounts as belonging to persons who did not really own them. Profits which escaped assessment were later on admitted, as also large amounts earned and kept outside the books in the assessee's regular business in other trade.

"In another instance what was most noteworthy was not so much the mass of fabricated evidence put in by the assessee, nor even the persistent opposition he put up till the end, but the fact that some respectable persons came forward to support the assessee's false statements, both by written as well as oral evidence—statements which the assessee himself finally admitted as false before the Commission.'

"The Commission said: 'It was admitted by him (the assessee) that he had procured the assistance of these high-placed supporters by paying them sums of money which were not very considerable. What sad commentary on the credibility of witnesses by reason of their status of wealth or position in society.'

"One of the conditions of the Commission's existence, namely, the existence of a time-limit, which encouraged the assessee's to adopt dilatory tactics was removed during the year by a legislative enactment the Taxation on Income Investigation Commission Amendment Act of 1951, which extended the Commission's term up to the end of December next.

"Two members of the Commission, Mr. Justice P. B. Chakravarti, and Mr. V. D. Mazumdar, left the Commission during the year and in their places Mr. A. V. Visvanatha Sastri, a retired judge of the Madras High Court and Mr. K. Govindan Nair, a retired member of the Central Board of Revenue, were appointed as members."

On the same day a *Press Trust of India* news features the "sickness" phenomena:

"There was a high incidence of 'sickness' among India's war-rich tax-evading community during the last four years, the Income-tax Investigation Commission has discovered.

"In its report for the last year, the Commission observed that adjournments sought by the chief personages concerned in tax-evasion cases were so frequent that 'it has been a matter of some wonder for the Commission to notice how much sickness exists among the richest class of Indian business men.'

"The Commission also noticed 'deliberate obstruction' being adopted to 'postpone the evil day of a hearing before the Commission.'"

Rural Extension Service in India

U.S.A.'s capitalism has been justifying its existence by transforming part of its riches into "service" to people, far and near. The Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation are some

of the media. These help with financial and specialist aid various schemes of uplift all over the world.

Since 1947 we have had in India many an agreement signed to extend to our rural areas the amenities of modern science. A New Delhi message dated, January 23 reports the signature of such an agreement with Ford Foundation:

"An agreement has been signed recently between the Government of India and the Ford Foundation by which financial assistance will be made available to India by the Ford Foundation for a programme of rural extension service in India.

"The agreement, signed by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, on behalf of the Government of India, and Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Director of the Ford Foundation on behalf of the latter, will come into effect immediately.

"The initial programme for which the Foundation will provide assistance under this agreement forms a part of the intensive rural development programme laid down in the Five-Year Plan. Initially the Government's programme is to have a minimum of five extension training centres in the States where the key personnel required to initiate and supervise extension service will be trained. A minimum of 15 intensive development areas will also be established in the States. It is expected that over the next five years the number of intensive development area manned by persons trained at the five extension training centres will cover at least 15,000 villages.

"Under the agreement the Ford Foundation will assist in financing, partly, the first five extension training centres and fifteen intensive development areas which are to be set up. In general, the financing of the intensive development areas will be done by the Government of India and the States.

"Dr. Douglas Enslinger, a representative of the Ford Foundation, is shortly expected in India in this connection."

Princely States in India

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel departed from this world more than a year ago, and it is meet and proper that his great work for India's consolidation should be acknowledged over and over again for guidance. This we are enabled to by an article published in the press sometime ago over the name of Bombay's Minister, Dr. Jivraj Mehta. There is nothing new in it, but the facts have their own story to tell in human dignity and happiness of about 9 crores of men and women:

"Thus the map of India is being steadily reconstructed. As already pointed out in the early part of this talk, there was hardly any State on August 15, 1947, having real responsible government worth its name. During the last 18 months, the internal administrative machinery has been completely overhauled and democratized in the major States. The States people have been represented on the Constituent

Assembly of India and thus the differences existing between the States people and other Indians have been obliterated. Accession of States to the Indian Dominion was comparatively an easy and speedy process, although its significance is very great. The really important stage of the States Ministry's vigorous policy of integration began with the process of merger and the formation of unions of States.

"A total of 535 States, large and small, having an area of 265,289 sq. miles, a population of 406 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 43.20 crores have been integrated and there now exist only about half a dozen States like Mysore, Travancore and Cochin about whose closer associations with neighbouring areas I will shortly refer to and Hyderabad, Kashmir and Bhopal besides three or four very small States whose merger with the neighbouring provinces is imminent.

"I firmly believe that even the said large States should integrate themselves with neighbouring territories if the security of the country as a whole is to be ensured. Mysore can easily form with the neighbouring Karnatak areas a strong and homogeneous Karnatak Union with or without Coorg. Travancore and Cochin can also be absorbed in the proposed Kerala province or may merge into the adjoining province of Madras. There is thus the possibility of establishment of two important Unions in the South . . ."

But the remnants of these States have not been able to wholly reconcile them to this change. The elections have shown this. Their desire to take a part in the country's administration is wholly natural, and we condemn the way in which they are being browbeaten for daring to challenge the Congress in fair election fight.

"Displaced Persons From East Bengal"

Down below is summarized a report sent us by the Information Ministry of the India Government:

"Displaced persons from East Pakistan, pouring in their thousands into Indian area, specially into West Bengal, constituted a difficult problem for politicians and administrators, are now engaging the serious attention of scientists also. A scientific study of the refugees with a view to finding out the effect of altered conditions of life and new environments on the deeper trends of the personality of the individual is being carried out by the Anthropological Department of the Government of India. An appreciation of the tension or aggressiveness which is created by a sense of insecurity and frustration in their life and reflected in their critical and often hostile attitude towards the local inhabitants, has created mutual fear.

"In 1950, the Department gained experience from a basic study on similar lines made in the rural and industrial area in south Bengal; it was asked by the Government of India, on the suggestion of Unesco, to undertake the present investigation.

"Survey in 'Refugee' Colonies: Two refugee settlements, one at Zirat in Hooghly district and the other at the Azadgarh Colony in Jadavpur, were chosen for this purpose. The investigation not only covered various aspects of life of the displaced persons, e.g., health, nutrition, economic and social structure, ethical and religious ideas, inter-group relations, but was also extended to the study of the underlying and 'repressed' trends in the personality. In order to make well-tried projected methods of the West, such as Rorschach, the Thematic Apperception and the Horn-Hellesburg tests, etc., suitable for application on people living in social background different from that of Europe and America, Indian adaptations of these tests had been planned in the Department. Random samples of the refugees in these two colonies were intensively examined and attempts were made to integrate the findings of social and economic surveys with facts obtained from their life-histories.

"Tension Greater Amongst Women: Tentative conclusions derived from this research show that the tension arising from a strong ethno-centric feeling against the community responsible for their uprooting from the soil of their origin is very deep-seated. In their new environments this tension has greatly been repressed, though not resolved, and has transformed itself into a feeling of hostility against the local population and not unoften also the Government. From which, they feel, sufficient sympathies have not been forthcoming. The intensity of the tension was found to be greater among women than among men.

"Research in Andamans: A similar research in regard to some aboriginal tribes living in the Andamans is also contemplated. A sub-station of the Department has already been opened at Port Blair for that purpose. The aboriginal Negrite tribes living in Andaman Islands have long been notorious for implacable hostility to strangers. The Onges of the little Andamans, the Sentinelese of the Sentinell Islands and the Jarawas of the South Western part of the Great Andaman still continue as inimical as ever. The Government of Port Blair have to maintain a Bush Police Force to prevent raids on forest camps and attacks on Government officials on duty by these tribals. A batch of trained anthropologists working in this branch office of the Department at Port Blair will contact these hostile people by friendly means, will learn their language and habits and gradually try to establish the genuine sympathy of the Government for them. On the success of the scheme, which will be put into effect this winter, will largely depend the initiation of the Government's measures for the progress and upliftment of these tribal peoples."

This unhealthy phase is, we do hope, temporary. In history, exploiters of grievances, real and imaginary, have always been active. In the present case also, high hopes were raised and even responsible persons have been found nursing grievances; they

knew that there would be suffering from partition, that "displaced" persons would have to accommodate themselves to new arrangements; that West Bengal cannot be transformed into East Bengal overnight as a land of flowing rivers and bumper corn and jute fields; and if this stupendous task is to be done, "displaced" persons must do it. We feel that they have not done what was possible. This work will require years, and we must all have patience. India, we are sure, will not fail them.

Andhra Province

We have been un-repentant supporters of the Linguistic Provinces idea since the Swadeshi days. We have been witnesses to a similar awakening in Andhra, Orissa, Karnataka, Assam, all drawing inspiration from their respective culture and language that expresses it. This experience has gained strength as a result of Gandhiji's proposal for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. Thus it happened that in Congress geography there were more than 20 Linguistic Provinces.

India's present Prime Minister has been since 1917 a party to this plan. But for reasons which we regard as unsatisfactory he appears to have gone back on it. However that be, as Andhra represents the idea, we make no apology for giving a summary of their case. The real difficulty is with regard to the city of Madras. The Andhras, one-third of its population, claim it as their capital, temporary though it be. The Tamilians resent it and their objections explain the whole position.

The reply of the Tamilnad Congress Committee to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission makes the following three important points:

"Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces: All linguistic provinces should be carved out at the same time.

"Tamilnad should include the Madras City and the borders of Chenglepet district on the side of Chittoor district should be refixed by inclusion of a major portion of Tirutani taluq in which 250 of 389 villages are Tamilian villages and also villages in Puttur and Chandragiri taluqs which have a majority of Tamil population. Part of South Travancore, wholly Tamil, should be transferred to the Tamil province.

"Andhra claim to Madras City as well as parts of Salem and North Arcot districts is untenable, as also the Karnatak claim for parts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris districts. Further 'the dog in the manger' proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported."

The following is the text of the reply detailing "some points regarding formation of linguistic provinces":

"(1). The reference to Linguistic Provinces in the

questionnaire wrongly omits Tamil Nad. Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces. And the problem of linguistic provinces should be taken up as a whole and fully solved.

"The Madras Province consists of two major linguistic areas, Tamil Nad and Andhra as well as Malabar which is Kerala and the District of South Kanara and parts of the Bellary District which should go to the Karnataka Province. If Andhra alone is to be carved out of Madras, the Tamil area will not automatically have a province of its own unless the Kerala and Karnataka Provinces are also to be formed.

"It is, therefore, urged that all the linguistic areas should be carved out at the same time.

"(2) In the drawing of the boundary of Tamil Nad, the Madras City and the existing districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Ramnad, Pudukottai State recently merged in Madras, Tirunelveli, Coimbatore and Nilgiris should be in the Tamil Province, and borders of Chingleput District, on the side of the Chittoor District should be refixed by the inclusion of a major portion of the Tirutani Taluk in the Chittoor District, in which taluk 250 villages out of 389 have a majority of Tamil population and also villages in the Puttur and Chandragiri taluks which have a majority of Tamil population. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Chittoor was formerly part of the North Arcot District and Tirupathi has been marked as the northern boundary of Tamil Nad in the ancient Tamil works which are more than 2,000 years old. The details may be gone into by a boundary commission.

"Besides, there is a part of the Travancore State, particularly in South Travancore, which is wholly Tamil and in any division of Provinces into linguistic units, these entirely Tamil-speaking areas should also come into the new Tamil Province, but this is a matter which is for the Boundary Commission to decide and is being mentioned as part of creation of such Provinces so that the problem may be viewed, as a whole.

"Regarding the claim of Andhras to the City of Madras, it is absolutely untenable.

"The population of the City analysed linguistically would show that the City is essentially a Tamil area. It is only under the 1931 census, the population according to languages is furnished and this may be accepted as the basis for determining the linguistic character of the areas concerned. If population has grown since, the ratio is anyhow maintained and therefore the 1931 basis will serve our purpose. Under the 1931 census, the Tamil population of the Madras City was 4,11,823, whereas the Telugu population in the City was 1,24,649 which figure includes the Telugu-speaking people like Reddiars and Naidus who inhabit

every Tamil District in the Province. The City of Madras has since been expanded and the new areas like the Saidapet Municipality and Sembiam Panchayat which are totally Tamil, and thus there is now a larger percentage of Tamil population in the City than in 1931.

"Madras City has been originally part of the Chingleput District, and for some time it was administered by one Collector jointly with Chingleput. The City has grown out of the villages of the Chingleput District which were entirely populated by Tamils. Telugu have come for trade and other professions, the City having been the headquarters of the Province; as others like Madras and Chingleput areas form part of an ancient division of Tamil Nad called Tondaimandalam. But the Andhras, in order to support their claim to the city, seek to establish the contiguity of the Andhra area with the City, put forth the fantastic plea that the taluks of Saidapet, Sriperumbudur, Trivellore and Ponneri of the Chingleput District are largely inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. This is grossly incorrect as the census figures of 1931 will show.

"In the Saidapet Taluk out of 182 villages, there are 175 villages which are wholly Tamil-speaking or where there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population.

"In the Sriperumbudur Taluk, out of 246 villages, there are as many as 228 such Tamil-speaking villages.

"Again, in the Ponneri Taluk, in the four revenue firkas of Sholavaram, Minjur, Medur and Gummidipundi, contiguous to the City, in 222 out of a total of 255 villages there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population. There are Telugu-speaking villages only in the Sathiavedu Firka bordering the Chittoor and Nellore Districts, as there are Tamil-speaking villages within the present borders of those Districts. And this detail can only be gone into by a Boundary Commission. Again, in the Trivellore Taluk, out of a total of 281 villages there are 241 villages where there is a large Tamil majority.

"The claims again by the Andhra Mahasabha and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to parts of Salem and North Arcot Districts is wholly untenable as the geographical position and the census figures would show. It is the claim of Karnatak to parts of the Coimbatore District and the Nilgiris. Apart from the question of population, there is no contiguity of any of these areas to the Karnatak Province. The Badagas who form part of the population of the Nilgiris cannot be termed Karnatak since their language is not Kanarese. But even including them under Karnatak, their population in the whole of Nilgiris under 1931 census was 29,967, whereas the Tamil population was estimated at 54,311. Nilgiris is essentially a Tamil area, by history, tradition and geographical position.

"It may also be pointed out that there is a large

Tamil population in the Kolar area of Mysore contiguous to the North Arcot District and the South Travancore area contiguous to the Tirunelveli District is wholly a Tamil area. This may also be borne in mind in determining the boundary of the future Tamil Province. But for the present purpose, Tamil Nad should comprise besides the present Tamil districts and the Madras City, parts of the present Nellore and Chittoor Districts.

"(3) The Capital of Tamil Nad should be Madras City where the headquarters of the province already exists and City would be the most convenient centre for Tamil Nad.

"The dog-in-the-manger proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported. The analogy of Delhi cannot hold good. Madras City has grown out of Tamil Nad, and no purpose will be served by forming the city into a separate province. Both the City and Tamil Nad will suffer seriously by such a proposal."

There is nothing new in these arguments. Andhras can make out from the same as valid a case, so can Kannadigas.

Reclamation of Industrial Areas

Dudley Stamp was the soil expert in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). In this work he had to his credit a network of tube-wells that traversed the Province and reclaimed millions of acres. He had his critics for tapping sub-soil water as unhealthy for the area. In Calcutta we had tube-wells all over the city's areas as a wartime measure. And their impermanence is a lesson of doing in haste and repenting at leisure. Or, while the Calcutta Corporation have been lamenting the water-scarcity and the rate-payers join them, both of them have done their worst in pulling out these wells or damaging them; the latter out of a sheer spirit of mischief.

The excursion into the past has relevance when we find Stamp speaking to a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, the paper being reprinted in the December 28, 1951 number of its journal. It is a long paper, but it is worth reproduction in summary. Stamp spoke on the reclamation of "industrial areas." We can make room for one extract only on "Britain's Land Position," the industrial revolution and its consequences, good and bad. In the meeting there were critics mainly with regard to "costs."

"*Britain's Land Position*: Let us deal first with the overall land position in Britain considered against the world background, and compared with that of certain other countries. If we take the present population of the world to be of the order of 2,350 million, then the land surface of the globe represents a share of some 14 or 15 acres per head. If one eliminates those areas incapable of permanent settlement by reason of cold, aridity, elevation and relief, one finds that the area of potentially usable

land is of the order of 4 or 5 acres per head. This, of course, includes those vast areas like the Amazon forests of South America, or the great savannas of Africa, at present almost devoid of population; and the lesson to be drawn is the ever-increasing pressure of population on world land resources. No longer are there vast areas of land awaiting the first touch of the pioneer's plough before bursting into life and adding their quota to world food supplies. At present population increase at the rate of at least 20 million a year is out-distancing world food production. Put crudely, there is less food per head of population in the world to-day, despite the advances of science, than there was two or three decades ago.

"For Britain this has a double lesson. Quite apart from the changed financial position of the country—the loss of overseas investments and the liquidation of other overseas interests which formerly resulted in an automatic flow of foodstuffs and raw materials to this country—the surpluses available in world markets are much less than formerly and are getting less day by day and year by year. We in this country have not only to pay our way where we need imports of food and raw materials, we are compelled to compete with other countries and to bid ever higher in the world's markets for decreasing surpluses. To pay for these foodstuffs and raw materials we are attempting to sell in a world where industrialization has become the hallmark of national maturity in a world which is no longer hungry for British manufactured goods. More and more we are compelled to remember that a large part of our salvation lies in a more careful use of our home land resources and our ability to provide a large proportion of our own food."

The "Town and Country Planning Act, 1947," enables relevant authorities to tackle all the questions asked. In India we have Plans in plenty, and Indian intelligence is not blunt. So, here we leave the problem as it affects our people.

Egypt-Sudan-Tunisia

On January 26 last were published three items of news in the Indian press that have a family connection. Washington reported that

"Mr. Abdul Rahim, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, said last night that his Government would regard action by any country or nation in sending 'token forces' to the Suez Canal zone as 'an aggression on our sovereignty'."

"Afterwards, he described as 'very unfortunate' a proposal made by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, that token forces from the United States, France and Turkey would be welcome in the Canal Zone.

"It is tantamount to adding fuel to the fire and we consider any participation in token forces by any power as an unfriendly act and an aggression on our sovereignty."

"Habib Bourguiba, Tunisian nationalist leader, arrested a week ago, gave a make-shift Press conference at his 'hotel prison'; he said, he was ready to mediate in the Tunisian dispute.

"But, 'no compromise is possible if the French Government does not radically change its policy.'

"Six police officers played cards in a corner of the room while Bourguiba spoke. He said that 'Real government' would only be possible in Tunisia if there was a transfer of power. But an agreement might be reached and he was prepared 'to be the advocate of such a compromise'."

On January 22nd, *Hindusthan Standard* had a signed article entitled "Communal Harmony Drive in Egypt" which gains significance in view of our review in editorial comments of a booklet entitled *Egypt and Copts* that appeared in last month. The Cairo letter was dated 16th January and deserves to be quoted as a commentary on India's similar attempts at "communal harmony drive" and their failure. This experience need not be further elaborated.

"Untiring efforts are being made both on the official and non-official levels to bring about increased harmony between Moslems and the Coptic minority in Egypt. The main purpose of the move is to prevent fanatics from exploiting the present Anglo-Egyptian dispute and to direct their attacks against Christians.

"Official quarters in Egypt realize that if fanatics get out of hand and start a campaign against Copts and other Christians, under the guise of anti-British or anti-Western activity, the British will exploit these activities to spread anti-Egyptian propaganda and damage to Egypt's reputation abroad will be immense.

"A Joint Committee of five prominent Copts and five Moslems under the presidency of General Kamel Rizkallah Bey has received official approbation from the Prime Minister as well as from the Sheikh of Azhar, supreme Moslem religious leader, and the Coptic Patriarch, Amba Youssab II, to organize a campaign of harmony and unity between the two main groups of the nation."

"The Joint Committee has organized several mass meetings in Coptic Churches and Moslem places of worship in Cairo and the Provinces, in which Moslem Sheikhs and Coptic priests took turns in pointing out Christian-Moslem harmony in Egypt in the past and exhorting the population to remember the slogan of the Egyptian Revolt in 1919: 'Religion is to God, and the Homeland is for All.'

"Praising the work of the Joint Committee, His Beatitude Amba Youssab, Patriarch of the Coptic orthodox community, said that 'Copt' meant 'Egyptian' in centuries past, and that 'all Egyptians regardless of their religion today belong to that ancient community which has managed to maintain its existence to this day'."

Subsequent news dated 24th and 25th January

last spoke of "delegates of 13 Arab and Asian members of the U.N. called on the President of the General Assembly, Dr. Nervo, and urged U.N. intervention in the Tunisian crisis.

"The delegation, led by Syria's Faris el Ghoury Bey, included the leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N., Sardar Malik, Pakistan's Prof. A. S. Bokhari and Indonesia's Dr. L. N. Palar. Other countries represented were Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

"The United Nations General Assembly President, Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo, was to request France to release Tunisian Nationalist leaders now under house arrest.

"India's chief delegate, Sardar H. S. Malik, said after the interview that several delegations including India were prepared to support any Tunisian action in the United Nations.

"The delegation led by Syria's Faris el Khoury Bey, also asked for a second immediate step—resumption of 'conciliatory negotiations' with the Nationalist representatives and expressed their 'deep concern' over the Tunisian situation.

"They also told the President that in their opinion the people of Tunisia were not at fault but that the violence there had been aroused by the imprisonment of their leaders and the situation in which the people of Tunis had been placed.

"They said the French Government should relax the tension to prepare the way for further negotiations.

"Dr. Padilla Nervo promised to talk to the French United Nations delegation but did not set a time for any meeting."

The French forces are, however, advancing against Tunisian resistance. A *Reuter* message told us:

"Five people died and nine were injured in new clashes in Tunisia between French Protectorate authorities and Nationalists demanding more autonomy. French planes went out after one incident.

"French forces, in counter-attacks cleared insurgents from two towns Moknin and Tebulba, in central Tunisia, where Nationalist activity had been intense. The Nationalists seized Tebulba on Wednesday night after a clash with the French in which 77 Nationalists died.

"Most serious incident was at Kairouan, Muslim sacred city in central Tunisia, where four people died and nine were injured, a French communique announced. One Nationalist was killed in Tunis, the capital, in a gun battle with police.

"The French announced the clearing of Moknin where 5,000 Nationalists stormed the civil controller's office, and Tebulba, both near Sousse, a few hours after French aircraft had swooped low over the village of Kelibia where the Nationalists had blown up and besieged the French police post.

"French naval commandos arrived to reinforce troops in the Sousse-Sfax area, southern Tunisia centre of Nationalist rising in the past few days."

The latest news is that sabotage has been continuing, the French authorities have been imprisoning the leaders and their leader, El-Habibi Bourgiba, has appealed in a letter sent from prison to India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to make common cause with the Arab States. That appeal was anticipated by India, Pakistan and 13 other States sponsoring a resolution in the U.N.O. drawing attention to this centre of unrest.

Britain and Malaya

Since the end of Japan's adventure in East Asia (1945) British authorities have been busy restoring their faded authority over this archipelago, rich in minerals and rubber, to re-equip the Planter Raj for a fresh lease of life. These seven years have not been able to record any success in this matter. On January 11 last appeared a news sent out of Singapore the day before:

"Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner General in South-east Asia, said here today in a broadcast that Britain had prepared plans, in case of necessity, for the successful defence of the whole of Malaya and British Borneo."

"We shall continue to fulfil in sincere partnership with you our many other responsibilities up to the moment when you are fully ready to assume all the duties of Self-Government. Self-Government is an unalterable aim of Britain's policy in Malaya."

"It would take a long time to complete the task of forming a united, self-reliant Malayan nation but the date at which this ultimate aim was reached depended on the Malayan people themselves."

"No one should have the slightest fear that in the meantime Britain will desert Malaya."

"Speaking of the complexity of the problem in Malaya, where Malayas, Chinese, Indians, British, Eurasians and Ceylonese share a common homeland he opined that anybody who tried to solve it in a hurry would make a 'hopeless mess of it'."

Two years ago, a *Worldover Press* interpretation of happenings in Malaya reported things that show no substantial change has taken place since then.

"No one who could avoid it would travel either by rail or by road, from Singapore to the capital of Malaya, 200 miles inland, Lord Killearn recently said in the British House of Lords."

"The reason, of course, is the activity of Communist guerrillas in the jungles. It is unsafe, according to Lord Killearn, even to go into some of the low hills within a mile of the Governor's house. Every day Singapore newspapers report lengthy lists of terrorist acts in Malaya by the so-called bandits. An 'anti-bandit month' was a failure."

"This dangerous situation is in sharp contrast to the reports six months ago, when the guerrillas were thought to be under control. The spring has seen a sharp upsurge of the terrorism, and one recent week was called the most active since the campaign began two years ago."

"What was optimistically forecast as 'a police measure' is developing into quite a formidable little war—to assist in which we have sent a squadron of Lincoln bombers, which we are now told are engaged in bombing operations over the jungle," complained British M.P. Emrys Hughes.

"And a London correspondent in Singapore reported that 'the R.A.F. in Malaya has assembled the most powerful striking force ever known in this country.'"

"Reinforcements have been sent down from Hong Kong, and the first large-scale, co-ordinated drive to stamp out the jungle Communists is getting under way. The British take hope from the recent appointment of Sir Harold Briggs, a retired general, as civilian director of the operations."

"From fighting the Japanese in these same areas, the British know a lot more about jungle warfare than a decade ago. But most of the Malayan Communists are Chinese with a centuries-long tradition of secret organization against despotic war lords. The Malayan masses are friendly or, at least, sceptical of white imperialism. Red China has won British recognition. It looks like a long struggle ahead."

"In Malaya, however, there is some indication of moves to assuage the more basic complaints on which guerrilla violence grows. Dato Onn, who is President of the United Malays National Organization, has suggested some political changes. Significantly, these are under consideration at Whitehall in London."

"The most promising suggestion is that citizenship should now be granted to all persons born within the Federation of Malaya, and to those who qualify by a period of residence. It is high time that those who have made Malaya their home, particularly the Chinese, were granted the right to full participation in the life of the country."

"Another Onn proposal is the addition to the legislative council, which is not elected, of five 'unofficial ministers'—three Malays, one Chinese, one Indian. The idea, of course, is to give representation to the peoples, and the very fact that a Malayan political group is pushing the plan already shows a kind of participation in government."

"Moreover, representatives of over 100 trade unions have formed a Malayan Trade Union Council."

Unrest in Indonesia

Dutch imperialism has departed from the rich islands of mid-Pacific. But they have left a legacy of unruliness and separatist conceit, against which the Central Government has been gallantly fighting. A predominantly Muslim State, it is natural for the awakened people to wish that the norms and forms of Islamic life should characterize and colour their life and thought.

But the Dar-ul-Islam Party has ambitions that go beyond this. Otherwise, why should there be a news

such as the following sent out from Java on December 30 last:

"Indonesian army units have surrounded a group of rebels belonging to the Muslim organisation, Dar-ul-Islam, it was reported here today. The rebels were reported to have dug trenches and erected barricades against the advancing troops in central Java.

"Another group of rebels were still in the open. The Indonesian army lost one killed and two wounded on Thursday and 3 killed and 18 wounded on Friday. Rebels' losses on Friday were reported as 20 killed and several wounded. The rebels were reported to number about 1,000."

There must be a mystery behind all this. It is up to the Indonesian embassy to enlighten us on the matter. What has become of their *Merdeka*? We profited from its contents.

Rearming West Germany

The Western Bloc, in their haste to build a strong barrier against the Soviet, have practically decided on the rearmament of Germany. The *World Interpreter* strikes a dissident note thus:

"There are men in international diplomacy who are now determined to go on a perilous course, and are approaching it in the spirit of the over-confident frog. These are the Western representatives who insist on rearming Germany. Prodded by the United States, they are seeking against their better judgment to get the Germans somehow, by one formula or another, strongly armed to help resist Russian aggression. They are sincerely worried. And if rearmament of Britain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, etc., might stop a theoretical Red Army drive on the Rhine, why not take in the Germans and try to hold on the Elbe?

"A Federated West Europe needs the Germans. So does the Schuman Plan. So does any pooling of agricultural resources. And because West Germany has some 50 million people, not counting the 18 million in East Germany under Communist domination, their contribution to manpower is looked upon as crucial.

"The trouble is, the Western planners absolutely refuse to look at what really lies ahead of them in Germany. It cannot be emphasized too much, and it ought to be written in capital letters two feet high, that the real choice in Germany is to have a democratic republic or a rearmed and powerful military state moving steadily and dangerously towards rightist extremism.

"A United Germany is the passionate desire of almost all Germans. It's natural. Americans would feel the same way, and so would the British, under like circumstances. But there is more to it than that. Division and unity are old questions in German history. Unity is now linked to patriotism, and has become a driving psychological force. Businessmen

the political parties demand it; intellectuals and trade unionists alike hold the same point of view. It is true whether you think of West Germans wanting the East with them, or East Germans wanting freedom.

"German rearmament nevertheless means a blow, perhaps almost a last one, to any hope of early unity between West Germany and East Germany. The present feeling of frustration and concern over the split will be given new momentum once rearmament is put through. When masses of Germans are again under arms, whatever the formula, many among the German people will long for the return of the territories given to Poland in the East, and even more for national unity. With force available, the most natural thing in the world will be to seek the use of force in winning a restoration of the territories stripped away. To the already menacing explosive possibilities of Europe, one more, of first-rate magnitude, will be added.

"In its folly the West seems to believe that a rearmed Germany will make West Europe safer. Actually, it will be weaker. Into a military Germany, Communist propaganda can penetrate with some chance of success—while at the same time, a fresh swing to a neo-Nazi right position can be expected in politics. And no one who knows anything about European politics can believe for a moment that extreme rightism can hold back Communism as reliably as democratic liberalism can. Britain under Labor rule reduced Communism to negligible proportions, Italy under conservatism still faces a powerful and challenging Communist movement.

"There are two ways by means of which German rearmament could be dropped, and still leave West Europe reasonably safe. The best way is to continue patiently to work for a settlement of the cold war with the Moscow Politburo. That, it must be admitted, is a tough row to hoe, and, it is not very promising. Yet, for a demilitarized Germany, the Soviet Union seems prepared to pay a fairly heavy price. But suppose this is for the time being an impossible dream. What then?

"With some reluctance the West could leave in Germany an occupation army. That is in the cards for a while, at any rate. Occupation troops might be better trained, briefed, and behaved. But unless Russia deliberately chooses war with the whole Western world, the United States included, she will never attack American contingents, no matter how small. All present evidence, and all intelligence reports, indicate there are no current signs of such a desire or such an attack. Then why take the enormous gamble of a rearmed Germany? It must be feared that there is no reason except the persistence of frog-eyed vision. Diplomats, as so often before at critical periods of history, peer anxiously ahead, with their eyes seeing only what is traditionally behind them."

consideration in all democratic countries desirous of combating the infiltration tactics of the Soviets.

General de Lattre de Tassigny

The death of this eminent military man of France high-lights the tragedy that dogs the Republic's desperate attempt to recover something of her imperial prestige in Indo-China. He died during the second week of January last at 61 years. Lattre was in direct line with empire-builders like Lautney, Juin and others who had their apprenticeship in this art in Morocco and other northern African areas. A fighter against this imperialism, Amir Abdul Karim, the Riff leader of Morocco, thus assessed the French position. He is 71 years now; he was sent out to Madagascar and kept confined there for about 21 years. He is now at Cairo in self-chosen exile. On January 20 last he told Press correspondents from his sick-bed that "the freedom of all North African peoples is a certainty, with more resolute leadership and co-ordinated organisation, it may be expedited. The fight for national freedom, especially against a power like France, ought to be more tough, vigorous and self-facing. It is said that France has not been able to evolve any constructive policy to solve the problem of colonial peoples. France is fighting a futile and costly battle to keep her colonial empire."

In this connection the following letter dated January 16 last, published in the *Leader*, is significant:

"There is considerable anxiety in Washington that France is about to advise the U.S.A. that she can no longer 'go it alone' in Indo-China, says the *Daily Express* correspondent there.

"F.-M. Slim (Britain), Gen. Bradley (U.S.A.) and Gen. Juin (France) who have been discussing the defence of South-East Asia in Washington have noted the depressing effect of the French Cabinet crisis and the vacuum left by the death of Gen. de Tassigny."

"It is believed that France would give as her precedent Britain's action in the spring of 1947 when she officially informed the U.S.A. that she could no longer undertake the responsibility of supporting enfeebled Greece. Immediately after that came the announcement of the 'Truman Doctrine' of arms support to Greece (and Turkey as well) plus U.S. military missions and advice. France thinks that there is no chance of U.S. troops joining in the Indo-Chinese ground fighting, but France has already sounded out Washington for air and naval support 'the moment Chinese Communist armies cross the border' as well as big money grants and a stepped-up supply of arms. It is believed the U.S.A. will promise this.

"The Americans have been impressed by Gen. Juin's forceful arguments that Indo-China is South-East Asia's 'first line of defence' and that if it goes the West must be prepared to place itself on a full-scale war footing at enormous expense.

as France to credit intelligence reports that the Communists are rushing the completion of new air-fields and military roads on the Chinese side of the border, still the necessity of a quick agreement between France, Britain and America on a general political-military policy for the area 'is disputed by nobody,' says the correspondent.

"Another possibility which Washington thinks may come is that France may turn the whole Indo-China problem over to the U. N. She has always been reluctant to do so in the past though it is known that the U. N. Secretary-General, M. Lie has hinted to France that it is important not to allow another 'Korea' to develop before she acts.

"A joint appreciation of the military situation in South-East Asia worked out by the British, French and U. S. Chiefs of staff is being forwarded with conclusions and recommendations to the three Governments, says the *Observer* correspondent in Washington. The French submitted a military appreciation which, they claimed, required far more action in Indo-China than France with her European commitments was able to provide. The imminence of a new guerilla offensive, 'helped by a large-scale Chinese invasion,' was an important part of this appreciation. The French were trying to get the U. S. A. to step up the supply of arms and equipment to French forces already involved and to promise to commit U. S. ground forces to the defence of Indo-China. The U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff—indirectly assisted by their British colleagues who have emphasised the danger of the situation in Burma—have set the Indo-China situation in the broad context of military responsibilities in Asia and are not expected to recommend that U. S. forces should be committed in the way the French have asked.

"Reports that large Chinese forces have been moved down to the border from Northern China are discounted by the Americans. Press statements that 250,000 Chinese troops are deployed within reach of the border and that 170,000 Communist guerillas are operating in Northern Viet Nam seem extravagant by the side of the figures which the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have gathered."

On "American Way of Life"

Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A., cannot be suspected of anti-American feelings. In an article that appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* of January last, he had some not complimentary things to say of men and things in his country.

"Anyone who departs from the U.S.A. for a few months is struck upon his return by the superciliousness and intolerance of a considerable section of the American Press and of many leaders in the State institutions . . . harmless actions become treacherous signs of disloyalty. The coincidence at one or another moment of some idea with the policy of Soviet Russia

Those who do not follow the militarist politicians are suspects. Fear is inflated to a point of frenzy. Good, honest people are nailed to the pillory. Their reputation is soiled. . . . Fear compels increasingly greater numbers of people in all fields of life to keep silent or to make orthodox statements. Fear is growing—fear of losing employment, fear of becoming a victim of investigation, fear of being pilloried. . . . The young generation is becoming increasingly silent. Discussion of ideas has been substituted by their suppression."

This spirit of witch-hunting has followed the rather uncritical admiration of Soviet ways of life that had prevailed in the America's north and south during the war years—1941-45. In the Soviets also the same things prevail mixed with admiration for U.S.A. technology. The Soviet Information Service have been making the utmost use of Judge Douglas' criticism, and from this has deduced the lesson that all Asians "detest" this American way of life. So, we have this procession of charges and counter-charges with none the better for it!

Telugu Literature

Shree Bharatee is a cultural weekly published from Hyderabad (Deccan) which we noticed often. In its February 15 issue there is an article on the above subject from which we make a few extracts:

"Nannayabhatta is the first Telugu poet. But he himself mentions some other great poets who flourished before him. Political upheavals preceding that period may be the cause for the destruction of their works. Under the patronage of Raja Raja Narendra who ruled from 1022 A.D. to 1063 A.D. he began to translate the great Epic the Mahabharata, and he completed two Parvas (chapters) with great poetic skill and efficiency. He died in the middle of the third Parva (chapter). Earlier Telugu literature had a religious note. The Mahabharata is written in combined verse and prose. Even the prose may be called poetic prose because it has all the qualities of poetry except metre. Nannaya did not translate the Mahabharata literally from Sanskrit. He possessed imagination of a high order. He contracted and enlarged certain portions according as he found fit and added to its beauty.

"After nearly two centuries Tikkana-Somayaji, the Minister of Manumasiddhi, took up the thread of translation but he began with Viratparva (the fourth chapter) and completed the remaining 15 Parvas.

"The gap was filled by Yarrana (Yerraoragada) under the patronage of Prolaya Varma, who ruled between 1324 and 1349 A.D. It is curious that the whole work though written by three poets has the compactness as if done by one hand. This trio is called "Kavitraya" and the Mahabharata has become the greatest authority on poetry, for language, diction and rhetoric.

"Nannaya also wrote the first Telugu Grammar, *Chintamani*. Thus he became the

founder of theory and practice in poetry. Tikkanna wrote, besides the Mahabharata, Nirvachanottara Ramayana, a work completely in verse. Yarrana translated *Harivamsa*, the continuation of the Mahabharata. Yarrana was awarded the title of "Prabandha Paramesvara" for his *Harivamsa* which has some characteristics of Prabandha.

"I shall now take up Srinatha, the most renowned name in the next period. Poesy came to him even from his youth. He visited many courts; dedicated many of his works to kings and noble men from whom he received valuable presents and honour; humbled the pride of some poets, and was the poet *par excellence* of his time. Incidentally his works portrayed the social and religious circumstances of his period, thus helping the reconstruction of history of that period. He was an expert in extempore poetry and Sri Prabhakara Sastri has edited them in one volume. Though he revelled in luxury during his life-time he died in absolute penury. His last verses are heart-rending and full of pathos depicting in juxtaposition his earlier opulence and his later poverty. He carved for himself an honourable place in the History of Telugu Literature by his prolific writings.

"Bammera Potanna was the brother-in-law of Srinatha and is in direct contrast with him. He is the author of the Bhagavata in Telugu. Before he wrote his magnum opus he came across a king by name Singabhupatto of Venkatgiri, when he wrote a work called *Bhoginidandaka*, a panegyric on the king's concubine. For this, he suffered from remorse and took a vow against royal patronage. He took a pledge that he would not use noble poetry to praise kings but to sing the glory of God who is the King of kings. Though he was induced by his brother-in-law to dedicate his work to the king and become rich, he refused and dedicated his Bhagavata to God Sri Rama. Telugu Bhagavata is considered superior to the original in poetic beauty.

"Rukmini Kalyanam is a beautiful portion from the Bhagavata. Rukmini sends a secret message to Shri Krishna asking him to come and take her away (and marry her) against the will of her people. The poet describes her state of mind:

"She does not even mention to her own mother her mental anguish, nor does she spread the light of her smile in all directions. She does not even drive away the bees that are buzzing about her lotus-like face. She neither sleeps nor does she care to rearrange the necklace on her bosom (which have become interwined through negligence) nor does she turn away her gaze which has been rivetted on the road by which she expects Shri Krishna to arrive."

We hope, the writer will continue the series, and bring it to the age of Kundukuri Veerashinga who is the maker of modern Telugu literature, a great social reformer who is compared to Vidvasagar of Bengal.

Charu Chandra Datta

Death occurred at Pondichery on January evening of Charu Chandra Datta, a writer, educationist and a retired member of the I.C.S. He was about 77. He entered the I.C.S. in 1899 and retired in 1925. He was closely associated with Aurobinda Ghose during the Swadeshi days and had almost open connection with the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the opening decade of the century. Suspected of his complicity with the movement, he was suspended from the service for one year. After retirement he served Visva-Bharati for a couple of years as an Upacharya. During this period he wrote several books including his memories *Purana Katha*. In 1941, he went to Pondichery and since then he had been living there with his wife. He translated Sri Aurobinda's *Life Divine* into Bengali.

His family hailed from the district of Burdwan. He was the son of the late Kalikadas Datta, Dewan of Cooch Behar. He is survived by his widow and a son, Sri Arindam Datta, a barrister of the Calcutta High Court.

This is a bald story. But behind it pulsed a personality of utmost courage, of pleasing manners, of speech and behaviour which was distinctive of his philosophy of life. The story of his early life was the story of the "high audacity" (Aurobindo's word) that had characterized life in Bengal, in Maharashtra, more or less the whole of India since the Swadeshi days.

Joining the service of the alien ruler, Charu Chandra started life with certain advantages that detract nothing from his own work. He married the daughter of Hem Chandra Mullick who was one of the pillars of the Nationalist Movement in Bengal, a cousin of Subodh Chandra Mullick, Aurobindo Ghose's host and friend for years. His service in Gujarat, Maharashtra strengthened his resolve to fight the "External Authority" from inside its fort.

Charu Chandra's acceptance of service was voluntary; he desired to use his official position to loosen the ties of alien rule. And from 1899 to 1925 he held this purpose with increasing intensity as the people awakened more and more to the shame and ignominy of foreign subjection. The report above has told us how he had to suffer for this "disloyalty." In his *Purana Katha* (Old Story) we find him laughing at the indignities heaped on him.

Charu Chandra was a master of that style of Bengali prose which started with Bankimchandra and reached its zenith with Rabindranath. Charu Chandra was Aurobindo's friend. How and when he developed into a disciple of his is not known. It is hoped that

his son will be able to render this service—the best memorial—to his life-work. We tender our sympathy to him and to his mother, and our homage to the memory of a truly great Indian.

Maharaja of Jodhpur

The death in an air accident of the Maharaja of Jodhpur on January 26 last is a loss to the new Princely Order in the Indian Republic. He was himself driving the plane, being an expert pilot. He died at his 28th year, and life's possibilities remain unfulfilled. It was the cause of his own order that, above all others, led him to stand as an independent, and win against the Congress nominee. The Maharaja could rightly boast of Rajput traditions, though these often worked against national interests. Both during the Muslim regime and the British they could not stand up against the pretensions of the new-comers. But in the presence of death all these are forgotten. And we tender our condolences to the bereaved family. May his spirit find peace!

Srish Chandra Nandy

This noble son of Bengal died on February 23 last. He inherited his traditions from his father, the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kashimbazar in the district of Murshidabad. The property acquired by "Kanta Babu" as Warren Hastings' manager, were vast, the assets being worth millions of rupees. Many were Manindra Chandra's charities, most of them unknown. Srish Chandra continued his father's example. Today we mourn his death, and to his family we offer our sympathy. His soul will attain the spiritual home that is the last wish of every human being.

Prof. Puntambekar

The death of this eminent Marathi scholar will be deeply mourned by the world of scholars in India and outside. He died on the 20th February while on a journey to Lucknow from Nagpur. He served as the head of the latter University's Raghavendra Rao Chair of History and Sociology. Starting life as a barrister at Amaravati he drifted into politics in the wake of Non-co-operation Movement. Suffering imprisonment he came out transformed into an educationist. He served under Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya in the Banaras University and was for a while with the Dacca University. His *Rights of Man* has been accepted by United Nations Economic, Social, Educational Organization. He died in his 55th year. Our sympathy goes to the bereaved family.

A WESTERN OR AN EASTERN ECONOMY ?

A Westerner Contemplates India's Future

By WILFRED WELLOCK

So far as I am able to judge, India is unable to make up her mind whether to base her civilisation on highly centralised mass-production industry or on well-integrated agro-industrial village communities with all their wonderful techniques and skills. An article in the September issue of *The Modern Review* on The Five Year Plan, by Principal S. N. Agarwal, confirms this judgment.

In these circumstances the observations of a Westerner who has made a long and careful study of the origins and effects of the Industrial Revolution may not be out of place.

Some of the older readers of this Review may remember a series of articles which I wrote for it some forty years ago, wherein I asked India to think twice, when she had achieved Swaraj, before embarking on a programme of Western Industrialism.

Two years ago I paid my first visit to India. I hoped to find the country agog with ideas and grimy with the sweat of constructive achievement. Ideas and plans there were in plenty, but no unity of purpose, and thus no nation-absorbing action.

In England, I had become familiar with these plans. They included centralised and semi-centralised or regional industries, also cottage and village industries. Some industries were to be nationalised and others left open to private enterprise, under conditions, while the co-operative principle was to play a big part in the villages. But what I was unable to discover was the dominating idea and the over-all plan or picture. Was the population of India to be urbanised like that of the United States and Britain, or was it to remain spread out, in villages, but slightly enlarged, well-integrated by means of a sound agriculture and a host of crafts and small industries and thus rich in the finest culture, that of creative self-expression.

The occasion which took me to India was the World Pacifist Conference. This occurred the whole month of December 1949. The first two weeks I spent in the North, at Santiniketan, Rishikesh, Calcutta, Delhi and other northern cities, and the second two weeks in the C.P., at Sevagram and Wardha.

During that month I lived in two worlds which were strangely disconnected. For a whole week I was in the company of those followers of Gandhiji who accepted his whole gospel, his constructive programme as well as his Swaraj programme. These men, speaking from a long experience of close association with

Gandhiji, tried to reveal to us the essence of his teaching, what was involved in his concept of Truth and Non-violence for the individual and for society, with respect to personal conduct, one's social duties and relationships, and with respect to the social order. We discussed the Gandhian economy and related it with the dominant economy of our age, that of Western industrialism. Then we broke up for a period, and travelled in small groups from city to city, or city to village, some in this direction, some in that. I chose the North. Our little group received invitations from numerous societies and institutions, and in addition I received many private invitations. I availed myself of all I could, for I wanted to know what India, as a whole, in its variety of outlooks was thinking. I found widespread confusion and uncertainty. In most minds there was conflict between the claims of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme and those of Western industrialism, as a means of increasing India's wealth quickly, in part to obliterate the appalling poverty in the great majority of Indian villages, and partly in order to prevent the advance of Communism in India. Faith in India's future appeared to be at its lowest in Calcutta and Delhi. The nearer one got to India's political hub, the nearer one came to despair. Many were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the problems which confronted them. Even old stalwarts lamented: "Our leader has gone, our light is extinguished, we are helpless."

It was later, in the South, that I found the antidote to this northern pessimism and despair. The second part of our Conference took place at Sevagram, the birth-place of Gandhiji's system of Basic Education. Nearby is Wardha, the headquarters of the A.I.V.I.A., and of other expressions of the Gandhian way of life. What I experienced in this area caused me to accept with enthusiasm an invitation to visit a number of Gandhi Ashrams in South India which, operating under various auspices, were training workers for carrying out Gandhiji's constructive programme in the villages. I gladly gave a whole month to this, to me, important pilgrimage.

In this experience I came to grips with India's major economic problems, and it soon became indubitably clear to me that the Gandhian economy was a sound policy, that a nation-wide system of village republics would be the best foundation for a classless India, a civilisation of high quality and India's best

contribution to a stable and peaceful world order, and also the speediest methods of removing the bane of poverty.

As long ago as 1908, Gandhiji, in his pamphlet *Indian Home Rule* revealed that he had probed Western Industrialism to its roots, and had found them to be cankered. He summed it up in the words: "This is a satanic civilisation; it will be self-destroyed." He perceived that its processes degraded and dehumanised the workers, that its aims and motives demoralised those who directed its courses, and spread the disease of materialism everywhere. It has been responsible for two world wars and is rapidly preparing for a third between two Dinosaurian blocks. Because both are the outcome of materialistic ideologies they lack the vision, the understanding and the moral courage to save themselves from catastrophes which they know might encompass their extinction as civilisations. These are facts of which India must take note.

A few Western Powers have developed enormous production potentials which can only be kept going by extravagant and wasteful standards of living at home, by large and ever-growing exports, and by big armaments programmes. As the demand for markets exceeds the supply, and as armaments stimulate fear, Western Industrialism is a breeder of international conflict. Before long will appear a new cause of war: a mighty clash between the rising, just demands of an awakening and long-repressed East, and the towering and ever-rising standards of material living in the West, especially in the United States, for the earth's resources in food and raw materials. These combined demands from the East and the West are now out-reaching supply, and even man's power to discover new sources of supply, while ideological conflicts and the fear of war are greatly aggravating this acute shortage problem by the development of re-armament programmes which surpass all knowledge or understanding.

What India has now to decide is whether she intends to enter this international vortex, the fundamental evil of which is materialism, uncriticised, uncontrolled high standards of material living, and what follows from this, class war and finally world ideological war, or whether she means to keep out of it, which she can only do by pursuing an essentially self-sufficient economy, and a civilisation of high quality in which material values will be controlled by spiritual values and principles.

Mr. Nehru has declared over and over again that India's aim is economic self-sufficiency—not absolute, of course. This policy is necessary, *first*, in order to insure her economic and financial independence, and *second*, because with such an economy India will not be a cause of those international strains and stresses from which, as explained above, modern wars spring.

But what India has not yet decided is whether she hopes to achieve this end mainly by way of centralised mass-production industry, or mainly by way of a well-integrated agro-industrial economy. That issue is vital, as I will explain.

If India makes the former choice she will be unable to escape two major evils: the pursuit of material wealth as a major objective, and the dehumanisation of the workers on a growing, and finally colossal, scale.

The spiritual decline of the West during the last century (symbolised in its present "Satanic civilisation," with its growing fears and war preparations) has been primarily due to the fact that the making of riches became the primary motive behind the Industrial Revolution. Hence there is great danger of pursuing a particular form of industry merely because it yields the maximum quantity of goods. But quality of production must also be considered, individuality and variety, and what is much more important, the quality of human personality. An industrial set-up which turns out millions of articles every one of which is the spit of the other, produces a dead, monotonous world, and also which is much more important and dangerous, a uniform man, the mass-man of the industrial West, who has made possible, and even become the basis of, the totalitarian state. Moreover, the producers of uninspiring monotony don't do this for love, but for money, while workers condemned to repetitive labour which requires neither skill nor intelligence can only endure such human indignity for the sake of the means to live. Hence mass-production carried out on a vast scale involves human degradation all round and the infection of the whole of society with the canker of materialism.

There is this also to be said. Many Indians claim that maximum mass-production development is necessary in order to raise the standard of living of the poorest, and in the quickest possible time. The fact is, however, that the masses of India's needy live in her 750,000 villages, and were the new mass-produced goods of India presented to them for purchase to-morrow, they would not be able to buy them. Only the few workers would be able to buy them who had been brought from the villages into the new factories. What then would happen? This is what would happen. Most of the new production would have to be sold on the foreign market, as Indian textiles are to-day, since they constitute 26 per cent of India's exports, even while scores of millions of villagers do not possess more than one square yard of cotton cloth each. In payment for these exports India would import luxury goods for her well-to-do population. Hence instead of the new industrialism solving India's poverty problem, it would stimulate the class war and hasten the march of Communism.

The argument is worth pursuing. Many Indians

do not realise how few poverty-stricken people would benefit from an even gigantic programme of industrial expansion. Today India has 390 cotton mills which contain over 10,000,000 spindles and 200,000 looms. Yet they employ only 450,000 people, men, women and children. And how long has it taken to produce them? Were India to embark on an industrial programme which included the erection and fitting out of say, 4,000 factories of all kinds during the next 15 or 20 years, she would do no more than touch the fringe of her village poverty and under-employment problem. And what about the cost?

At present world prices (which are going to remain for a very long time) the scheme would cost several thousand crores of rupees. India could not finance it, nor could any other country except the United States. But in view of the latter's military designs in Japan and the Far East generally, and the preparations that are now being made for a possible Dinosaurian conflict with Communism, would India sanction at this time an American financial invasion of her country? I know the answer to that question. In her foreign policy India is extraordinarily realist and sound. She must be equally realistic in her domestic policy, and realism suggests that she concentrate on bringing betterment by way of a steady and continuing process, and simultaneously, to the teeming millions in her villages. This can be done by one means only, the application of the Gandhian economy, that is, by the transformation of her disintegrated villages into village republics.

Gandhiji was very far-sighted and amazingly practical when he declared that India's salvation depends upon the spinning wheel—first, as a means of winning Swaraj, and afterwards as a means of raising the living standards of her poverty-stricken villages, the variety and quality of their life, and the status and dignity of their manhood.

The attitude of the Government to this claim seems to be this: Very well, if you really believe in this policy, get on with it and we will wish you God-speed, and we shall be glad to help you whenever we can. But is that enough? Big economic and international issues are at stake, including that of another world war. Moreover, equally big spiritual issues are also at stake. The decision to be made involves the issue of whether the purpose of civilisation is to make wealth and give the people a good time, (eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die), or whether it is to make men and women of full stature—physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually—and to this end to fashion the right kind of cultural institutions. A sound democracy cannot possibly rest upon a foundation of mass men with mass minds, for they would always vote for the Government which promised them the most wealth and the largest array of social amenities. And they would win the elections for they

would always be in the majority. The alternative would be a Right or Left Dictatorship.

But if the chief concern of the state be to breed a race of whole men and women, then they must be given tasks which will develop all their faculties, especially their emotions, their imaginations and their creative powers. Without responsibility and creative opportunity in their daily avocations, this condition of human wholeness cannot be achieved. Accordingly, an economic, industrial and cultural system must be devised which will provide these fundamental rights in fullest measure to the entire community, and not to the financially privileged few.

The Gandhian economy alone can do that. It is an ancient economy, being as old as society itself. Modern industrial techniques have destroyed it. Still newer techniques must restore it, but give to it a richer content. Instead of man's inventive genius running to giantism in machines, factories and cities, it should be directed to the small machine, to mechanical devices to assist men in the production of commodities of high quality, yet in such numbers that all may have them if they so desire. In the making of such commodities, men, women and even children would find the means of self-realisation, self-fulfilment and complete soul satisfaction. The outcome would be a beautiful world and a richly endowed humanity.

The foundations of such an India are already being laid by a few devout followers of Gandhiji. They are making enormous sacrifices; but are finding in them satisfactions which the politics and the riches of Industrialism would never give them. In different parts of India I visited Ashrams which are concentrating on producing cheap spinning wheels. Indeed I saw wheels which could be produced for a few annas, and many for one or two rupees. Could these not be produced by the million and sent into all the villages of India? How could Government money be spent better in order to raise the standard of living of the people? Cotton cloth in every Indian home means wealth and well-being—*Here and Now*, not in fifteen or twenty years. To teach women the art of embroidery, would add beauty to garments and covers, etc. After that start, other industries, cottage and village, could be introduced in quick succession, as fast as the appliances which they require could be produced, including the necessary raw materials. The production of the latter would provide new local occupations. So the work could proceed, fast enough to maintain a continuity of progress from end to end of India.

In this process such institutions as the A.I.V.I.A., and the A.I.S.A., would play a prominent part. The latter would train weavers, one from each village, who would then teach as many as were necessary. It would also arrange the exchanges of cloth for yarn and vice versa, at the recognised rates, and purchase

the surplus production for sale or exchange in other areas. As to the A.I.V.I.A., it is able to give expert tuition in scores of village and cottage industries, including paper-making, soap making, oil extraction from all manner of seeds and berries, bee rearing, meal and flour grinding, the installation of simple domestic cooking ranges, pottery, including cooking pots, etc. They also ask for samples of the various trees, berries, beans, herbs, shrubs, etc., that are grown in different areas in order to see to what uses they might be put. There is no reason why a branch of this organisation should not be set up in every area throughout India.

It is an inspiration to witness this process in action, for once it commences there is no checking its advance. It may commence in one village with one or two classes in Basic Education, in another with a maternity centre or a clinic, and in another with the sinking of a well or installing a surface drainage scheme. But what it be, news of it will spread immediately to the surrounding villages, which will then ask for the same facilities. What is more, they are willing to make a contribution towards them from their scanty means. I went into one village—a Harijan village—which already had two Basic education classes and a clinic, but which nevertheless called a meeting before the Temple to consider what could be done to bring a new service to the village. It was decided that each household should contribute one rupee towards its cost.

In this particular area, in S. India, one Gandhi Ashram was carrying benefits to nearly thirty villages within a radius of about fifteen miles, about half of which I visited. I witnessed similar things even further South, below Madura, also in Malabar. Moreover, all these Ashrams are training considerable numbers of young men and women drawn from every class and caste and no caste. These Ashrams, which know caste no more, are the seedbeds of the new India. In them are as fine people as one can ever desire to see. Few in my country can equal their spirit, their courage or their sacrifice. Upon me they made a lasting impression. One or two Americans and one or two British are to be found among them. I raise my hat to them all: they are of the salt of the earth. Is India giving them the support they deserve and that India, the India of Gandhiji's dreams, demands? I ask this question in all humility conscious of my country's present plight.

As this process of village industrial expansion developed, the surplus labour of the villages would gradually be absorbed, whereupon attention would be directed to devising more and more mechanical aids, possibly with the use of electric, wind or water power.

Already electricity is being carried to many villages. The main point to be watched in this development is that the mechanical devices adopted should serve as aids to the craftsman's skill, to quality production and not to cheap mass-production of characterless goods for profit's sake.

It is true, of course, that a certain amount of highly centralised industry cannot be avoided, but it should be avoided as far as possible. It is often largely a matter of technique. If it is reduced to the minimum, there would be no difficulty in arranging that the workers in such industry were given a secondary occupation which enabled them to develop their creative powers.

Were India to adopt this general plan, she would escape the evils that have overtaken the West and which now threaten the collapse and even the extinction of its civilisation. It is when civilisations become urbanised and prosperous, when money values supersede creative and other spiritual values, that civilisations begin to decay and the trek to perdition commences. The big problem of the West is whether a new social order born of a creative revolution can take place before an atomic war sweeps its civilisation, and everything else into the great Unknown. That creative revolution would be the Western counterpart to the revolution of the Gandhian economy in India.

Not only has India a clearer road to travel than we of the West, she has much more political backing, despite the enervating indecision which now prevails. Mr. Nanda, your Minister of Planning, and Mr. Patil, of the Planning Commission, have publicly expressed their profound faith in the principle of co-operation in the economic and social development of village life. Mr. Nanda sees in co-operation the surest guarantee of establishing a sound village democracy, while Mr. Patil envisages the unification of the village panchayat and the various co-operative organisations.

Were Indian statesmen to take their courage in their hands and declare their intention to build boldly on the foundations laid down by Gandhiji, and were they to call upon the nation to give them the utmost backing in this task and upon the youth of India to devote their talents to this great creative revolution in their villages, as workers, as teachers, as technicians, the face of India and the outlook of her people could be completely changed inside thirty years. It is, I am convinced, the most effective social revolution which lies open to her. It lies in India's power to initiate a new creative era which might spread to the ends of the earth whence mankind universally would enter into wider freedoms that it has ever known, including the freedoms of world intercourse and world peace.

UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

— BY DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) —

III

In the previous section we have discussed the general position in regard to the relation between the President and the Council of Ministers as laid down in the Constitution to show that it leaves room for independent action by the President if he thinks that an occasion demands it though such occasions are not expected to be frequent. We shall now discuss some specific provisions of the Constitution which suggest that it is intended that the President should exercise his discretion independent of the Ministry in the exercise of his powers under the Constitution in some matters.

In the first place Subsection (2) of Article 71 fully exempts the President from the jurisdiction of Courts in the matter of how he will react to ministerial advice. So far as the law is concerned, therefore, there is nothing to prevent the President from even acting without such advice or acting contrary to advice, if given. His conduct in this respect will not be justiciable. Although this by itself does not completely secure the position of the President and enable him to go freely his own way in his relations with the Council of Ministers still it seems to us the provision goes a great way in securing the President a good deal of independence of the Ministry, if he wants it. Under Article 75, the Prime Minister is to be appointed by the President and the other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. This is based on the practice in England where under a well-established convention the King calls the leader of the party that has obtained a majority in Parliament after general election to form the ministry. The King has little discretion in the matter unless no party obtains clear majority in Parliament in which case he calls first upon the leader of the party having the largest majority and so on. England has developed a tradition of two-party system from which there has been an aberration in recent times by the rise of the Labour Party into prominence during the last two decades; but there is again a tendency to lapse back to the two-party pattern by the liquidation of the Liberal Party. (So in England there is seldom the scope for the exercise of the King's discretion in the matter as in France and other Continental countries with plurality of parties.)

Here in India as far as we can see on the threshold of the first General Election the party situation is likely to be as in France and the Continent rather than in England and therefore there will be ample scope for the exercise of the President's discretion in the matter of appointment of the Prime Minister and indirectly the other ministers as well. The Constitution gives him the power of appointment which he may exercise in his unfettered discretion till conventions

grow up regulating its exercise. But there is one important restriction imposed on his discretion by Subsection (3) of the same Article which enjoins collective responsibility of the ministry to the House of the People. That means, in choosing his Prime Minister and forming the ministry the President must have regard to the requirement that they must be in a position to discharge the obligation of being collectively responsible to the House, in other words they must enjoy and retain the confidence of the majority in the House. In England this is secured by convention; here we have introduced a written provision so as not to leave it to chance. Under Subsection (2) the ministers are to hold office only during the pleasure of the President implying full power of the President to dismiss his ministers. As in the case of the power of appointment this also is subject to the important limitation imposed by Subsection (3) of the Article that is, the power is not to be exercised as long as the ministry enjoys collectively the confidence of the House. If the President does otherwise, he would make himself liable to impeachment for violation of the constitution. If, however, a ministry is defeated in Parliament and advises the President for a dissolution of the House will he be bound to accept that advice or is he in a position to exercise his discretion? The constitution has given the President full discretion to dissolve the House when he thinks fit. Article 8(2) provides, "The President may from time to time dissolve the House of People." In England, the power of dissolving the House of Commons is a prerogative, i.e., discretionary power of the Crown, but convention has restricted the use of the power of the King only on the advice of the ministry in office, so that the King cannot now refuse to dissolve the House if so advised by the Prime Minister. But even in self-governing Dominions who borrowed their political institutions from England the Governor-General or the Governor as the case might be has exercised free discretion in the matter until quite recently* although now the English practice has been adopted. I do not think

* Even as late as June 1926 Lord Byng, the Governor-General of Canada, refused dissolution of Parliament to the Liberal Prime Minister Mr. Mackenzie King, although he granted it to the next Prime Minister Mr. Meighan, the Conservative leader, when defeated in Parliament very soon after. Even in 1927 Prof. Keith wrote: "In the Dominions, the discretion of the Governor is still constitutional and real, however much it may be deemed preferable that the British Plan should persist, and however clearly events are moving in that direction." (Keith: *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Vol. 1, p. 156, quoted in Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 1938, p. 58). Even with regard to England, Lord Oxford and Asquith as late as 1924 supported the view that the King possessed a discretion in the matter of grant of dissolution. (Vide Wheare: *Ibid.*, p. 58).

therefore that the convention followed in England will automatically apply to our case. Until conventions grow up, and there is no guarantee that same conventions as in England will develop here, the President will enjoy free discretion in the matter and it seems to me in the situation envisaged above the President will be free to accept or reject the advice of the ministry. Of course, he should exercise his discretion only in exceptional circumstances, when, for instance, the advice of the ministry appears to him to be frivolous and unwarranted by the political situation and he feels he cannot accept it consistently with the best interests of the nation in his judgment. Because the President although he may be elected on a party ticket, on assumption of his office should become a neutral force politically if he is to be true to the oath of his office. As such he should place the interests of the nation at large above those of any party. The advice of the ministry will be prompted by partisan motive and for party advantage. It is only when the President as the representative of the nation and of the units of federation has reasons to think that if the dissolution be granted on the advice of the ministry it will be detrimental to the national interests and secure an unfair advantage to the ruling party that the occasion will arise for his acting against the ministerial advice.

We come next to the relation between the President and Prime Minister which is regulated by Article 78. It seems to us the provision in the Article has the effect of giving a weight to the President which does not quite belong to the English King or the constitutional head in other countries which have accepted the English model. In England also the King is kept generally informed of the affairs by the Prime Minister after decisions have been taken by the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister may seek the advice of the King on important issues but all this takes place on an informal level and "off the record," but our constitution (Article 78) makes it mandatory on the Prime Minister "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for." If the Prime Minister does not communicate a decision of the Cabinet or if after the President has called for some information regarding administrative matters and legislative proposals the Prime Minister refuses to furnish it he will be clearly guilty of violation of the constitution. In England it would be a mere breach of convention, but the convention is so firmly established that it is almost absurd to think that such a thing will ever happen. Of course, the smooth working of the system will depend on the growth of a relation of mutual trust and confidence between the President and the Prime Minister as in

England, whatever may be the provision in the constitution. Sub-clause (c) of the Article, however, in our opinion constitutes a clear departure from the principles of orthodox parliamentary system and marks an innovation. It provides that it shall be the duty of the Prime Minister, if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but which has not been considered by the Council. It implies the following three things which are not quite in accord with the spirit of parliamentary system of government:

1. An individual Minister may take decisions on his own initiative and responsibility;
2. If such a decision comes to the notice of the President and is not to his liking he may require the Prime Minister presumably acting in his free discretion to refer it to the Cabinet as a whole;
3. On such a demand by the President the Prime Minister would be bound to refer the matter to the Cabinet.

Now in England except in regard to routine matters in his department a minister cannot take decisions in his individual responsibility; in case of doubt whether a matter is one which can be disposed of departmentally or should be referred to the Cabinet he is to consult the Prime Minister. If he fails to do so and the matter is adversely criticised in Parliament he is called upon to resign instead of the Cabinet rallying to his side, as happened with Mr. Montagu in Lloyd George's ministry. The provision in question, in our opinion, may stand in the way of development of mutual understanding and special relationship between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the unity and solidarity of the Cabinet so necessary for the smooth working of parliamentary system by allowing the President to come in occasionally between the Prime Minister and an individual minister. The power if used by the President indiscriminately might prove irritating and mar the good relations between the President and the Prime Minister.

Next we come to another provision of the Constitution (Article 86) dealing with the right of the President to send messages to Parliament which is more in accord with and borrowed from Presidential system than Parliamentary. The President is empowered to send messages to either House of Parliament whether with respect to a bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration. This is not exactly like the speech from the throne delivered at the opening of a Parliamentary session embodying the programme of business proposed to be taken up during the session as prepared by the ministry and simply put in the mouth of the King. It is more like the messages sent by the President of the U.S.A. to the Congress in

forming the latter of the state of the Union and recommending certain concrete measures for the latter's consideration which he deems necessary and expedient in the prevailing situation, but with this difference that in U.S.A., the executive under the constitution having no contact with the legislature and no means of giving a lead to it utilises this right to fill up the lacuna; whereas under our constitution the ministry having the leadership of Parliament has no need for such a device. If it wants to give any direction to Parliament or offer any advice or suggestion to Parliament it can do it on the floor of the House without utilising the President for that purpose. Vesting this right in the President becomes therefore meaningless and superfluous unless the President is understood to exercise this right independently of the ministry to tell the House something on his own—a thing which is not quite consistent with Parliamentary system of the orthodox brand.

The same consideration also applies to the right of the President under Article 111 to withhold assent from a bill passed by both Houses of Parliament, or to return such bill (being other than Money Bill) to the Houses for reconsideration of the bill as a whole or certain specified provisions or with a view to considering the desirability of introducing some amendments suggested by him. Although Parliament would not ultimately be bound by the President's advice or suggestions, the President would presumably be acting in these matters on his own initiative, because the ministry cannot be reasonably expected to advise the President either to withhold his assent to a bill or return for reconsideration a bill which has been passed by both Houses either on their initiative or at least not against their dissent. The President has also been given some power with regard to bills passed by State legislatures reserved by the State Governor for his consideration under Article 200. In particular the Governor is bound to reserve a bill for the President's consideration if the bill, in his opinions, if passed into law would so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position assigned to the Court by the Constitution. In case of any bill so reserved three possible courses are open to the President—(a) to assent to the Bill, (b) to withhold assent from the Bill, and (c) in case of a bill other than a Money Bill to direct the Governor to return the bill to the Legislature for reconsideration. Now the question arises, would the President in making any of these decisions be necessarily bound by the advice of the Union ministry? In our view the Constitution leaves room for the exercise of the President's discretion when he has reasons to think that the Ministry in giving its advice is moved by partisan considerations, particularly when two different parties are in power in the Union and the State and that to act on the advice of the Union ministry would constitute an unwarranted encroachment on the

autonomy of the State Government. In such circumstances it would be the duty of the President to assert himself as a neutral force and to hold the scales even between contending forces, although that may not be in accord with the traditions of a strictly constitutional ruler.

Under Parts VIII, IX and X of the constitution the President has been given important powers in regard to the administration of areas, territories and tribes comparatively backward for which or whom the provisions of the new constitution are thought not to be immediately applicable or suitable, just like the non-regulation areas of British days. Special provisions have therefore been made for their administration suited to the respective stages of their development providing for a period of tutelage, the ultimate responsibility for which vests in the President of the Republic. Thus under Article 239 the administration of Part C States, i.e., the old Chief Commissioners' Provinces and some merged Indian States, is vested in the President, acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him, etc. Under Art. 243 territories specified in Part D of the First Schedule (i.e., Andaman and Nicobar Islands) as also territories not included in other states are to be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or other authority to be appointed by him. In discharging the responsibility for the administration of these areas the President will of course normally be advised by the Union Ministry, but supposing the President and the ministry do not see eye to eye with regard to a particular policy or measure it seems to us the President may authorise action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with ministerial advice if he thinks that necessary in the interest of the areas, for the Constitution vests in him the responsibility for promoting the welfare of these areas. The same thing holds good of such powers as are vested in the President under Part X in regard to Scheduled and Tribal areas. This is made more explicit in Subclause (2) of Art. 243 which provides that the President may make regulations for the peace and good government of territories in Part D and territories not included in other states and any such regulation may repeal or amend any law made by Parliament, etc. It is clear that the responsibility for making laws for such territories is vested in the President alone who may override even Parliament, that is, the ministry which presumably leads it. The idea seems to be that the welfare and tutelage of peoples in these areas should be placed above party politics and should be the care of the head of the State who would be above party politics. The same thing appears to us to hold good in the sphere of administration as in legislation.

Lastly, we come to the Emergency Provisions of the Constitution under Part XVIII of the Consti-

tution. These vast tremendous powers in the President and these will come into play only if the President issues a Proclamation and for that he has only to be satisfied and to declare that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, (Art. 352)—a question of fact and opinion which would not be open to dispute in a court of law. What makes the power still more sweeping is the provision [Article 352(3)] that the proclamation may be made even before the actual occurrence of war or of any such aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof—again a question of opinion. The effect of the Proclamation of emergency is to arm the President with special powers in a number of matters. It will practically supersede the normal administration of the States, the President being empowered to give directions to a State as to the manner in which its executive power is to be exercised and Parliament empowered to make laws regarding matters outside the Union List (Article 353); it will be open to the President during the pendency of the Proclamation to suspend the financial provisions regulating the distribution of revenues between the Union and the States (Article 354). The President is empowered during the pendency of a Proclamation of Emergency to suspend the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights (as laid down in Part III) by any court. What is more, even in the absence of a state of emergency as stated above simply on the report of the Governor or the Rajpramukh, who by the way are the President's nominees, that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President is authorised to issue a Proclamation assuming to himself the functions of the government of the State or any powers vested in its Governor or Rajpramukh or any other body or authority in the State and declaring the powers of the State Legislature to be exercisable by Parliament and making all necessary incidental provisions including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State excepting a High Court—formidable powers indeed! The President has also been given power to issue a Proclamation of another type, *viz.*, in financial emergency (Article 360). During the pendency of such a Proclamation the Executive authority of the Union would extend to the giving of directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as specified in the directions and the directions may include other provisions also, such as requiring Money Bills passed by the Legislature of the State to be reserved for the consideration of the President. The President is also empowered to issue directions for the reduction of salaries during the pendency of the Proclamation. It will be noticed that

the common feature of all these cases of Proclamations that the President can issue them in his discretion and on the issue of the Proclamation he is armed with abnormal powers, although temporarily and subject to some limitations. Another thing to be noted is that whenever an emergency of any of the categories stated is proclaimed the autonomy of the States is practically thrown overboard and the Union Executive dominates the States. Even in normal times the scheme of distribution of powers between the federation and the units in our Constitution is heavily tilted in favour of the former; in emergencies our Constitution is virtually converted into a unitary form. Dr. Ambedkar did not make any secret of the fact that the Drafting Committee so fashioned the Constitution that it would work as a federation (and that even with a unitary bias) in peace times, but would become unitary in times of national emergency. We do not propose to go into the merits of that plan here, but it will be admitted that if our adoption of federal system is not groundless, it ought not to be given up even temporarily without very grave reasons. At least that question should be removed from the arena of party politics. If that is to be the case the emergency powers should not be left to the unfettered discretion of the Union Ministry, and the President should be in a position to act contrary to the advice of his ministry, if he has reasons to believe that it is prompted by purely partisan considerations. Otherwise there would be a great risk of these formidable powers being used or rather abused by the party ruling at the Centre to the great annoyance of other parties that may be ruling in the units, because it cannot be expected that there will always be only one dominant party ruling throughout the country as at present. That will lead to a very undesirable state of affairs with great danger to the Constitution. The reserve power of the President will be the only safeguard and protection against such development.

To sum up, the conclusions that emerge from our discussion so far may be stated as follows:

(1) The character of our Union Executive is modelled substantially on that of England, though not wholly so.

(2) The elective character of the office of the President of the Republic introduces a fundamental difference between our President and a constitutional ruler under orthodox parliamentary system of the British type.

(3) The constitution as it stands leaves a wide margin of discretion for the President in the exercise of his functions under the constitution. In particular some specific provisions of the constitution are calculated to introduce a departure from the British system specially in the context of conditions in this country.

(4) Our constitution is however still in a nebulous condition. It is not possible to be dogmatic

about its true character. What shape it will take will depend entirely on the growth of conventions which again will depend on many factors.

(5) But as far as we can see and it seems to be the intention of the authors of the Constitution also that the relations between the President of our Republic and the ministry is not to be an exact replica of the British original. The departure is necessitated particularly by two factors peculiar to our country—federal system and the prospect of plurality of parties. In view of these we hold it desirable also that there should be some reserve power in the President to be used in his discretion, only in marginal cases to hold the scales even between different claims. In the normal situation, however, the relationship between the President and ministry should be one of mutual trust and confidence and perfect accord, but situations might arise in the prevailing conditions of the country when the President, if he was to be true to the oath of his office and to the larger interests of the nation, might have to differ from the ministry. It is only on such occasions, which will be and should be rare, that the desirability of the President exercising his independent discretion would arise. This assumes a conception of the office of the President as a neutral, non-political and non-partisan figure in the government of the country. That is also in accord with the letter and

spirit of the constitution. One thing,—his oath of office points in that direction, and secondly, a parliamentary system requires for smooth working such a figure at the Head. Of course, the method of election laid down in the constitution gives advantage to a party candidate getting elected, but there is nothing to prevent even such a man after election to shed his political affiliations and assume a strictly neutral and non-political role on the analogy of the English Speaker. It will all ultimately depend on the development of a tradition what shape the office will take.

But if we are to judge from the attitude of our first President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the prospect of such a tradition developing is bright. As the first President he has set the example of an absolutely neutral, non-partisan President which is likely to be followed by his successors. For with the assumption of office he severed his connection with the Congress Party organisation, painful though it must have been and up to now he has completely steered clear of party politics. Using his name in connection with the last general elections was also forbidden and he has not even exercised his franchise. It is hoped that this tradition will be maintained by his successor, for it is only on that basis that the President can truly fulfil the responsibilities of the office laid on his shoulders under the constitution. (Concluded)

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THE FUTURE OF MAN

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Nor a few hold the view that man's development from barbarism to civilisation is cyclical. That is to say it recurs in cycles like the phases of the moon.

This immediately leads to the question what then is it that we understand by civilisation? If we relate it merely to a condition of affairs which easily and elaborately satisfies our fundamental needs we obviously take a very perverted view of it. Economics as the sole consequence of man, is only a perversion of truth. The satisfaction of the primary needs of man is undoubtedly a major factor in the moulding of human life but man's mind craves for higher things of life too. Civilisation then must not only aim at the restoration of conditions conducive to the satisfaction of man's immediate needs but must give him enough leisure and energy to attend to the developments and demands of the mind and the spirit.

Those who live a contemplative life, do so, not merely for their material or social advancement, or for love of power and fame, but because they regard it as higher and take pleasure or interest in it. Thus in a civilisation, it is not merely enough that men should be rich and powerful and leisured and be able to satisfy their material wants easily and abundantly.

This, after all, is only what a glorified savage would do, given the advantages of leisure and abundance. Men must also devote at least some part of their energies, to living the life of the mind and of the spirit, by pursuing those things which are good, true and beautiful. They must also create an eagerness in others to know them equally. In other words, a civilisation must have a sufficient supply of elevated minds, freed from the pressure of purely biological ends and of immediate cares. It must enrich human society with beautiful things of art and music, advance science, philosophy and religion, and explore the mysteries of this universe.

But unfortunately, while this is what civilisation stands for, few men who have become rich, leisured and powerful, have used their leisure and energy for the good of their fellowmen. On the other hand, our experience has been that they have used them like savages for the gratification of their senses and for wielding power oppressively over their weaker fellowmen.

Thus this bitter experience has led some to evolve the cyclical theory. The upholders say that civilisations rise and fall just as individuals reach a certain

level of glory and then fade away. In this sense they take civilisations to have been the result of the activities of the communities. These acquired power and wealth and enjoyed them mainly for their benefit for some time and eventually ended either because of their own weaknesses, or because they were overrun and destroyed by more vigorous and simpler peoples. Therefore, the protagonists say that the success and fall of the communities cannot be explained away merely on the ground of accident but that they occur, in fact, in pursuance of some kind of rhythm or in obedience to some kind of law.

Whether this supposition based on their experience of the past and present is true, is to say the least, very controversial.

The view, even if it be true, serves no useful purpose. It offers no incentive to man to improve himself and condemns him to a perpetual barbarism. It is a negation of the view that there is a purpose in the Divine plan. Either there is a moral purpose in the universe or there is none. If there is not, life becomes quite meaningless. The theory of progressive evolution of man becomes merely the vain boast of intellectual conceits.

Unfortunately, the genesis of this view rests in the belief that human nature is essentially vicious and thus we can never expect to be very happy. The fact is that both evil and good are necessary for man's progress. If all were made in God's image we would then have been merely virtuous automata. Hence, in order that human beings achieve virtue, they must be in some sense free, and freedom means freedom to choose between wrong and right. In other words, free will is a condition of morality. But nevertheless there must be conditions conducive to the growth of moral living. These undoubtedly exist but we have only to perceive them. Where, however, we choose evil and not good, the fault is ours. But where we do choose the good, we increase its total amount and contribute to our general happiness. Thus if we live moral lives caring equally for our and others' needs, our characters may improve and our lives may be much happier. The need for moral living is all the more today, when the modern man has, through science, acquired such immense power over Nature. The countless inventions of dangerous weapons threaten the destruction of the human race so much, that it is quite possible that our civilization might come to an abrupt end.

There are three ways in which this danger may occur.

First, there is the new danger from war. The potentialities of the biological warfare and the splitting of the atom and the setting free of the incalculable forces of atomic energy might well lay waste the countries involved.

The dangers of biological warfare are far greater than those of atomic warfare. In the face of such a threat the assets, traditionally supposed to make a

country strong in war, such as heavy industries, large armies, navies and air forces, may even atomic weapons, would be valueless.

Now so long as men continue to be organised into separate national states and each state believes in sabre-rattling as the most effective way to gain an advantage for itself the threat of world war will never diminish.

Secondly, as wars generally do not remain local but tend to spread, the danger of their leading to world conflagration has become very real. Science has by accelerating man's speed shortened distances. We cannot, therefore, but treat the world today as a single whole.

Thirdly, the continual increase of world's population is another real danger to world peace. The progress of medical science has been staggeringly great. It has begun to give today such tremendous protection to human life from diseases and pestilence, that human population is fast outgrowing food resources. There is a marked reduction in infant and maternal mortality in backward countries of Asia and Africa. The prophecy of Malthus that human beings tend to increase more rapidly than the food supply was never so true as today.

Fourthly, modern scientific methods of farming causing soil erosion and the rapid growth of industries attracting people to towns are also in no small degree contributing to the food shortage.

But still science provides some resource to us. The various kinds of contraceptives enable us to limit our children. Its use has to be popularised amongst the less educated and poorer communities.

Besides, scientific inventions and knowledge can enormously increase the world's food supplies. There are two ways to do it. First, by increasing the food growing areas, secondly, by making large cultivable areas produce much larger amount of food than they actually do at present. New scientific inventions and fertilisers help us a lot in this way.

But unfortunately all these benefits of science have not so far been used fully for the good of the human race. Science is used more for man's harm rather than for his welfare. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the world may well be faced sooner or later with famine involving wars between famine-stricken nations competing for larger shares of a dwindling food supply.

Little wonder, therefore, that the minds of wise statesmen, philosophers and economists are turning today to the need of some form of world government which may control all the world's armed forces making it impossible for any individual nation or group of nations to plunge the world into a devastating war.

The prospects of such a government, however, are not very promising. Ideals and the means to achieve the end still divide statesmen. Two attempts have already been made since the first Great War of 1914.

The first was the League of Nations created upon the termination of the first war.

The second one is the establishment of the United Nations Organisation after the last war. Yet neither of them can be said to have achieved any appreciable degree of success. The League of Nations failed to prevent the second world war and the United Nations Organisation is still struggling for supremacy over the great powers. It can only exercise its authority or impose its will upon nations effectively when they agree to place at its disposal an armed force which it may freely use against any nation or group of nations challenging its might.

Meanwhile, the world is divided between two power blocs—Russia and Western democracies with totally different ideologies. Communism is a negation of individual liberty. It stands for abolition of private property and loathes free competition. It visualises a classless society with one economic system. The State is to assume the control both of the means of production and distribution. The interests of the State and the individual being identical it argues that there is no need for an organised opposition to the government. Such a society the communists say can only be brought about by a world revolution. In their view peace can never be restored in the world until a communist world state controlled and run by Moscow is established. It thus idealises the State and holds that individuals must serve its ends. But Communist internationalism is gradually drowning itself in nationalism.

The Western democracies, on the other hand, believe in the achievement of the ideal of social and economic equality through individualism.

The connotation of the term has undergone radical changes under the influence of socialism in the present times. Mill in the nineteenth century drew a distinction between self-regarding actions and actions affecting other people. In his view the State could best further the happiness of individuals by interfering in their personal affairs as little as possible. This freedom he conceded to the individuals all the more in the sphere of opinion. Individual liberty, in other words, according to him, consisted of the inalienable rights of man to enjoy his property freely, to speak freely and to act freely.

Herbert Spencer, on the other hand, extended its scope. He imported into it biological conceptions derived from the Darwinian doctrine of evolution. While he regarded the State as contractual in origin, he also believed somewhat inconsistently in the theory of society as an organism which had evolved. In this organism members, not fitted to play their part, he said, should be eliminated in the interests of the whole. It was no duty of the strong in his view to tolerate them and perpetuate their weaknesses by making provision for it.

Progress thus consisted for him in the elimination

of those who fell behind in the struggle for existence. He, therefore, denounced all forms of State relief to the poor and all collective effort on behalf of the distressed. This philosophy being cruel discredited individualism in the eyes of the socially minded people. It encouraged the strong to ruthlessly exploit the weak. It had particularly pernicious effects in the field of economics.

Again Bentham has further, by his insistence that as men are fundamentally selfish they should be left free to pursue their interests unhampered by State interference, added to the present economic crisis. The policy of leading men to bargain unhindered and unchecked with one another has become too cold for people to act upon. It is thus clear that the doctrine of laissez faire can no longer hold good and it is this policy which has principally given rise to various theories of socialism.

The New Individualism has consequently been the result. It differs from the old in regarding the group and not the individual as its unit for political purposes. Two factors have in the main built it. First, the old Individualism failed to protect the individual from the exploitation and oppression by (1) the privately owned economic interests and (2) public opinion expressing itself in the rule of the majority.

Mr. Norman Angell thinks that men are united by a community of feeling based on economic interests which not only runs counter to but frequently transcends national and geographical boundaries. Only the competing States foster unhealthy national feelings in the people by misrepresenting issues to them. In other words, he looks forward to a time when national States will be merged in an international order of society on an economic class basis.

Again, Mr. Wallas rightly points out in his book *The Great Society* that merely the transference of the means of production from private to social ownership will not give any economic equality to the people until the State administering them becomes really representative of the society that owns them. The modern centralised State with Parliament as its organ of expression does not in his view produce the most vigorous 'collective mind.' The elections conducted and governed by the State machinery on a geographical basis cannot elect such types of men. They may be influenced by interested propaganda. He, therefore, proposes that the electorate should be divided into groups on a vocational basis and that each group should elect members to a second chamber which would be composed entirely of representatives of the different trades and professions. A lower chamber would be retained elected on a purely geographical basis. Another proposal which he makes is for the election of bodies of representatives on a geographical basis for the carrying out of particular undertakings, leavened by a minority of members appointed by professional organisations. In other words, the attempt

of Mr. Wallas by his proposals is to protect the individual from the evils of the majority rule. He is not so much worried with the likely oppression of the State as with the likely tyranny of the mob mind.

Again, Mr. Belloc, for instance, in his book *The Servile State* offers quite another solution for the economic ills of the human society. His suggestions have been developed by the Guild Socialist. They regard human society as a federation of two kinds of groups representing respectively the producer's and the consumer's point of view.

The existing Trade Unions and co-operative societies are taken as the germ from which this group organisation of society is to be developed.

In short Guild Socialism aims at the abolition of the wage-system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry, through a democratic system of National Guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organisations in the community.

The principles governing its aims are three, viz., (1) the principle of Functional Democracy, (2) the principle that industry should be administered by the common action of workers both manual and managerial who carry on the industry, and (3) the principle that power and responsibility in society should be related and be proportional to the importance of the functions which individuals perform in the service of the community.

It is thus obvious that the maxim "Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" does not afford an adequate basis for a contented society. The concept of a modern Welfare State is, therefore, the inevitable consequence of the individualistic theory and any resistance to the growing view of State interference in industrial and economic matters is to say the least quite futile today. Human beings are so distressed with their economic condition and their minds are so stuffed with utopian ideals advocated and preached by politicians and thinkers that a step forward is inevitable.

✓ We must remember that a happy social order can not exist nor can it be maintained until man has been drilled into a moral life. It was for this reason that Maratma Gandhiji's programme of a mixed economy combining capitalism with socialism is a practical solution of the economic ills facing the world today and is based upon a sound understanding of human nature. His anti-machine attitude may be regrettable but his due appreciation of the importance of capital and labour as indispensable factors in the economic sphere and willingness to give scope to private initiative and enterprise within reasonable limits is just what the world has to realise today.

Let us not forget that socialism succeeds or fails upon the hypothesis whether man is essentially good or vicious. If he be good, he can work in a team for

the good of others without caring for himself. If he be wicked, it fails miserably.

We can by our foolishness destroy ourselves completely or revert to a state of savagery or barbarism which may last for hundreds or even thousands of years.

Those of us who wish to bring about an utopian society by force may well take stock of the risks involved in the venture. Socialism is a religion, a culture. It takes time to grow. Wisdom therefore lies in being cautious with the experiment.

(Its imposition upon people ill-equipped for it will only accentuate miseries.) To hope for a uniform economic system controlled and regulated by a World Government is a vain attempt. It is neither possible nor feasible. And yet our efforts must be directed towards the attainment of a well-contented human society. The way to it is either democratic or totalitarian. Democracy implies man's freedom from bondage. Totalitarianism means his reversal to a state of bondage again. The choice is with us. Let us not blunder. The regeneration of man is the supreme need of the moment.

The establishment of the United Nations Organisation is a right step in the direction. The Atlantic Pact guarantees the Four Freedoms to man. It provides a forum to nations for exchange of views and for settlement of differences by free discussion. Perhaps it may be said that the organisation when it has not the military strength to enforce its decrees against belligerent nations cannot restore peace to the distracted world. But mere discussion creates in statesmen and diplomats a habit to think and act rightly. It kindles within them a passion for peace. The formation of world government may be impracticable but even if the organisation succeeds in persuading the nations to agree to the establishment of an international committee to control the Atomic energy and the essential supplies of raw materials and minerals we shall have gone a long way towards building up world peace.

✓ The world may be divided into nations and each nation may be distrustful of the intentions of the other. The disarmament conference may have failed or may fail. But the setbacks need not deter us from our efforts to achieve the ideal. Variety is the law of nature. It, in fact, enriches human life. In diversity lies unity. Human life is a continual evolution from a lower to a higher plane of human existence.

This fact is indisputably established whether we take life and mind to be accidental by-products of the working of material forces or as expressions of some vital creative force or still again as manifestations of the life and mind of a Person who created mankind in pursuance of a purpose. Let us therefore have faith in our ultimate mission and a happier world will perhaps be the outcome.

A. G. GARDINER

Last of the Old Brigade

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man'."

—SHAKESPEARE

THERE is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn the passing away of A. G. Gardiner a few years ago. He had long passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent: rather does it serve to heighten it. We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A. G. G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you came to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was said of someone else before him, that he "beguiled children from play and old men from the chimney-corner."

LAST OF THE GIANTS

Gardiner's death is a loss in another respect also. He was the last of a race of journalistic giants. Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was well-nigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir Plateau that all—or nearly all—the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned above had no option,

so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

THE MOUNTAIN-PEAKS ARE ALL SNOW-CLAD

It would be unprofitable to go into the question of who was the tallest among those giants. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the finest daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to the others. He was the seniormost among them. His noble example could not but have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beacon-light to the younger set. Scott was an institution by himself: the *Manchester Guardian* a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render him homage.

In so far, however, as comparisons are possible among giants it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchanjangha and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself: as Cowley said of Pindar, "he formed a vast species alone." His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more fiery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is camouflaged cunningly and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

J. A. SPENDER

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adopting,

"the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicality. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

"... for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep, authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this narrative. Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other "Three Musketeers."

THE ILLUSTRIOUS FOURSOME

In the foregoing I have tried to sketch the journalistic background against which Gardiner's qualities must be judged. It is easy enough to win fame if one's lot is cast among nonentities. In the country of the blind the one-eyed are, unquestionably, the monarchs, as Dr. Johnson noted long ago. But this charge cannot be levelled at "A. G. G.'s" door. He functioned in the palmiest days of English journalism. Wordsworth wrote of the French Revolution:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
And to be young was very heaven."

The main period of Gardiner's life-work fell at precisely such a time as that depicted by the Lake Poet. He was the fourth wheel of a superb journalistic coach.

Scott in the *Manchester Guardian* and Massingham in the *Daily Chronicle* (and, later, in the *Nation*) and Spender in that "old sea-green incorruptible, the *Westminster Gazette*, and Gardiner in the *Daily News* "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades Gardiner preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the *Daily News* so graciously provided for him. I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it *con amore*. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

GOES INTO THE WILDERNESS

Belonging as he did to the "old journalism" Gardiner laid huge store by "principles." They did not cling to him, in Falstaff's memorable phrase, "lightly, like an old lady's loose gown," but were woven into the fabric of his very life. They were not so much ballast intended to be thrown overboard at the first

hint of a gathering storm; they were, rather, the precious cargo itself, and the commodore preferred to go down to the bottom of the sea with his merchandise to saving his skin by flinging it into the roaring waters. That was how, ultimately, he lost the editorship of his paper. The policy of the *Daily News* was changed to suit the new Lloyd George that emerged during the later stages of World War Number One, a Lloyd George that took friend and foe alike by surprise, and Gardiner was asked to change with it. But he sternly refused thus to trim his sails to the prevailing political wind and left the *Daily News* after an unbroken service of nearly twenty years. The loss, needless to say, was more the party's and the paper's than his.

After that he turned his hand to free-lance journalism. He did some work for the *Nation* after Massingham's departure from it. He wrote regularly for *John Bull*. But all this was, more or less, like the crackling of thorns under the pot: his life's mission ended with the editorship of the *Daily News*. The Liberal party chose new gods, but Gardiner would have nothing to do with them.

MORE AN AUTHOR THAN A JOURNALIST

To the general public Gardiner is known more as an author than as a journalist. In this he scored heavily against Massingham. Massingham did not leave a single book behind him to commemorate his memory. He might have left one, for he was persuaded to write his autobiography, but his life was cut short abruptly: he could not bear the severance of his connection with the *Nation*—into the editing of which he had put the whole of himself. The *Nation* was Massingham and Massingham was the *Nation*. But Gardiner was wiser and, side by side with editing the *Daily News*, was shrewd enough to put a lot of himself into books. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest and after speaking of the affection in which he was held Scott proceeded:

"We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, for his high temper, his political courage, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, and the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—C. E. Montague: *A Memoir*. By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus. 1924. P. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to Gardiner himself. Scott then referred to Montague as an author:

"Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life

of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny."—*Ibid*: Pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to Gardiner *verbatim*. Gardiner lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article or the notice of the previous night's play. This cannot be said of Gardiner. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the *Daily News* he looked farther ahead than most working journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

HIS "MAGNUM OPUS"

Gardiner wrote the standard biography of his political hero, Sir William Harcourt. It compares favourably with the other political biographies in the English language, and compares more than favourably with Spender's biography of Campbell-Bannerman. It is, as usual, a "double-decker." We should have been obliged to him more than we can tell if he had been able to condense his material into the pages of a single volume, as Lord Newton did with his biography of Lord Lansdowne. Never has literature known such a foolish bed of Procrustes as the conventional length of a political biography. Everyone remembers the vehement protest of the late Mr. Lytton Strachey, conveyed in his own matchless sentences, in his preface to *Eminent Victorians*:

"Those two fat volumes with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortege of the undertaker, and wear the same air of funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose, of some of them, that they were composed by that functionary as the final item of his job."

But Gardiner redeems this tedium by the incomparable loveliness of his diction. I do not think that any two-volume biography has ever been written with such perfection of style. Gardiner's masterpiece—for such it undoubtedly is—scintillates with brilliance. His concluding chapter, in especial, deserves being bound by the young student of literature "for a frontlet on his brow and a talisman on his writing wrist," as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch ("Q" of revered memory) has said of Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University*. Had I had sufficient space at my command I should have quoted from it copiously. It is like a baron of beef: one can cut and come again.

HIS UNSURPASSED "PEN-PORTRAITS"

Gardiner excelled in "pen-portraits" of eminent

personages, which he gathered together between the covers of several books, like *The War Lords*, *Prophets, Priests, and Kings*, *Pillars of Society*, and *Certain People of Importance*. It is the literal truth to say that he had not his equal in this field. He has had many imitators, but they have not been able to dislodge him from his seat of eminence, much, no doubt, as they would have liked to do. They had neither his breadth of vision, nor his catholicity of interests, nor his felicity of expression. The one who came nearest to him was, perhaps, the late Mr. "E. T. Raymond"—in real life Mr. E. Raymond Thompson—one-time editor of the *Evening Standard* of London. He had to his credit many volumes of literary portraits as well as of full-length biographies. I have gone through most of them and I am the last person to decry his ability or to deny him his due. He had, further, an enviable command of language. Nevertheless he failed to give his readers the same "over-all" delight as "A.G.G." did.

"Where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table," and where "A.G.G." was was the master of pen-portraiture. There is no manner of doubt that, within the limits that he prescribed for himself, he was the supreme magician. Everything must have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and his sketches had them to perfection. He marshalled his argument so that it lacked not (as the old divine puts it in Thomas Love Peacock) the primary requisites of a head and a tail. In other words, his sense of construction was infallible. He caught our interest with his very first sentence and he led us up the garden path of his narrative with just the right measure of coaxing and cajolery. In like manner he was not abrupt in his *denouements* but softened the fall of his endings, so to speak, by preparing us beforehand for them. He knew—none better—how to "join his flats."

THE MASS OF HIS INFORMATION

What struck us was his amazing mass of information. The career of every public figure seemed to be an "open book" to him. It appeared to be all one to him whether that public figure was a poet or a philosopher, a politician or a publican: he grasped them to his bosom with hoops of steel. The only condition that he made was that those who sat for him as his "models" must be persons "of importance in their day," as Browning would have called them. Of course, the more that importance promised to be permanent the better it suited him. But he was wise enough not to drive this principle to its logical conclusion.

HIS UNERRING EYE FOR PRETENSION

In the treatment of his "subjects" he was, as a general rule, very lenient. His quality of mercy was not strained.

"It dropped as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath."

But there was an exception. He had an unerring

eye for pretension. He had nothing but withering contempt for the *poseurs*. When confronted with any of these contemptible beings his sarcasm could be biting, indeed. I can cite two examples. His portraits of the late Mr. St. Leo Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, and of Mr. Hilaire Belloc are unforgettable. Both of them, Gardiner hints, are (not to put too fine a point upon it) humbugs in certain respects. The manner in which he establishes his thesis is extremely revealing. He lets his full stream of irony play on them as from a hose: now the hose is turned in this direction and anon on that. I cannot resist this quotation from his sketch of Mr. Belloc. The very opening sentence gives us an indication of his method of attack.

"Some wit has divided society into two classes—dukes and other people. This is a mistake. The true classification should be—the British people and Mr. Belloc. One ought, of course, to put Mr. Belloc first, but perhaps he will forgive the slight for the sake of the cadence. It is not intended to suggest that Mr. Belloc is inferior to the other 45 millions of us. That would be absurd. No one would recognize its absurdity more readily than Mr. Belloc, for among his many transcendent qualities humility is not conspicuous."

TWISTING THE KNIFE IN THE WOUND

This, naturally, prepares us for what follows:

"It was the capital crime of the Liberals when they came into power in 1906 that they forgot Mr. Belloc. They acted as though they were unaware that he was among them—that he, who had served in the French artillery as a conscript and knew more about war than anybody else could possibly know, who had burst upon Oxford like a tornado and swept it with the whiffs of his Gallic grapeshot, who had all the secrets of history in his private keeping and had turned the Froudes, the Freemans, and the Stubbses into discredited back-numbers, who had written novels and satires and poetry and biographies and histories, who had discovered the French Revolution and put Carlyle in his place, who had invented a new medieval Europe after his heart's desire, who had tramped through France and Switzerland to Rome, and from Tangiers to Timgad, and had written books about both, with pictures from his own hand, who could instruct you in art and explain to you the philosophy of Classicism as easily as he could sail a boat, mow a meadow, or ride a horse—they forgot; I say, that he was the Liberal member for South Salford."

"OTHERS ABIDE OUR QUESTION . . ."

Is this not delicious? Opinions may well differ as to whether his pen-portraits of politicians or of literary figures are the better. I prefer the latter. His sketches of George Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Bernard Shaw, and Rudyard Kipling are among his very best. My own favourite is the first. I am a lover of Meredith myself and am happy to find that I am in excellent company. Gardiner's chief glory is these pen-portraits. He stands supreme in this chosen field

of his. Matthew Arnold's memorable words on Shakespeare can, with equal justice, be applied to him:

"Others abide our question. Thou art free.
We ask and ask: Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge."

AS AN ESSAYIST

Gardiner has another title also to distinction. Under the pen-name of "Alpha of the Plough" he wrote a series of essays in the well-known London weekly, the *Star*. These are now available in book-form as *Leaves in the Wind*, *Many Furrows*, *Pebbles on the Shore*, and one or two others. His style in these is bewitching. If, as an editor, he is not in the same street with Massingham, as an essayist he is not, to be perfectly candid, in the same class as the late Mr. Robert Lynd and Mr. J. B. Priestley. It was he, however, who helped Mr. Lynd ("Y. Y." of the *New Statesman*) on to his present position. He was among the first to discern Mr. Lynd's genius and, having done so, appointed him as the literary Editor of the *Daily News*. Though, as I have noted, he is not, as an essayist, of the same calibre as Mr. Lynd, he occupies a unique position nonetheless. As C. E. Montague observed, a range of mountains may not be the Alps, and yet have a career. Second-class essayists, like "A. G. G.," have also a special niche in the temple of fame. Let us give them our meed of praise and pass on.

HIS STYLE

I have remarked that "A. G. G.'s" style is bewitching. Simplicity is its key-note. It is not easy to write a simple style. Nor is a simple style, as some imagine, an insipid style. There is an ornament that pertains to simplicity, and there is a simplicity that is at the same time scholarly. Gardiner's simplicity was of this nature. If we would cultivate this kind of writing, we should exercise a wise economy in words: there should be a self-restraint in language; what Walter Pater called "the beauty of a frugal closeness of Style." That Walter Pater himself did not practise what he preached is beside the point. Gardiner, for his part, observed all these rules. One is never pulled up by a clumsy phrase or an obscure sentence. In addition he was a master of epigram and of quotation. His love of literature shines through every line that he ever wrote. Like the maiden in the fairy story he could not open his mouth without pearls (of literature) dropping out of it.

Such was Gardiner. This "appreciation" of mine of him is by way of being an affectionate memorial—albeit belated. I got much from him: it is only in the fitness of things that I should endeavour to repay, however inadequately, those manifold services. May his name shine for ever as a sort of beacon-light to guide the footsteps of aspiring journalists!



EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

By DR. SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
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EDUCATION is a matter of absorbing interest for all of us. It should engage the attention of all enlightened persons who have the welfare of their nation and country at heart. Of all the nation-building departments of a State, that of education is perhaps, the most important. The life and progress of a country and the peace and prosperity of a nation depend primarily on the type of education that is imparted by the State to the children and the youth who live in it. The object of this paper is to consider the problem of education and suggest the specific form that should be given to it in a country like India in the present atmosphere of its political independence.

The word "education" etymologically means rearing or bringing up the child. So by education we are to mean the all-round development of the children and the youth. Now if there is to be an all-round development of a boy or a girl through education, then we must educate, i.e., develop all the sides and aspects of his or her life. In the total life of every human being we find several constituent parts or elements. A human being is a soul or self living in an organism which is a mind-body system. A man has a soul, a body and a mind, and he stands in certain social or moral relations to other human beings living in some society. As such, the development of his life as a whole depends on the training of his body and mind, his moral and spiritual nature. Education, therefore, means finally the physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the young human individual.

It follows from what has been said before that training of the body, i.e., physical culture is the first and most important thing in the child's education. The body is the physical basis of our mental life. Unless the body is stout, strong and healthy, the mind cannot be alert, vigorous and steady. It has been truly said that a sound mind resides in a sound body. If one's body be weak and diseased, his mind too is bound to be disordered and disorganised. The health of the body is reflected in the working of the mind. Our mental powers of thinking, remembering, reasoning and understanding are all impaired when the body becomes weak and exhausted through disease, decay and long exercise. It is but a vulgar error to think, as some religious people do think, that mortification of the body is the way to salvation of the soul and that one should sacrifice the body for the sake of the religious life. The Hindu Sastras do not support this popular belief nor do they sanction this sort of physical suicide. On the other hand, it is expressly stated in our Sastras that the body is the primary condition and the necessary means for the attainment of a virtuous life (*sariram adyam khalu dharma-sadhanam*). If the health of the body be the necessary condition for our religious life, it is needless to say how far more

important it is for the development and progress of our intellectual life. Hence we are to recognise the value of physical culture for mental development and say that it should be given a place of supreme importance in any comprehensive scheme of education.

The second thing that is necessary for education is the training and development of the child's mind. For this purpose adequate provision should be made for imparting effective instruction to the child in the various arts and sciences. Among other institutions, the schools, colleges and universities in our country provide for the progressive instruction of the students in the different arts and sciences. The main object of the instruction thus provided for, must be to give the students a sound and intelligent understanding of the subjects of their study, instead of enabling them only to pass the examinations and obtain the University degrees as passports to the different professions. So also the students in their turn should not succumb to the lure of passes and degrees and be entirely forgetful of their primary duty of acquiring a sound knowledge of the subjects they study. It is learning and wisdom that should be the aim of this part of education. What Indian youths need most today is that reasoning power and critical faculty which will enable them to study all things rationally and judge their value critically. If the system of education in our country help the Indian youth develop such critical powers, they will not be swept away by the impetuous flow of foreign ideas and 'isms' into our land. The glitter of Western civilisation and the apparent success of Western science will not blur their vision and benumb their intellect and thus prevent them from seeing anything good and valuable in their ancient thought and culture. Hence mental training as a part of education should consist in the acquisition of such learning and wisdom as will enable a man to see things in their proper perspectives and appreciate and realise the eternal values of life.

The next thing that is very important for the education of the youth is the formation of moral character. For this purpose moral training should form an essential part of any sound scheme of education. The main objects at which moral training should aim are self-contenance, self-control, or discipline of the mind-body, love of truth, moral courage, fortitude, fellow-feeling and patriotism. The necessity and importance of continence for the building up of the youth can scarcely be over-emphasised. In ancient India, the vow of *brahmacharya* or continence was given a place of supreme importance in the life of every student. The development of the student's body and mind, the vigour of his youth, and the happiness and prosperity of his future life—all depend on this great virtue. So also a rational control over the

natural passions and impulses of life is the first step in the formation as well as reformation of one's moral character. Along with these, there should be instilled into the impressionable mind of the youth a deep regard for and a sincere love of truth. He should be taught to be truthful in thought, word and deed and to despise all that is untrue and false. Moral courage is another great virtue which should be possessed by all educated youths. It consists in the firm resolve to follow the right path and do the right thing without any concern for the opinions and interests of others, without any consideration of the frowns or favours of others, and of loss or gain to oneself. We should give such moral training to our youths that they will have the moral courage to live and die for truth, and sacrifice their all for the sake of a good and righteous cause. Closely connected with moral courage is the courage to stand adversity and suffering. This is the virtue of fortitude which, if acquired in early life, stands one in good stead amidst the dangers and difficulties of later life. Among the social virtues, sympathy is the most fundamental and vital. Man is a social creature. He has to live in a society of individuals each of whom has to work not only for the good of himself but also of others in order that the social organism may be healthy and prosperous. So in the moral training of the youth attempt should be made to free him from selfishness and develop in him the virtue of fellow-feeling and altruism. Patriotism as the disinterested love of one's country is a virtue which extends the bounds of one's sympathy over the whole nation. As such, it should be infused into the mind of every student, so that he may be in a position to place his country above all else and consider no sacrifice to be too great for the sake of his country and the State. Lastly, religious instruction should form a necessary part of education. It may be that in a Secular State there may be objections to the inclusion of religious training in the scheme of public education. But considering the place that religion has in the life of man it would be unwise to exclude all religious instructions from his education. Man is a spiritual being even though he has an animal nature as well. The evolution of humanity is the gradual process of transforming man's animality and developing his spiritual nature. Religion is a powerful agency that helps to bring about the spiritual regeneration of man. It is true that in the history of the world certain dogmatic, institutional and sectarian religions have done more harm than good to the human race and often retarded its peaceful progress. But that is due not so much to the intrinsic nature of religion itself as to its prostitution for non-religious ends and purposes. Wherever religion has been made the instrument of tyranny and oppression, we may reasonably suspect the presence of mean motives of personal gain or national exploitation. Religion as a sincere and firm faith in the self of man within and God overhead is

not only a rational belief but a saving grace for the life of man. It gives man a safe anchorage in the ocean of life and sustains him amidst the dangers and difficulties in the journey of life. Religion in this pure a universal form must be made a part of the training of young minds.

So far we have tried to explain the different parts and aspects of education in general. Now we proceed to indicate the special form and type of education that should be imparted to the Indian youth in India. The educational system of a country must be suited to the genius of the race or the people who inhabit it. It should also respect the tradition and culture that exist in the country and constitute a common heritage of the race. During the British rule in India for about two centuries the system of education obtaining in this country hardly satisfied the conditions. It was adapted more to the administrative needs and purposes of the ruling class than to the building up of the Indian nation. Now that India has attained independence after many years of her struggle and intense suffering, she should adapt her educational system to the national needs and ideals and make it suited to the spirit of Indian culture, the one hand, and the modern conditions of life, the other. The eternal culture of India is spiritual in spirit and has its primary basis in the Vedas and the Upanisads, and is summed up later in the teachings of the Bhagavadgita. Hence in the system of education in Free India, provision should be made for the study and dissemination of Indian thought and culture, especially of Indian philosophy and religion. To achieve this end, Sanskrit language and literature which are the repository of India's ancient culture should be given an important place in the education of the Indian youth. But while India may be rightly proud of her spiritual heritage, she cannot afford to shut her eyes against the movement of things and events in the world outside. At the present age, the Western world has made immense progress in the study and development of the physical, mental, industrial, commercial and political sciences. The practical achievements of the Western countries in the field of science are as great as those of India in the life of the spirit. But the scientific culture of the West seems to be a stupendous body without a soul, and the spiritual culture of India a meagre soul without a vigorous body. To keep pace with the movement of the world and to infuse new life and vigour into the spiritual culture, Indians must study and acquire mastery over the Western sciences. In a Free India, therefore, the system of education must effect a synthesis of all that is best in her spiritual culture and the scientific culture of the West. It is only in this way that Indians can become a vigorous and proper nation in the world, and India can occupy a place of honour in the comity of nations and contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world at large.

A GLIMPSE INTO CHINESE POETRY

By DHARMA BHANU, M.A.

CHINA has a prominent place in the international affairs of the day and the student of world affairs and history is specially interested in that great country and her culture. We in India are her close neighbours; we two played a prominent role in world affairs in the past and acted as torch-bearers to the world in fields more than one. As the literature of a land affords us a peep into the cultural and social life of a people, it is proposed in this brief paper to study the poetry of China with a view to "unlocking her heart."

The first problem that confronts a student of Chinese literature in a foreign country is that of translating it—poetry and drama, fiction and prose. It was sheer chance that Chinese literature attracted the attention of translators. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Chinese literature has not left any mark on English literature or any other literature of the world. It is Chinese literature, in fact, that gave the world most of the new types of verses and poems in recent times, as I propose to show in the course of this paper. So many books of Chinese poetry have appeared in our times that their popularity cannot rest merely on novelty.

Legge was the first English translator to be attracted by Chinese poetry. He translated some of the most beautiful and musical passages of Chinese poetry into English. So he became the forerunner of the contemporary translators—Mr. Arthur Waley, Prof. H. A. Giles, Mr. Witter Bynner; and among the Chinese themselves, Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, Prof. Lu Ch'ien, Mr. Ten T'ai and others.

Original Chinese poems read mostly like songs; but the musical setting, the rhyme, the rhythm and other beauties have, in almost all cases, been lost in translations. Though one of the best translations, *The Book of Songs*, translated by Mr. Arthur Waley, does not come up to the standard of the original or even to the standard required in works like those which are aimed at introducing and explaining the literature, culture, society and aspirations of one people to another. But it is not essentially the fault or short-coming of the translators it is almost always an inherent defect in all translations of poetry.

II

Generally speaking, for the sake of convenience, we can group Chinese poetry under three heads: (1) Ancient Style, (2) Modern Style or Code Verse, and (3) Curtailed Verse.

Ancient Style allows a good deal of latitude to the poet and is less strict and less rigid in comparison with Code Verse; it gives the poet a greater facility and is a lesser stumbling block in his path. Ancient Style is the oldest form of Chinese poetry, as the name itself suggests. In spite of being less rigid, however, Ancient Style has a smaller number of poems to its credit than Curtailed Verse. As an example of this form of poetry we may cite "The Moving House" by T'ao Yuanming, to which we refer in the latter portion of this paper.

Code Verse or Modern Style is governed by a set of strict rules. Modern Style does not mean that the form is new, as one might be led to believe. It is as old as Ancient Style. It is, however, more fixed and rigid. The subject-matter, the allusions, the accent and other qualities which go to make good poetry, have got to be balanced in the different lines of the poem. Here the length of the line, the arrangement of characters, tones, rhymes, etc., have to follow strict conventions and set rules. The matching of the different lines is almost essential—the final characters of every other line must match and rhyme. The same character, at the same time, must not be used twice in one poem, while all parts of speech, that is, noun, adjective and verb, must match by the use of the same parts of speech in the next line. With all its rigidities, Modern Style makes it more difficult to be used as a vehicle of the poet's emotions and ideas. In course of time this form became so strict and rigid and its rules so numerous that it became impossible for poetry and imagery to get a place in the form. Thus from a general vehicle of poetic genius Code Verse changed into an artistic and scholastic exercise. "I Send My Sweet Caresses" by Yuan Chen (779-831 A.D.) is a good example of *Code Verse* or Modern Style.

The last, but not the least important, form of Chinese poetry is *Curtailed Verse*. The main function of Curtailed Verse is not to tell a tale or relate a story, but to create a mood and to treat a single emotion of the poet. This form may very aptly be compared to the English lyric. Curtailed Verse makes the largest amount of Chinese poetry and, as such, deserves our greatest attention. It is, like the English lyric, most popular among all classes of people and poets of all shades of opinion. Also, it has been used by practically all poets.

III

Li Po (705-762), Tu Fu (712-770) and Po Chu-i

(772-846) are some of the greatest poets China has ever produced. There are numerous names in the history of Chinese poetry, but the rest of them stand nowhere in comparison. Among the modern poets the well-known ones are T'ao Yuanming, Yu Yiu-jen, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Chu Hsi and Professor Lu Ch'ien.

Li Po was a wanderer for a major portion of his life and sang of the then beauty of China, Yang Kuei-fei. He was fond of pleasure and loose life, a gay townsman. However, he appreciated the beauty of nature, the mountain, the river and the ocean. The remarkable thing about his poetry is that it is spontaneous—oozing from the heart, as it were. He does not labour over his poetry and thus make it artificial. However, he is a master of style, expression and words. In spite of his departures from the conventional restrictions and his freedom in composition, his poetry has a beauty of its own.

The poetry of Tu Fu, on the other hand, has an artificial and unnatural atmosphere about it, and it is apparent that he has a laboured style. His poetry lacks the music and lyrical quality of Li Po. Tu Fu was a realist and therefore he tried to divert emotion and imagination into definite channels. He is primarily a poet of the down-trodden and the suffering masses and speaks for them.

Po Chu-i was trained in the Confucian literature and gospel. He has made poetry the vehicle of moral teaching, though in some of his poems he betrays a romantic outlook. And it is these, the latter type of compositions, which have made him immortal, and not his preachings. His work has the great quality of being intelligible to all sections of the people.

IV

One of the greatest difficulties in the translation of Chinese poetry, as in all translations, is the general character of the local ideas and ideals. There are many types of poems: some owe their beauty and grandeur to the idea the poem sets forth; some have their beauty in the association and sensitiveness of the words the poet chooses (as the prose of Mr. James Joyce,* the Irish novelist) and sometimes it is the vivid and realistic description that adds beauty and makes the poem more appealing.

Most of the Chinese poems are suggestive in nature. Po Chu-i, Chu Hsi and Wang Wei are poets of this type: most of their poems are loved and appreciated for the sensitive, the suggestive and the appealing association of the words they have used. Here is a good example from the works of Po Chu-i:

Over the river, the fog stealthily glides,
Over the river, the wind icily blows.
All the night, rain drops on the stern,
All the night, waves strike the prow.
In the boat there is a sick passenger
Going down towards Chiang Chou.

In the original Chinese the beauty of the poem lies in the brilliant association of words, their sensitiveness and their suggestiveness: the poem owes its charm to its undertones. All this has been lost in the translation—and this happens with all translations of poetry.

Then there is the difficulty of making sense out of the peculiar and strange local ideas of China, strange as they may seem to a foreigner. These are difficult to understand for the Westerner as well as the Indian unless one happens to know the Chinese background and sentiments. If we translate them literally, we will be doing a great injustice; and if we try to render the ideas into a different language, the ideas themselves are so peculiar to our ears that they would not yield the real beauty or the sense. Here is an example of this strange difficulty from a passage translated literally from a poem of Ch'ü Hsi where one cannot make any sense out of the translation:

Suffering, checked, to see the Eastern Wind's figure,
The Spring is ten thousand times purple and one
thousand times red and black.

Surely this is a very strange description of the colours of the Spring season and a very odd way of expressing the beauty of the proverbial King of Seasons!

V

Professor H. A. Giles, in his book *A History of Chinese Literature*, while giving the chief characteristics of Chinese literature has said that Chinese literature abounds in works on morals and in every literary work, whether prose or poetry, it seems as if the author were preaching morality.

"... Harmony of literature and morality," says Prof. Giles, "is the quality of Chinese literature. . . ."

This, however, is more apparent in prose works than in poetry. Chinese poets have used poetry to express and to teach the various ideas and ideals of morality and moral character and conduct. The Chinese, it seems, love poetry because it is an expression and preaching of morality both in its tone and its subject-matter.

However, we have to add that sometimes Chinese poetry is over-moralizing. And this over-moralizing bores the reader, especially a reader who is not used to such moralizing and preaching in literature and whose notion is that literature should not sound like a sermon. In Western literatures, especially in French, moralizing is not liked and is sometimes hated. Gustav Flaubert could never have stood such a literature. But the method of Flaubert, too, was not all good and worth copying in toto. In fact, though literature knows no boundaries and regions, it must have some national character. And it is this that differentiates the literature of one country from that of another.

* Refer to the two articles on James Joyce, by the present writer, published in the *New Review*, Calcutta, January and February, 1949.

Lu Ch'ien preaches:

I desire all men to be brave,
Not believing in empty words,
But taking up responsibility upon their two
shoulders.
Let us raise our flags and shout aloud
And with clenched fists overthrow all obstacles:
For then our hearts will know no sorrow,
But in our shabby blue gowns we will work hard.

VI

The Chinese conception of love is far different from the European or the Indian. To a Westerner, love is at its peak in the young hearts and during the time of courting and the honeymoon; that love is considered to be the best which is the freshest and the youngest—love at first sight. To an Indian, love is at its peak after the couple have lived together for some time, faced some difficulties of life and come victorious out of them—when the two have proved their love for each other and are still young enough to love and be loved; that love is wanted which has come out victorious in the battle of life and still has a bright future ahead of it. To a Chinese, love is at its best after it has been tried fully; love of the old age, when each of the couple can help the other as a friend; such love is wanted as has survived to see the old age. To be a bit more clear: a Western poet is a passionate lover; an Indian poet a philosophic adorer; a Chinese poet a friendly mate.

The difference, as we find it, seems to arise from the social customs and conventions and the marriage systems of the different countries, as also the cultural effects and the heritage.

Tu Fu sings in "To My Retired Friend Wei":

It is almost as hard for friends to meet
As for the morning and evening stars . . .

VII

The T'ang dynasty is known for some of the best poetry and painting that it gave to China. However, as Latourette has rightly remarked, it is worth noting that "a note of sadness runs through much of the T'ang poetry" and it seems that this poetry "almost certainly had some connection with Taoism and Buddhism, for both these faiths encouraged the man of insight to look below the surface appearance held to be illusory to the reality beneath and to do so through the approach of the mystic."—(Pp. 206-7).

It is the poetry of parting rather than that of meeting of which the Chinese poets write. We read in *The Jade Mountain*:

Friend, I have watched you down the mountain
Till now in the dark I close my thatch door
Grasses return again green in the spring,
But, O my Prince of Friends, do you?

Another poem, by Yuan Chen, strikes our attention in this connection. Writes Yuan Chen:

Hsieh Kung, the youngest, inclined to pity her;
Since you married Ch'ien Lou, a hundred things
have gone wrong.

Seeing me without clothes, you searched your
treasure box;
I chivvied you—to provide me with wine—to part
with your gold hair pin.
Wild green made our food: sweet was the
perennial *huo*;
Fallen leaves added to our feed; we look up to
the old *huai* tree!
Today my salary exceeds one hundred thousand
cash;
To my princess I offer libation; I practise fasting.
Thinking of death, in the night I constantly awake
In recompense for the life-long furrows of your
brow.

Such is the type of the Chinese love poetry. It is almost always the poetry of parting coupled with a sense of respectful regards for the other party who is far away or no more.

VIII

The love of Nature of the Chinese poet as also the common folk of China is well-known. The Chinese are great lovers of Nature as also great ascetics, just as their neighbours, we Indians are. The life of a Chinese, on the whole, is usually simple; his wants are few and restricted. The poet of China, too, reflects this trait of Chinese life. T'ao Yuanming is one such poet. In his poem "The Moving House" he writes of his shifting his abode from the congested and hectic life of the city to a peaceful and secluded house in the midst of natural surroundings in a forest. Says T'ao Yuanming:

For many years I had longed to settle here;
Now at last I have managed to move house.
I do not mind if my cottage is rather small
So long there is room enough for bed and mat . . .

The rapturous beauty of the moonlit night and the moon is a common feature of Chinese poetry. It is depicted so realistically that we are compelled to admit the mastery of the poet. The following stanza is a good illustration:

The wounded soldier sighs,
The sun has set and the moon rises;
For he complains that care-free people simply
enjoy the moon,
But it was in moonlight that enemy planes
wounded him.

The moon is setting, my bones are aching;
The fate of the country is at stake
And I am fortunate to be in the sacred war.
Last year I sang and danced at the moon festival
in the army,

But this time I grieve that I cannot participate . . .
And now I reproduce a passage from the famous
poem of nature, "The Deer Park Hermitage":

There seems to be no one on the empty mountain
And yet I think I hear a voice,
Where sunlight, entering a grove,
Shines back to me . . .

IX

The Chinese war poems form a group by themselves and are a very important branch of poetry in the twentieth century history of Chinese poetry. Some of the best war-poets are (1) Ch'ang Ch'ien, the

author of the long and well-known poem, "The Achievements of Dr. Sun," (2) Ten Pao-shan, (3) Sun Wei-ju, (4) Lo Cho-ying, (5) Huang Ch'ou, (6) Ch'iu Feng-chia, (7) Ch'ien Ch'eng-kan, and many others.

The war and the destruction wrought by it have been depicted by Yu Yiu-jen in the poem "The Fatherless Child":

The whole land suffers beneath fire and sword,
Where the exiled people go?
The fatherless child sheds tears
And wets his mother's garments
In the Eastern village the house is burnt
And people fled from the Western suburbs.
My father went out to fight the barbarians,
But when did he die on the battlefield?

A poem by Professor Lu Ch'ien reads as follows:

For us to write about the War is vain;
No victory shall we, by speaking, gain.
It matters not if but bare hands we have,
For when the end is reached a change must be;
Only we must hold fast to integrity

This is how love of the motherland has been described by the reputed poet Yu Yiu-jen:

The long song is long, the short song is short,
The sacred war takes its course,
And brothers follow each other
To lay down their lives for the country;
Until the barbarians are defeated
And we return home singing.
The short song is short, the long song is long,
To die for one's country
Is eternal glory.

We love our dear ones, we hate our foes;
Our heroes are not afraid and the humane need
not fear fate,
But let us rise up together to defend our sacred land.

This is the war-cry of China. The war hysteria, specially that of the Civil War there, penetrated also the mind of the poet, and he sang of the glory of the

War and inspired his reader to fight for the motherland.

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NUTRITION PLAN

By Dr. T. H. RINDANI, M.D. (Bom.)

Now that we have declared ourselves as a Sovereign Democratic Republic, we are in a position to review and fashion all our policies independently. No doubt several aspects of our national life need reorientation and reorganisation, but nutrition can easily claim top priority, for man is what he eats. The first problem, therefore, to be tackled on a national level is that of nutrition; and since we either plan or perish, it is time that we plan our nutrition forthwith.

The problem of nutrition can be viewed from at least two angles—the quantitative and the qualitative. While much emphasis is laid by the lay public and even politicians on the former, equal, if not more

emphasis must be put by us on the latter. Today our source of nutrition—food—is scarce both in quantity and quality. While leaving the former to be made up by the agriculturists and the economists of the country, we may attempt to plan out the latter so as to improve the nutritional state of the Nation which is far from satisfactory today.

The best-fed nation today is the United States of America. The science of nutrition and its application on a national scale is most advanced in the United States of America. It, therefore, appears that nutritional standard goes hand in hand with the advancement of the science of nutrition. An attempt, there-

fore, to raise up the nutritional standard of our nation, should be on a scientific basis and can be organised on the following lines:

(1) A statistically correct nutritional and dietetic survey held simultaneously in all the States together with a census of the data regarding age, occupation, residence, income, etc.

(2) An analysis of the nutritional status according to age groups, residence, occupation, income, and dietetic habits of the people.

(3) Standardisation of the minimum cost of optimal diet and its relation with per capita income.

(4) Finalisation of the methods of raising the nutritional status to the normal level.

These four points may now be considered in detail:

(1) Nutritional and Dietetic Surveys are being held in some States at present, but these are not carried out on a national basis and are often haphazard. These surveys must be carried out by a trained personnel and must be on a method standardised for the whole country. The survey should endeavour to embrace a total cross-section of the nation, and not restricted merely to groups like schools, camps, employees' associations, etc. The survey should also include an examination of the easily available articles of food and their classification into three heads (Mottram): (a) purpose of foods (*i.e.*, whether for energy production, etc.), (b) chemical nature and (c) source of obtaining them; the three classes representing the attitudes of the physiologists, the chemists and the caterers. Towards this end personnel training centres must be opened up in all the existing medical, public health, and social welfare institutions. Even training courses for dietetics may be introduced into the universities as is being contemplated in some of the foreign universities.

(2) In order to assess the influence of different factors that affect nutrition, data obtained in (1) should be subjected to an analysis. This would help us in two ways. It would indicate the important operating factors, and it would also indicate the various age groups, occupations, etc., which need our particular attention most.

(3) On the basis of the accepted standards of the optimal diet, and prevalent prices, minimum cost of the diet should be worked out. It is likely that in a large number of cases the cost of such a diet may fall too much outside the per capita income. This would indicate that rather than merely asking people to plan their diet according to their income, we may have to consider the fixation of the minimum per capita income to ensure an adequate diet to all. This may be difficult on economical ground but if we are to improve our national nutrition, even a substantial or a drastic readjustment of our economical plans should be undertaken.

(4) Having obtained the necessary data from the above three, we may proceed to work out the methods

of raising the nutritional standard to normal level by working on the following lines:

(A) *Preparation of samples of optimal diets* suitable for the needs of persons of different age groups, dietetic habits, income and residence from the most easily available articles of food.

(B) *Education*: Every social welfare centre and hospital, whether private or State-owned, must be equipped with a nutrition centre. This centre would function both as a research and as an advisory centre in hospitals and only as advisory centre in the welfare institutions. Large-scale measures to popularise these centres should be undertaken and people should be induced to attend these centres regularly. Here each family or individual would receive detailed instructions regarding the optimal diet so as to be within the means. Prepared samples of diet can be put before those that attend the centre giving them a wide scope of selection of suitable dietetic combinations.

(C) *Ensuring adequate supply of certain articles*:

(i) Nationalisation of key industries may wait, but nationalisation of dairy cannot. In fact, for ensuring an adequate diet for all, nationalisation of this industry must be immediate. No amount of compensation required to be paid in terms of money should be considered too high to achieve this end. Adequate supply of milk and its products must be within the reach of all. If foreign processed milk and its products are available in India at prices that are competitive with the price of fresh milk, no argument can be advanced against nationalisation of milk in our country. The initial expenditure and organisation may be heavy, but the reward would be more than anticipated. Milk colonies on the model of Arey Colony of Bombay should be the rule rather than exception in all States. Free movement of processed milk to parts of the country where fresh milk is not available in sufficient quantity can be easily done from such centres. Milk supply to the special groups like children, women and older persons would be facilitated by the development of the milk industry on national basis. Suffice it to say that adequacy in diet in India would not be possible unless a good supply of good milk and/or its products is assured by the States to be within the budget of all. Supply of quantities of milk far in excess of the dietary requirement to the haves at the costs of the have-nots is a sad anachronism in a democratic state, and must be abolished as early as possible.

(ii) Amongst the other articles of diet, introduction of eggs in the vegetarian groups would go a long way. This can be only done by education. The fishing industry in our country also needs a fillip. Once we are assured of the adequate supply of such important articles of diet at cheaper rates, adjustments of optimum diet would be easier.

(iii) A significant proportion of our malnutrition is attributable, particularly in urban areas, to a

lack of facilities for getting wholesome food on the premises of employment. Every institution whether educational, social, industrial or otherwise, must be asked to maintain canteens, catering for the members, having the two different principal dietetic habits—vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The foods supplied here must be always on the basis of optimal diet and in strict accordance with the cost that can be borne by the members. Luxury foods in such establishments must be disallowed, as these often tend to increase the cost unnecessarily.

(iv) Distribution of vitamin preparations in institutions looking after children and youths should be a routine measure.

(D) *Ensuring Wholesome Food—Food Hygiene:*

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Enough care is not being taken at present to respect even the elementary laws of food hygiene. This subject has to be looked upon both from national and personal aspects. Centralisation of food production and education in personal hygiene for the caterers and others handling foods should help to promote a better sense of food hygiene, helping thus to ensure safe food.

It will thus be seen that the problem of national nutrition has manifold aspects and if all these are tackled systematically then only can we hope to reach our goal of raising the nutritional standard to normal level.*

* Paper submitted to be read before the Nutrition Section of the 2nd Bombay Provincial Physical Education Conference, Ahmedabad and forming a part of the proceedings of the same.

SIKKIM

The Corridor between India and China

By SHIBDAS BANERJI

SANDWICHED between Tibet and India is Sikkim, strategically an important State north of Bengal, inside the enigmatical Himalayas. Death-defying zigzag roads amidst stupendous mountains, blue and green, grey and mauve, engulfed the toyish Land-Rover in which I travelled from Kalimpong, and within only a few hours I was at Gantok, the capital of Sikkim.

It was evening, but it was a kind of evening the like of which I had never seen before, not even in Assam, that land of colours. The crimson of the sun hedged by the greenness of the pines and wind-swept valleys made me feel like a man travelling in the moon—possessed.

The people around me were different. The plants and the vegetation were different. The flowers too were different from the ones I am used to on the hill stations in India. The rhododendrons of blazing colours—red, blue, velvety green and pink—made Sikkim a garden in the Himalayas. Later I knew Sikkim really is known to the visitors as the "Garden of the Himalayas," its second name being the "Land of Lightning." I could not think of an apter name, for it thunders here all the time from May to September. Sikkim's elevation is 7000 feet above the sea-level and five of the world's highest mountain peaks are mapped in this state. These snow-capped mountain peaks and their smaller satellites present a mighty spectacle. Their dreadful avalanches of rocks and ice-blocks frequently toppling down, tearing violently from their dizzy precipitous slopes thundering into a gale . . . who dares to describe them . . . not me!

Sikkim to the Sikkimese is "Den-Jong"—meaning locally the "Land of Rice." The 2,818 square miles

of the State's area gives no idea as to the land cultivable, for most of these so many square feet are just hard rocks and depthless forests. Only the valleys in between the rocks make wonderful cultivable land where plenty of rice, millet and maize are produced. Yak, the four-footed, strange animal that ploughs the land is a beauty to be admired. It has a pair of long horns, silky growth of hair all over its being and a beautifully shaped muscular body. The yak's milk is like the cow's milk but very tasty and full of vitamins. You have to look at any Sikkimese (they are 1,60,000 in number) male or female, to believe in the vitality of the yak's milk. The yak is the ship of mountains—a *la* ship-of-the-desert, the camel.

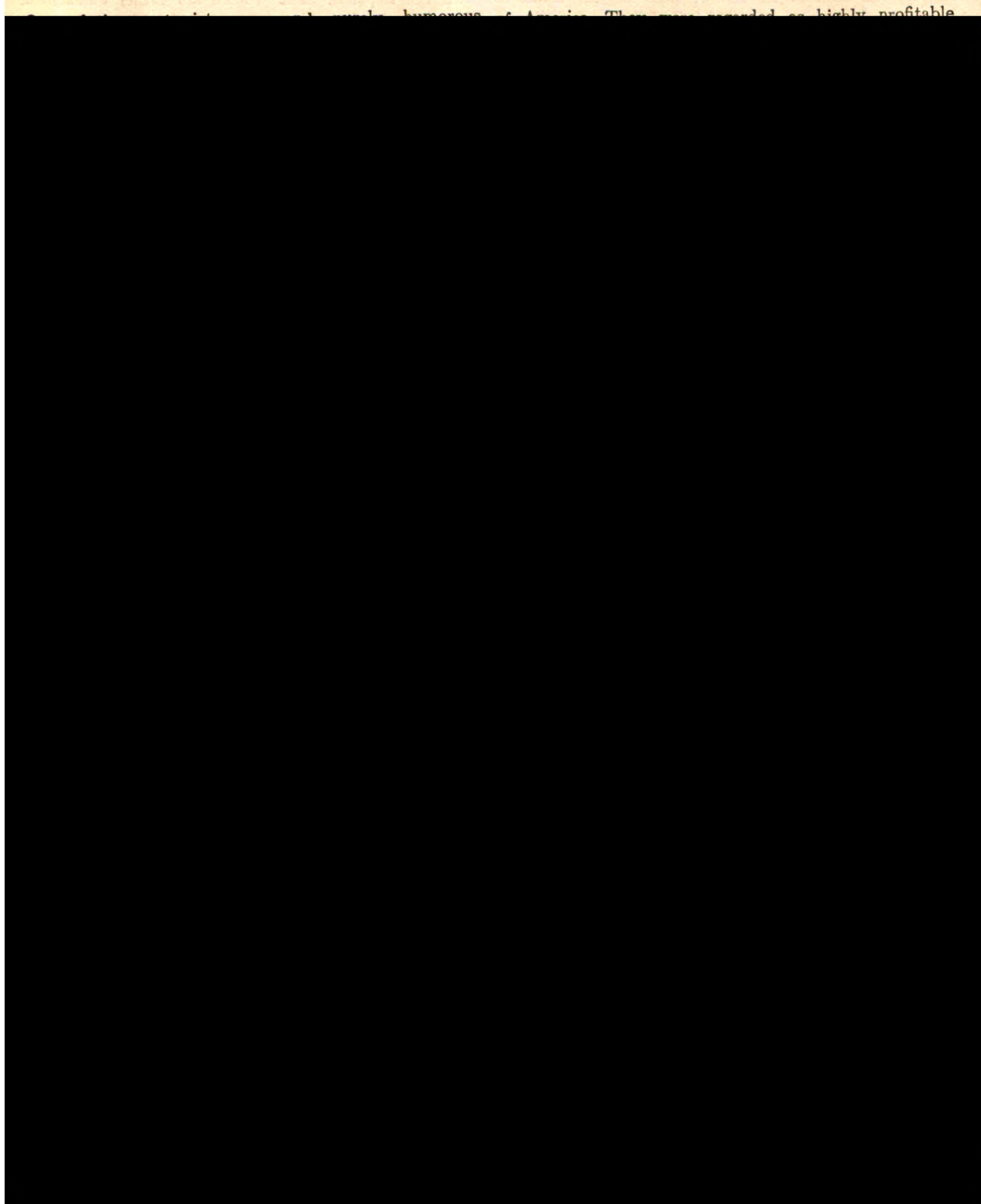
I went right up to Yatung in the Chumby Valley of Tibet. On my way back I followed a Tibetan caravan carrying merchandise to Kalimpong, the Indian gateway to Lahsa. Their yaks and mules carried wool and musk. Most of the wool exported to Kalimpong goes to the United States of America. The Chinese Government, I learnt at Yatung, will shortly be banning the "shipment" of wool *via* Gantok.

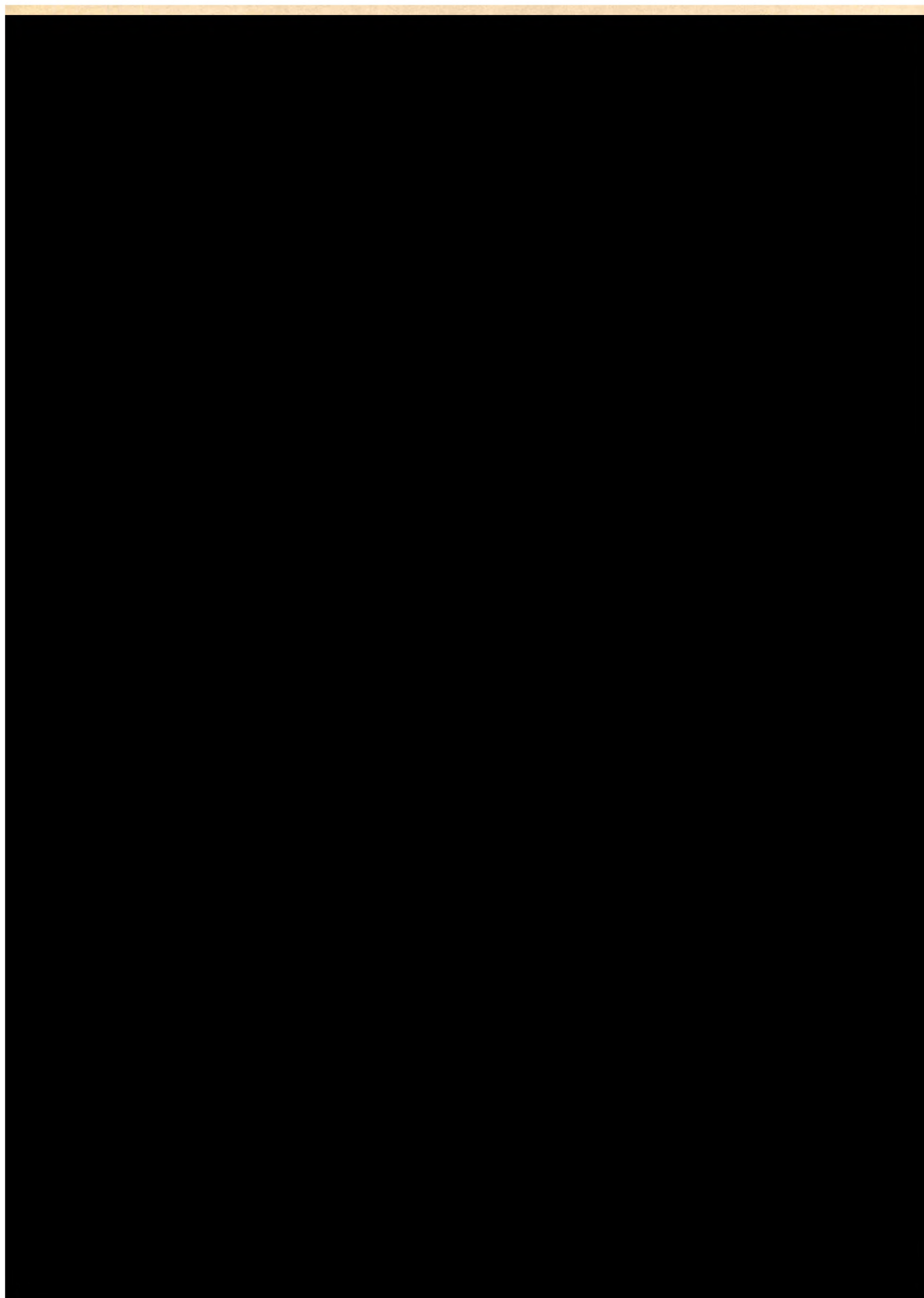
At a friend's house in Gantok I saw the Lepcha dance which is unique in its brilliancy and grace. Its charm and perfection was undeniable. The dance was mostly allegorical but expressive and effective. It is a form of worshipment to Mt. Kanchanjanga, "whom" they regard as their God and for whom their fear and bewilderment is unending. The dance in its real form continues for three days and the dress used for the occasion is very colourful, costly and resplendent with gold and silver.

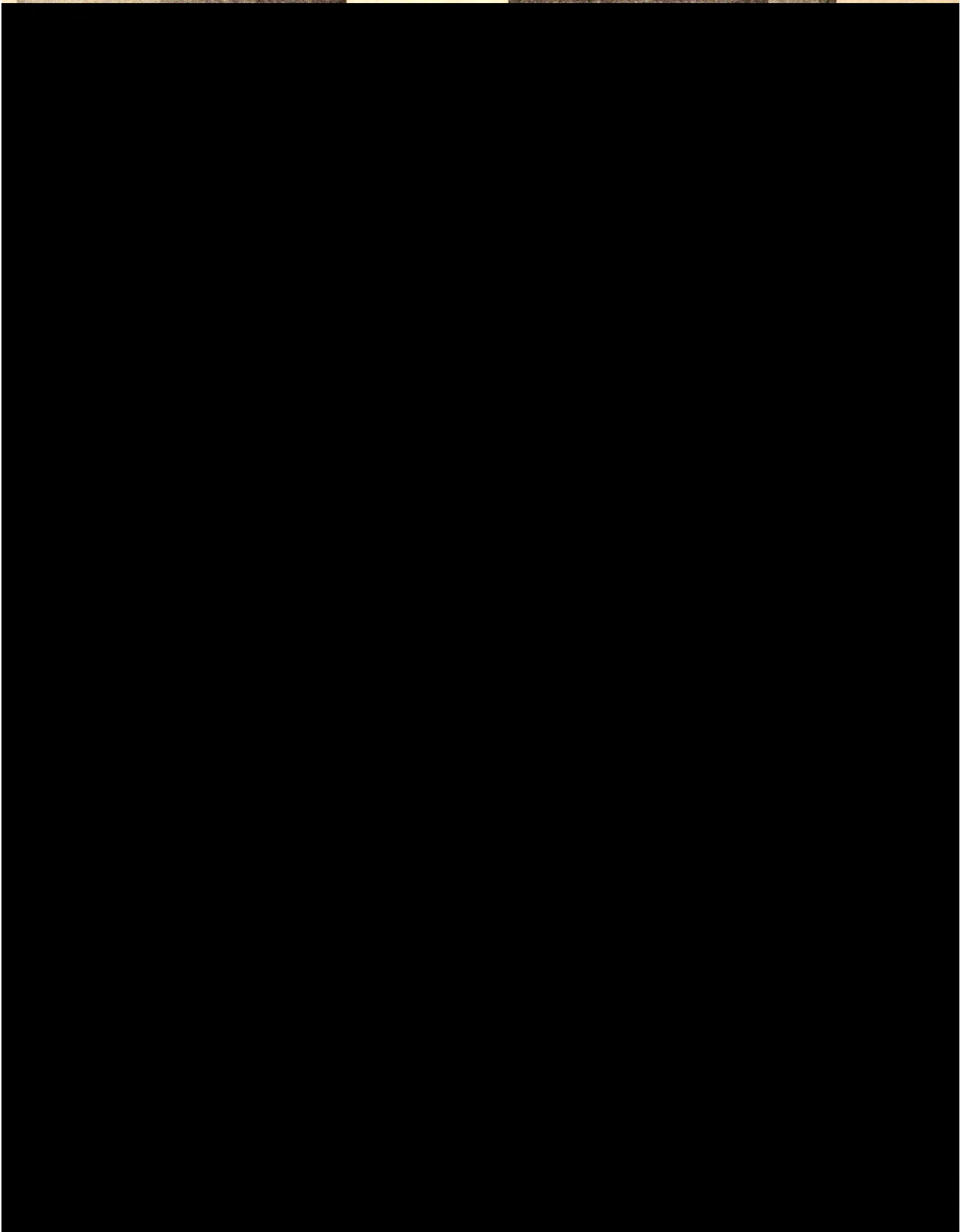
Sikkim has a history which is mostly unknown to the outside world. Till the end of the 18th century, the State was a dependency of Tibet. Pamionchi was its capital for long. The Nepalese made several attacks on Sikkim. In one of their biggest invasions, The Bhutias are of Tibetan origin, and now they form about one-fourth of the total population in Sikkim. They are mostly Buddhists and their language is a dialect of Tibetan language. They inter-marry with the Lepchas. The women are rather amazonish.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By S. P. SHOME







VAJRESHWARI

By M. K. KRISHNAN

NATURE is the mother of beauty. One cannot copy her pressure, skin diseases and rheumatic complaints. in perfection. Artists are only imitators. We feel that Every Sunday thousands flock around Vajreshwari to to commune with Nature is to make one with God. have a dive in ponds, especially in winter. It is strange to note that the water remains always pure and clear.

"Steep and lofty cliffs,

HOPI INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

setting, its seasonal advance and retreat, are both vital and symbolic. Each day, in the clear air of the high country, the unhampered sun pours its warmth on the land. Each night the earth loses that warmth

The principal roads into the reservation approach from the south, although the Hopi country also can be reached either from the east or from the west. However, all of these roads pass through parts of the

A road, starting back of the trading post, climbs diagonally to the top of the Mesa, coming out in the midst of the houses that crowd its restricted area. Hano and Sichomovi can be reached safely by automobile but one must walk to Walpi which is separated by a narrow neck of bare rock. Walpi has occupied its present site for about 250 years. Sichomovi is newer dates back further than any other community on the North American continent. It was in existence, on its present site, long before any other settlement now extant, and it has been continuously occupied ever since it was founded. Just how far back its history goes no one can say, but at least to A.D. 1150. Across Third Mesa beyond Old Oraibi the high-

field of Science the activities of Serampore College in its early days have been no less important than those in any other field. Carey was a distinguished Botanist. The Serampore College Botanical Gardens, founded by Carey, could then vie with the Government Botanical Gardens at Sibpur for excellence, and had received much admiration from eminent scientists of the East and the West. "Many plants to be found in

the study of Chemistry first originated in Serampore College and subsequently spread throughout the province, and this was due to the untiring efforts of John Mack (1797-1845). John Mack was a distinguished scholar in Chemistry as Carey was in Botany. We shall briefly review his career at Serampore College as a professor of Chemistry and also as one who was responsible for introducing the study of Chemistry

the preface to his book of Chemistry he noted down the following arguments supporting his views:

"First, that our European terms have been taken from our ancient languages for the very purpose of preventing the confusion which must arise from as many different names being applied to the same thing as there are languages, in which it is spoken of; and secondly, that it is a mistake to suppose, that any good will be done by accurate translation of scientific names, since as many of them as far as their derivative import is concerned, are totally misapplied, and the translation of them, therefore, would only be giving currency to error. Thus the word oxygen might have been very neatly rendered *umhujan* (the producer of acidity); but the result would have been, that the exploded idea of oxygen being necessary to the production of acidity, would have been embodied in the new word."

Mr. Mack died on the 30th April, 1845, at Serampore. "Few men have ever come out to this country who appeared to be so eminently fitted for public

usefulness, by extraordinary endowments of nature and personal acquirements. He was a well-read classic, and an able mathematician, and there were few branches of natural science in which he was not at home, and in which he did not succeed in keeping himself up to the level of the Science of Chemistry which he had cultivated with success under the most eminent professors in London." He created the nucleus of a chemical laboratory in Serampore College, the first of its kind in Bengal, which has grown in the course of years and has been trying to maintain the traditions of the past.

In preparing this article references have been made to:

- (1) *Oriental Christian Biography* by W. H. Carey, published 1850.
- (2) *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* by John Clark Marshman, published 1859.
- (3) *Sey Juger Bijnan Sadhana* by Jogesh C. Bagal (published in *Prabasi*, Kartik 1357).

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY BY THE LATE AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA

—BY KSHITIS CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.,
Varendra Research Society

THE valuable contributions made in the field of research by the late Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., one of the founders of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi (now in East Pakistan) is still acknowledged with gratitude by all antiquarians of the day. He died on the 10th February, 1930, and February, 1952 completes the 22nd anniversary of his demise.

Educated sons of Bengal should yet recall to their minds with admiration the contributions Srijut Maitra had made to the reconstruction of the history of Bengal and its culture as a pioneer. He first took up as his special subject of study, the period of the last days of the Mughals immediately before the British conquest of Bengal. The patriotic spirit which induced him to make his debut with *Sarajuddaula*, *Mir Kasim* and *Feringi Banik* gradually attracted him to the history of ancient Bengal. His *Gaudalekhamala* as the first collection of important inscriptions of the Pala kings of Bengal will always rank among the source-books of the history of Bengal.

Sree Brajendra Nath Bandopadhyaya has done a great service to the cultured Bengal and to its future generation for having compiled a catalogue of references to Akshay Kumar's prolific writings in the pages

of the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* (Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 53) in a chronological order which had appeared on varied topics in various journals through the medium of Bengali.

Akshay Kumar's versatile talent was not confined to the language of his mother tongue alone, for which he already earned the reputation of a distinguished litterateur and a historian for his unique style and cogency of reasoning in the presentation of the materials before him.

His contributions to Art and Archaeology through the medium of English in the current and defunct journals were also great indeed.

Sree Banerjee's laudable enterprise in this direction has encouraged me to cull the captions of the contributions which had appeared through the medium of journals in English, principally in the pages of *The Modern Review* and *Rupam*. All these writings are a standing tribute to his scholarship and versatility, and the publications of such valuable materials might in future be constituted into a volume to afford a permanent value to the future scholars who might utilise the resources with profit.

The most important contributions are enumerated below as far as practicable in a chronological order.

A supplementary list may be forthcoming by others interested in them to complete the series if there be any error or slip in the present compilation.

Subject	Reference	The year of publication	
1. A new copper-plate Inscription of Lakshmanasena. (Anulia copper-plate).	<i>The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,</i> pp. 61-65.	1900	
2. Two Buddhist images from Malda	<i>The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,</i> pp. 621-623.	1911	
3. The Stones of Varendra.	<i>The Modern Review,</i> June, pp. 618 ff.	1912	
4. The Stones of Varendra.	<i>The Modern Review,</i> September, pp. 244 & ff.	1912	
5. The Fall of the Pala Empire. (Calcutta University lectures from 21st to 25th January.)	A course of four lectures in the Calcutta University. (unpublished)	1916	
6. The Black-Hole debate	<i>The Bengal Past and Present.</i> (proceedings) pp. 156-171.	1916	
7. The Monuments of Sanchi (a scholarly review of Sir John Marshall's guide book.)	<i>The Modern Review,</i> August, pp. 137-148.	1918	
8. Taxila—a meeting ground of nations (a review)	<i>The Modern Review,</i> September, pp. 478-482.	1918	
9. Garuda, The Carrier of Vishnu in Bengal and Java.	<i>The Rupam,</i> January, pp. 2-7.	1920	
10. The River Goddess Ganga.	<i>The Rupam,</i> April, pp. 2-10.	1921	
11. Aims and Methods of Painting in Ancient India.	<i>The Rupam,</i> Jan.-June, pp. 19-27.	1923	
12. Sculptures of Bengal (Introduction with a note on Varendra Research Society's collection by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.)	<i>The Modern Review,</i> January, pp. 57-62.	1923	
13. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	<i>The Modern Review,</i> pp. 194-197	1923	
14. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.			<i>The Modern Review,</i> pp. 478-482 1923
15. The Lotus of Life.			<i>The Rupam,</i> July, pp. 85-88. 1923
16. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.			<i>The Modern Review,</i> pp. 446-450 1923
17. Historical Antiquities in Rajshahi.			<i>The Bengal Past and Present,</i> pp. 37-41. 1923
18. Principles of Indian Painting. (The six limbs of Indian painting.)			<i>The Rupam,</i> July-Dec. pp. 130-131 1923
19. A Forgotten Capital of Bengal.			<i>The Bengal Past and Present,</i> pp. 172-175. 1923
20. Indian Architecture According to the Silpasastra (a scholarly review of Dr. P. K. Acharya's book on Architecture— <i>Manasara</i>)			<i>The Rupam,</i> July-October, p. 39 1923
21. A Rejoinder to Mr. Saksena on Dr. P. K. Acharya's works on <i>Manasara</i>			<i>The Rupam,</i> pp. 90-91. 1923
22. "Panchadevata" (or Siva, Ganesh, Vishnu, Surya and Sakti.)			Translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and published in <i>Ostasiatische Zeitschrift</i> beginning with Vol. IV, half. 3, pp. 109-119.
23. An illustrated lecture note in the Indian Museum, Calcutta delivered on the 18th March, 1927.			Published as Monograph No. 7, (<i>The Ancient Monuments of Varendra</i> , posthumously edited by Kshitis C. Sarkar, Varendra Research Society with Introduction and six Appendices.) 1923
24. A Note on Paharpur Mound.*			

* I am thankful for the facility I obtained in utilising libraries of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, the Asiatic Society, Ben and the library of Mr. O. C. Ganguly in drawing up this list & checking up the references in Calcutta.



POPULATION CONTROL IN RELATION TO FOOD IN INDIA

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

From the dawn of civilization when man first started to live community life he found that by continuous cultivation the same piece of land gives poorer returns. He also learnt that there were some soils that were not good for cultivation and there were some that gradually became poor. The land was not limited, hence he had not to revert to his former nomadic life. Thus the eternal question of resources began to trouble his mind from that time. When his resources in that particular locality was exhausted he migrated to richer soils. Gradually he learnt the technique of manuring and thus his migration stopped to some extent.

Today we have advanced far in the technique of land-utilization and we know better the requirement of soil in relation to a particular crop and thus can enrich the soil. We can get better yields today from the same land which was giving poor yield. But still we should consider that the population of the world has vastly increased through centuries. The present population of India is an increase of 13.4 per cent in a decade over the 1941-figure with almost a net increase of 42,000,000 yearly. The figures are staggering indeed because the country is vast. The present production of food is far below our requirement, and there are menacing natural calamities, such as famine and flood.

To get out of the tentacles of the octopus of food shortage and large increase in population a two-pronged drive is required. Let me draw up my scheme.

The immediate programme is a short-range one and we have already made some headway in this line. As an immediate necessity we are to increase the production of food through reclamation of waste land that is culturable and through cultivation of the fallow land. We are to increase production by increasing the yield per acre of the lands already under cultivation through better practices and by stopping the wastage of the food thus produced through plant protection and other measures.

The following is the classification of areas in India issued by the Economic and Statistical Advisor of the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India:

Classification	Average 1936-37 & 1938-39	1945-46
	(In thousand acres)	
Area according to village papers	401,880	403,044
Area under forest	62,426	62,491
Area not available for cultivation	63,256	62,413
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	68,805	68,556
Fallow-land	36,008	37,937
Net area sown	171,365	170,836
Irrigated area	35,395	9
Area sown more than once	26,781	

The figures may have altered a little due to the activities of the last half decade but still the data speak for themselves. We cannot, and no starving Nation can, afford to waste such resources unfapped. Already every province has started to reclaim the waste lands and small Co-operative Farms are cropping up with young enthusiasts as workers and organisers. But the main handicap is man-power. There is shortage of agricultural labour, and the Indian cattle is almost useless and uneconomic in agricultural operations although it quickly multiplies itself and is competing with us in the consumption of the nation's food. The condition of the cattle population should have to be improved by breeding. Hence, what is wanted is partial mechanization of agriculture in our country and heavy tractors should be wholly devoted to reclamation work to save time. But unfortunately we do not manufacture them and are to depend solely on import. For this we need dollar and we must not waste it on luxury goods which today are eating away a large portion of it.

Land reclamation should be done in a pre-planned way with simultaneous settling of displaced persons who will be given the sole authority over the lands thus settled. 'Produce or perish' should be the motto and none of these displaced persons should be allowed to quit as this will break the morale of others.

Lands are in most cases kept fallow for shortage of labour and draught cattle, i.e., bullock, inasmuch as all the operations, which mostly depend in our country on the vagaries of nature, become necessary in a specified time. This can be solved by partial mechanization which though difficult for individual cultivators may be done by co-operation. Even today our villagers are not co-operative-minded. There should be State-sponsored units of co-operative farms, etc., which will act as demonstration centres or rather eye-openers to the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. Our cultivators are conservative and always desire to remain within the snail's shell due to age-long sufferings but still they will drive onwards if definite impressions are created on them.

Though we solely depend on cereals as our main food, our production per acre, as is evident from the statistical table, is at the bottom of all other countries of the world. A comparative chart from the *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics* (1947), Vol. I, as given below, shows the average yield per acre (in round numbers) of some of our most important crops and their highest yield obtained in other countries.

Rice: India	1,100 lbs.	Australia	4,100 lbs.
Wheat: India	700 "	Denmark	2,900 "
Maize: India	800 "	New Zealand	2,800 "
Ground-nut: India	700 "	Mauritius	2,200 "
Sugarcane: India	14 tons	Jamaica	30 short tons
Potato: India	4 short tons	Ireland	9 short tons

District	Lag in Agricultural Wages and Prices					
	1939		1945		1948 (Jan.)	
	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices
Azamgarh	100	100	214	300	214	448
Gorakhpur	100	100	214	340.7	214	448.
Unao	100	100	125	400	125	426
Meerut	100	100	212	425
Jhansi	100	100	215	335.3
Almora	100	100	360	318

The figures show where we are. That our cultivators sometimes lack initiative or rather incentive to grow more may be true, but we give them advice from our ivory towers. That they are not bad growers has been proved through the two important all-India crop competitions in rice and potato held sometime ago. As regards production of rice, Bengal certainly lags much behind Australia, but there has been an increase of more than 600 mds. in the production of potato in Bengal and in other provinces. If only a few prizes of a few hundred rupees can give so much incentive, then can we not take them into confidence through other amenities given to them? And here lies the defect in the policy hitherto pursued. We always want that the cultivator will produce enormous food for us so that none can starve. But never do we consider what in return we are giving to the toilers of the soil. What he produces is taken away to the last grain, but do we try to look to any of his comfort? The Kumarappa Report (*Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, 1949*) gives the following as the income of agricultural labour in different regions in our country:

See Table (A) →

We do not want to compare it with any other foreign country as it will bring shame to us, not to the agricultural labour. It is difficult to imagine how with that small income they can manage their family, overburdened with too many children as they are. The children do not get milk or medicine and are left to the mercy of the gods. Even cruel accidents occur due to this poverty. A *P.T.I.* news from Shillong dated 27.7.51 states:

"1,722 persons died in Assam by drowning in the last two years. Of them 951 were children and 285 women. This figure does not include the persons who lost their lives as a result of floods. . . . Want of proper care and attention on the part of parents about little children while left at home during their busy hours outside is the primary cause of these sad incidents."

This is only a solitary example among many more such incidents.

Our food producers are toiling hard but the rising price indices are making it harder for them. Prof. Sridhar Misra of Kanyakubja College made sample surveys in U.P. about the rise in the rates of wages and rural cost of living enquiring of 60 families about their budgets on the basis of 26 essential commodities selected, the year 1939 being taken as the normal year. Instead of taking some of the details into consideration let me give the comparative summary.

And after 1948 the price index of the essential commodities has gone still higher up without an increase in the income of the agricultural labour. Moreover, an agricultural worker has always a unbalanced budget due to the unequal income earned by his wife and children. Let me quote Kumarappa again:

"We do feel that the practice of the U.S.S.R. in making no distinction in respect of pay for men and women should be followed while fixing the rates of wages at least for some operations. The rates of wages for children should have reference to their essential needs, as members of a family. In the Soviet Union all employed youths over 16 receive the same wage as adults performing the same work in Agriculture while young workers are trained without any cost to themselves and receive pay while learning. This unique achievement of the U.S.S.R. should be a beacon-light to all countries fixing fair rates of wages for labourers in agriculture as well as industrial."

Our system of land management is ancient and primitive. The weak bullocks have generally forced cultivators to depend on shallow ploughs which is a hindrance to good cultivation. In an attempt to force cultivators to grow green manure crops before growing sugarcane it was found that they prefer money for cow-dung, etc., to the free supply of the legume seeds. Green manuring is difficult because the shallow plough cannot quite invert the soil and properly cover the legume for rotting in the soil during the rains. Similarly soil operation before rains is difficult in dry regions as it becomes too hard for the weak bullocks and shallow ploughs.

From time immemorial we are cultivating the same soil without fertilizing the replenished earth. Our age-old neglect to mother earth is unparalleled. We broadcast the seed and want to harvest a good crop. We do not have proper rotation, growing the same crop in the same land year after year, nor do we grow any legume to plough down as green manure. The sources of other organic manures are absolutely limited. This led to the use of inorganic fertilizers in large quantities by the progressive nations of the world. The advocates of inorganic fertilizers are now blind and they do not want to replace the existing sources of organic manure. We advocate a well-balanced manurial schedule of both organic and inorganic manures taking into consideration the resources and the soil climatological factors. The following comparative chart (taken from U.S.D.A Misc. Pub. No. 593: Pre-war world production and

TABLE (A)

Daily cash and kind wages of Agricultural labourers in various Provinces.

Province	Unspecified work		Ploughing		Sowing and Transplanting		Harvesting		Weeding	
	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind
Assam	No data available.									
West Bengal		Re. -/12/- plus 1 meal Rs. 2/- plus 1 meal plus tiffin.			1/8/- to 2/8/-		2/- to 2/8/- both one meal and tiffin.			
Bihar	-/12/-	3 seers food-grains (1½ to 2-seers paddy) plus ½ to ¾ seer sathu pailas paddy plus breakfast	-/8/- plus 2 meals 2½ pucca srs. food-grains & 1 bigha land; 3 srs. food-grain & 10 of land.		-/12/- for men and -/8/- for women.			1 bundle for 16 bundles.		
Bombay	1/4/- to 1/8/-	1 meal, 2 tea, 5 srs. paddy (in lieu of 8 annas cash and 4 seers paddy, tea and morning tiffin*)								
C. P. and Berar	1/2/- to 1/4/- for men, -/12/- for women.									
Madras	1/- to 1/8/- for men, -/10/- for women.	2/- to 2/8/-			8 to 10 as. and 1 or 2 meals and even 2½ M.M. (Madras, Measure) and 2 meals 1½ seers cholam (men), as. 5 to 6 and 1 meal, 2½ M.M. (women) Inamdars measure at Mirasdars place.	5 M.M. paddy 2 M.M. with 1 meal; 4 M.M., 1½ M.M. paid by Mirasdars.				
Orissa	1/- to 1/8/- for men, annas 8 for women.	4 seers of paddy.			Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.		Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.			
U. P.	As.12.		Re. 1/-				1 bundle for 16 bundles of grain harvested (men), 1 bundle for 12 bundles of grain harvested (women).	-/8/- plus breakfast.		

* This applies to Halls also.

consumption of plant food and fertilizers) on the use of chemical fertilizers by us in India and other countries speaks for itself.

Consumption of Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potash together per acre of land

India	less than 1 lb.	France	33 lbs.
Netherlands	300 lbs.	Egypt	33 "
Belgium	159 "	Peru	28 "
Belo Luxemburg		Eire	28 "
Economic Un.	150 "	Portugal	27 "
New Zealand	125 "	Italy	24 "
Germany	96 "	Australia	20 "
Japan	87 "	U.S.A.	9 "
Switzerland	64 "	Un. of South	
U. K.	52 "	Africa	8 "
Denmark	47 "	Canada	3 "

In our country the main sources of organic manures are yet to be tapped. Even now we are not utilizing the night-soil and other refuse in the municipal towns by composting though instead of costing anything it brings an extra revenue. Not only that, simple dumping brings dust and disease in the locality, it is a haven for feeding flies and other carriers, whereas composting keeps the locality clean. People have now started to appreciate sewage sludge of cities. They are also giving attention to the enemy of waterways, the byacinth, by utilizing its manurial properties by composting. Here at least the people and the Government are moving together in West Bengal.

The question of improved varieties and strains and the replacement of poor yielding varieties by them is drawing the attention of all thinking people. But there are only a few seed multiplication farms throughout the country and in the present context it will take decades to replace them. It is necessary that almost all the districts of all the provinces in India should have one general seed multiplication farm and its working should be supplemented by a chain of registered growers in widely scattered localities who will again multiply them.

Land utilisation which covers a wide domain, should come to the forefront of all agricultural prospects. The checking of erosion of the soil created through ages, its proper utilization, flood control and maintenance of the equilibrium of the soil should get top priority. But this planning of agriculture should always be preceded by the preparation of a very good soil-map of the country, so that proper cropping schemes can be undertaken or suggested.

Last, but not the least important, is the fact that we are not giving proper attention to those particular non-cereals that give the maximum yield in the same unit of land. And this high yield is in no way low in food value compared to any other crop. The sudden increase in population due to industrialization and the high standard of living in the European countries led to their search for the high-yielding non-cereal food crop that can replace cereals from their main item of food and in this way potato made its headway and is now the staple food of many a nation. It will be

observed from the following comparative table taken from Choudhuri ("Problem of Food Production—the Role of Potatoes," *Bull. Bot. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, page 64) that potato as a non-cereal crop yields a very high amount of Carbohydrate and is the source of a much higher unit of calories than the two most important cereals, Rice and Wheat:

	Rice	Wheat	Potato
Estimated yield per acre (Maund)	10*	10*	100†
Protein yield (Kilograms)	31	43	58
Carbohydrate yield (Kilogram)	234	253	832
Calories per acre (in thousands)	1280	1260	3850

The question of Tapioca may also be considered in this context.

Today plant-protection measures are drawing the attention of authorities and gradually we are having the co-operation of the cultivator to protect his crop from diseases and pests by dusting and spraying protective chemicals. Diseases and pests are eating away a large portion of the nation's food and in addition rodents are a menace to mankind and unless one is very serious it is almost impossible to control them.

We should now consider the question of our big population and its control through long-range practices. We know that in this vast sub-continent an increase of one per cent over the present means some millions and already we are overburdened with crores. It is true that we will have to exert all our energies immediately to augment the present production to stop all imports of food from foreign countries, but how can we ignore the vastness of our population? It is a gigantic problem and we will have to proceed step by step.

The increase in world population every fifty years during the period 1650-1950 shows that the growth has not been uniform and has tended to rise rather by geometrical progression. Also it has been found that in agrarian societies with the approach of industrialization there has been a rise in the standard of living along with the immediate lowering of death rate and the automatic rise in the population. Then came the next phase. With declining fertility came a further decline in mortality resulting in a stable population. Then the last phase—with mortality more or less constant, fertility has declined further, and there is a decline in population. Europe and America are passing through the last phase today.

In our country we will have to implement our promise of compulsory and free primary education to all. It is long overdue and the promise should be implemented at once. Education should be basic and practical making people conscious of the value of the land and its good management. Also they should be made conscious of themselves, and free themselves

* Slightly above the all-India figure but slightly below West Bengal average which is 12.17.

† Slightly below the all-India and West Bengal averages which are 109 mds. and 102.75 mds. respectively.

from wrong exploitation. This will raise the standard of living at once with a tendency of a sudden rise in population. Here we will have to educate our countrymen, particularly those who have family and have attained maturity, to pass over the two phases of industrialization and come to the final phase through a policy of scientific population control. And this scientific population control or birth control may have

some repercussions in our country a large section of whose people is conservative and not enlightened by education. Here is the need for a long-range policy of education in family or population control to keep the population in equilibrium with the production of food. A check is necessary so that the nation may not be starved.

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PANINIAN ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE

PANINI, by far the best Grammarian of the world, has shown, along with the display of a true grammarian-cum-scientific spirit, a tactful handling of various geographical data. His grammar being older than the two great epics of India should be seriously taken into consideration for the knowledge of ancient geography of India as the two great epics are often sought for.

He often speaks of the Eastern countries or *Prachyadesa* (e.g., 2. iv. 66, 4. i. 160, 4. ii. 120, 4. ii. 113, 4. ii. 123, 4. ii. 139, 8. iii. 75, etc.). What he exactly means by that term is not known. Taking him to be an inhabitant of the Punjab or Kashmir, perhaps Benares and its surrounding territories is meant. Hence he purposely omits the name of Kasi, the greatest of the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India. The same darkness prevails regarding his use of the term *Udichya* (e.g., 4. i. 109, 4. i. 157, etc.).

Some countries are mentioned indirectly by him. *Kacchagri Vaktra Vartottarapadat* (4. ii. 126) speaks of Bhrikukaccha, etc. Another Sutra *Kopadhadan* (4. ii. 162) also suggests the name of some countries which were known at the time of Panini. Moreover, although many of his Sutras do not throw light on the realm of geographical interest of the country, still the illustrations of these Sutras, given by Kasikakara and Bhattoji are much helpful in rediscovering India's ancient geography (e.g., 2. iv. 6, 4. i. 171, 175, 4. ii. 127, 2. iv. 62, etc., the Sutra *Kastirajastunde nagare* 6. i. 55 indicating a town having a small coastline, really proves nothing). But here we are concerned with Panini only not even with Katyayana or Patanjali, not to speak of Vamana Jayaditya or Bhattoji Diksita.

The predecessors of Pushyamitra were known to Panini as he mentions their names in one of his Sutras, i.e., *Vikarnasungacchagaladvatsabharadvajatrisu* (4. i. 117). If not the rulers of some territory of the North-western part of India, they at least were a powerful nation. In *Vikarnakushitakat Kasyape* (4. i. 114) we find the name Vikarna. It is interesting to note that Bhasa in his *Dutavakyam* ascribes an

elevated place to the Lord of Vikarna. (cf. *Aryyau Vaikarnavisvadevau*). Is there any connection between "Chagala" of this Sutra and the King Chagalaga of inscriptional fame? Chagala is also mentioned in 4. iii. 109. Vatsa is one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas. Its capital as evinced from the Jatakas was Kausambi—modern Allahabad—4. ii. 36 also speaks of its name. This Kausambi has no connection with Kausambi of Rajshahi district, mentioned in Sandhyakarnandi's *Ramacharita*. The Sutra, *Bhargattraigarte* (4. i. iii) directly speaks of Jalandhar district, e.g., *Jalandharastraigartitah Syum* 4. ii. 137 also indirectly suggests its name. It is of much interest to note that Sindhu and Sauvira are not mentioned together, although the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman mentions their names together, for the former is mentioned in 4. iii. 93 and the latter in 4. i. 48. Although Vitabhaya as named by the Jaina is the capital of the two still it has been settled that west and east of the lower Indus are understood by these two respectively.

The Sutras from 4. i. 169 to 4. i. 178 excepting *Tetadraja* (4. i. 174) and *Atascha* (4. i. 177) deserve a special scrutiny, for the following names of the countries are mentioned by those, e.g., Salvass, associated with the Matsyas, Gandharas, too well-known to be further identified. It was situated on both sides of the Indus. Kashmir also was included in it; Magadha (South Bihar), Kalinga (Orissa), Kosala—one of the four great kingdoms according to Dr. Roychoudhury. It was situated on the east of Gumti and west of Videha. Asmaka was situated on the banks of the Godavari. Its capital has been identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's district, by the scholars; Kamboja—one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas—is close to Gandhara, Avanti roughly corresponds to the Ujjain region, Bharga is a dependant of the Vatsas, Yaudheya is mentioned in the *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta, the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman and other inscriptions. According to the Puranas, it lies between the Bitasta and Sindhu. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar locates them between the Sutlej and the Jumna; Kuru, mentioned

twice, is a famous Mahajanapada. Suramasa, mentioned with Magadha and Kalinga in 4.i.170, has not been identified.

Kekaya of *Kekayamitrāyupralāyanam* (7.iii.2) is definitely identified with the western Punjab between Gandhara and Beas. *Kacchadivyaścha* (4.ii.133) speaks of modern Cutch in the north of Kathiawad, the country of the Madra-s is mentioned in 4.ii.108 and 6.ii.91. It comprises the central part of the Punjab. 4.iii.93 speaks of Takshasila which is nothing but the modern Taxila.

So much is stated about the North-western part of India. The names of Usinara (2.iv.20, 4.ii.118)

and Andhaka and Vrishni (4.i.114, 6.ii.34) produce evidence that the Madhyadesa was also known to Panini, for Usinara is the northernmost part of Mid-India and the two others are closely associated with *Dhruva Madhyamadis*. Dr. Roychoudhury's statement that they were defeated and pushed southwards and eastwards by the Kuru-Panchalas cannot be supported; the evidence of Sat. Br. is too meagre to be relied upon.

Thus, in conclusion, it can be safely remarked that the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini even without considering the *Ganapatha* or others, is a great source of investigation for the ancient geography of India.

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SRI AUROVINDO'S PHILOSOPHY

A Review

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A number of books on the philosophy of Sri Aurovindo have been published by the Calcutta University, Banaras Hindu University and by other publishers. Numerous articles on the subject have been appearing in the leading journals of India, Europe and America. While reviewing *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Sri Aurovindo** by Dr. S. K. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, let us try to understand the excellences and limitations of Sri Aurovindo's Philosophy.

According to Dr. Maitra, Sri Aurovindo is the most creative thinker in the Modern East.

"He is a seer," observes Dr. Maitra, "with the same prophetic vision and the same explosive power of truth as the great sages of our land in the past such as Manu, Yajñavalkya or Vyasa. His place is by the side of these great seers, *Mantra-drastarah*."

The learned professor concludes his book under review with these words:

"We may say that if the bridge of thoughts and sighs which spans the history of Aryan culture, as it has evolved so far, has its first arch in the Vedas it has its last in Sri Aurovindo's *The Life Divine*."

Sri Aurovindo's magnum opus *The Life Divine* is in the opinion of Sir Francis Younghusband the greatest philosophical religious work which has been produced in India for centuries. Sri D. S. Sarma compares this massive product of the present Hindu Renaissance with Dante's *Divina Comedia*, the Italian Epic. Besides the three volumes of *The Life Divine*, the two volumes of *Essays on the Gita* is another outstanding work of Sri Aurovindo. Excepting Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* no modern commentary on the

Gita can stand comparison to it. In this voluminous work the sage of Pondichery explains at length the new Gospel of synthetic Yoga. Not only these two but also his *Bases of Yoga*, *Mother* and several other books have to be considered for a comprehensive and critical survey of his philosophy.

In order to fully fathom the depths of Sri Aurovindo's mind it is very necessary to peep into his educational, professorial, political and literary career. Sri Aurovindo was born in Calcutta in 1872 and passed away in 1950 in Pondichery. He was educated in London and Cambridge for fourteen years from the seventh to the twenty-first year of his life. While in England he became a scholar in Greek and Latin, and also learnt French, German and Italian and could read Dante and Goethe in the original. After his return from England he served for thirteen years from 1893 to 1906 in the Baroda State where he worked as a professor of English in the local college. It is there that he studied Bengali and Sanskrit. While in England he could not speak well even in his mother-tongue, but composed poems in English. In Baroda he happened to meet Sister Nivedita, the renowned English disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Sister Nivedita presented to him a copy of her Guru's *Raja-Yoga* which he read carefully. In order to study Indian thought in the original he began to learn Sanskrit there. Political activity of Sri Aurovindo lasted for four years from 1906 to 1910 A.D. During this period he started his literary career and edited three journals, *Bande Mataram*, *Karmayogin*, and *Dharma*. The last forty years of his life was spent in Pondichery where from 1914 to 1921 he started and published the *Arya* and wrote thought-provoking articles in it. His *Life Divine* and many other books, brought out later, appeared serially in this philosophical monthly. So

these fifteen years from 1910 to 1925 may be called the intellectual period of his life when he wrote his philosophy. In 1926 he attained Rishihood and since then remained buried in the silence of meditation for the last twenty-four years of his life. He is, therefore, more a seer, a prophet, a Rishi than a philosopher. Sir S. Radhakrishnan rightly calls him a scholar-mystic.

On account of foreign education the influence of European thought was so deep-rooted in his mind that his philosophy has become an amalgam of Western and Indian thought. This has not escaped the keen observation of his admirers and expounders. Dr. S. K. Maitra whose book is under review, rightly speaks out thus:

"When I say that Sri Aurovindo belongs to our Aryabhumi the last thing which I have in mind is to underrate the influence of European thought upon him. The influence is there, very clearly visible . . ."

In another place the same author says that Hegel perhaps comes nearer to Sri Aurovindo than any other philosopher either in the West or in the East.

Sri Aurovindo's originality consists in the powerful restatement or reinterpretation of the Indian thought in the light of the West. His greatness lies not in revealing new truths, as Prof. D. S. Sarma of Madras rightly observes in his *Renaissance of Hinduism* (p. 337), but in reinterpreting old truths according to the needs of the times and making them dynamic, once again. Like Swami Vivekananda or Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurovindo is a bold interpreter and exponent of Indian thought in this age. In 1918-19 when William Archer hurled his infamous attack on India and her culture in his book *India and the Future* Sri Aurovindo rose equal to the occasion and made a forceful protest in a series of very thoughtful articles. In those articles he pointed out some of the salient features of ancient Indian culture. He said therein that the Indian genius is characterized by an exhaustive many-sidedness and ingrained spirituality. In another place while appreciating the spirit of India he said that a national awakening is always preceded in this land by a religious renaissance. In the course of pointing out the dominant note of the Indian society he remarked that Rishi is the ideal man of the Indian society and attainment of Rishihood is the goal of Indian life. These are some of the excellences of Sri Aurovindo's profound thinking.

While expounding the philosophy of the Gita Sri Aurovindo establishes the doctrine of Purusottama, the Supreme Spirit. According to him, the Supreme Spirit is neither One nor the Many but the One in, through and beyond the Many. Thus, according to him, multiplicity is as real as unity. Here Sri Aurovindo differs widely from Sankara and evinces a strong Hegelian bias. It is regretted that he commits the grave error of saying that Sankara teaches illusionism. To call

Sankara an illusionist is nothing but to misunderstand his philosophy. Even Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who is the distinguished author of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, has misunderstood Sankara and misinterpreted him while trying to explain his philosophy in the light of Western thought. It is very very difficult to clearly understand the standpoint of Sankara. Paul Deussen of Germany and Rene Guenon of France have made it quite clear in their masterly works on Vedanta. Unless one strips his mind of all Western influences and bathes in the crystal-clear water of the Vedic thought one can never grasp the true view-point of Sankaracharya, who alone of all Indian exponents holds the key to the soul of Vedic wisdom.

The most important concept in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy is that of super-mind. Borrowing a suggestive Vedic expression he gives the name of Rit-ehit or Truth-consciousness or simply supermind to the divine power dormant in each soul. He says that when Supermind dawns one becomes a Superman and leads the Life Divine. Supermind in his view is the connecting link between the two hemispheres of Being and Becoming, of the Absolute and the Relative, of Knowledge and Ignorance. When the Supermind descends an individual becomes a gnostic being and then all beings would be to him his own selves and he would feel the presence of the Divine in each thought and action. Is not this conception of a Superman a modern restatement of the Vedic ideal of a *Jivanmukta*?

In the Gita the Wise One is called the *Sthitaprajna*, *Gunatita* or *Yogaruda*. Sri Aurovindo's description of a gnostic being or Superman is not at all different from that of a Brahmanjani given in the Gita. When Sri Aurovindo says that personality and impersonality, individuality and universality are quite compatible in the divine life he merely echoes the voice of the Gita and Upanishads.

When Sri Aurovindo dreams of forming a gnostic community on earth and producing a race of Supermen he voices the idea of a Christian millennium. The Christians' dream of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. Is not all this a mere Utopia or moonshine? Let us conclude the short survey of Sri Aurovindo's philosophy by presenting the readers with what a Western has said about this. Mr. Vincent Sheean, an American visitor, met Sri Aurovindo in February, 1949 and wrote in the September issue of *Holiday* (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) an article entitled "Kings of the Yogis," in which he says, "Immensely complicated, heaven-storming arrogance of Sri Aurovindo is understood by nobody but himself when he says that, the Supreme can be brought down into human life and is now about to be brought down thus achieving an immensely forward step in evolution." For want of space we are unable to discuss other points in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy that are alien in character to the orthodox tradition of India.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE CHARKHA: A collection of some of Gandhiji's speeches and writings on Khadi. Compiled by Shrikrishnadas Jaju. Sarvodaya Pracharalayam, Tirupur, Madras. Pp. vii + 112. Price fourteen annas.

The compiler has brought together some of the more important sayings of Mahatma Gandhi relating to Khadi. Spinning is an ancient art in India. By itself, it can no more assure us freedom than any other mechanical device can. Gandhiji gave Khadi a new meaning, for his plan was to build up a new life in the villages of India which would be based upon self-sufficiency in regard to the basic needs of life. That life was to be free from exploitation and inequality, and where all built up a co-operative community life. Although the spinning wheel became popular through Gandhiji's personal influence at some periods in course of our national struggle yet the social content of his new emphasis on the revival of spinning was often lost sight of. Readers will, therefore, be thankful to the compiler for having once more called attention to these aspects of Gandhiji's thoughts on the subject.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES: THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION: By Mohinder Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. xv+213+xl. Price Rs. 7-8.

Caste and untouchability form two of the most urgent problems of India's social life. It is however unfortunate that although the Government of India has a Department of Anthropology and several of our Universities teach the subject up to the post-graduate standard, yet the scientific treatment of the subject has been left to untrained social reformers, and science has not been adequately utilized to prevent wastage of much well-intentioned effort.

We turned therefore with a great deal of expectation to the book under review; but have to confess that our hopes have not been wholly justified.

The author of this book on the 'Depressed Classes' has devoted as many as 137 out of 213 pages to a detailed consideration of the 'economic servitude' under which these classes labour in North India, ranging from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east. The disabilities described, or the economic information given by him relate, however, not merely to the depressed classes as such, but all other castemen also who are exploited by owners of land and of capital. It is well that he supplemented the information obtainable in official reports by personal field investigation but unfortunately, here again, the number of families studied is not given except in one case, and

we are presented merely with percentages of different grades of income or of indebtedness, without being able to check up whether the sampling was adequate or not, and without again, being able to compare the figures for 'depressed' with that of poor 'higher castes'.

In regard to the customs, beliefs and cultures of the 'depressed classes,' the author has made use of much undigested, anthropological material with the result that the picture of the depressed classes, as such, has become obscured by being mixed up with the superstitions and ignorances of those who do not definitely belong to that class.

This is particularly unfortunate, because, the author is gifted both with human sympathy as well as the necessary, academic qualifications for undertaking such a study. Perhaps, he has been in a hurry in his crusade on behalf of the down-trodden; but such an attitude must not be allowed to vitiate the scientific rigour of social investigations.

It would perhaps have been much more fruitful if Dr. Singh had tried to find out if the depressed class do actually form a separate ethnic group now, as they obviously did in the past; how their own, blind effort at self-improvement have led to further fissions in the caste, without being able to weaken the roots of that system itself; what have been the quantitative results in sample areas or sample communities, and so on. A clear, objective presentation of the facts regarding untouchability, and of their sociological roots, determined by comparison with like economic groups belonging to higher social grades, would have helped us much more than the present study, even when it is inspired by the noblest of passions.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has furnished a brilliant introduction, which we would recommend to social reformers and legislators to read. We can also say that they will materially profit from a reading of Dr. Singh's essay as well, because what he says holds true of the down-trodden in our country, whether Harijan or otherwise.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, Vol. II: I Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd. Calcutta. Pp. 408. Price Rs. 10.

It is fortunate for the history-loving people of this world that they are getting the second revised edition of the first three volumes of the magnum opus of Sir Jadunath Sarkar—*The Fall of the Mughal Empire* done by the savant himself. The fourth and the last volume is a recent publication, but this Vol. II first came out just seventeen years ago in 1934. The

searches and discoveries of Sir Jadunath himself made it imperative that a revised up-to-date edition should be brought out. That has been achieved in the volume under review. Its uniform format with the new fourth volume and the revised other two volumes completes a lovely set. An authoritative book like this needs no praise from a reviewer. We are only indicating the additions made in this edition. They are: (1) the bibliography of the Panipat campaign has been recast and brought up to date, (2) the Durrani invasion of 1764-65 has been expanded from a short paragraph into a full section, (3) Shah Alam's exile in Allahabad has been newly described, (4) exact dates and details in the account of Jawahir Singh's last years, and (5) a description of the topography of the environs of Panipat with a map, to help visitors.

ASIATIC JONES: By A. J. Arberry, Litt. D. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. Forty pages and ten illustrations of which one is a tri-colour portrait of the great savant. Price not mentioned.

The work of Sir William Jones, the pioneer of Indian studies, in making the real India known to the Western world, had been great and it was he who influenced Colebrooke, Wilson, Muir and a host of others to pursue Oriental studies, thus establishing a tie between the East and the West. He was in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th century. He was born in 1746 and this neat brochure has been published to commemorate the bicentenary of his birth. We must admit gratefully that that has been befittingly done. The book mainly deals with Sir William's Asiatic deeds and researches.

INDIA: By Swami Vivekananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-12.

In this decently produced volume the publishers have placed before the public some of the writings of the great Swami on India. None was more competent to speak on the subject for he knew her hopes and aspirations, her joys and sorrows. His knowledge was first-hand. He also knew about the cultural heritage of India and the readers of this selection will also know it, such is the fervour and appeal of his writings. The reader will also admit what Sister Nivedita once said about her master—"The thought of India was to him like the air he breathed."

B. N. B.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: By J. T. Parikh. The Popular Book Store, Bombay. 1949. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.

This little monograph has been prepared by the author as a text-book for the first year classes in the Bombay and Poona Universities. Of its ten chapters, the first two are more or less of an introductory character, the third deals with the pre-historic period, the fourth and the fifth (constituting its longest portion) with the Vedic period, the sixth and the seventh with the rise of Magadha culminating in the Maurya empire, the eighth with the period intervening between the Mauryas and the Guptas, the ninth with the Gupta Golden Age and the tenth and last with the post-Gupta period down to c. 1000 A.D. This short survey of its contents is enough to show how it suffers from a want of proportion, too much space being given to the pre-historic and Vedic periods at the expense of the later times. In his introductory chapters the author gives good descriptions of the distinctive features of our culture (p. 3 f.), the physical

characteristics of our land (p. 6 f.) and the racial composition of our people (p. 9 f.). Again, his accounts of the pre-historic Indus Civilisation (p. 14 f.) as well as the civilisation of the Vedic Aryans (p. 34 f.) are sufficiently full and accurate. On the other hand, some of the author's statements are open to criticism, as when he speaks of Chandragupta Maurya's conflict with Seleucus towards the end of his reign and the subsequent treaty of his marriage with the latter's daughter (pp. 174-5), or of Asoka's sending missionaries to Tibet (p. 177), or of the independence of the "Bhoja Kingdom of Berar" following Asoka's death (p. 199), or of Hindu colonisation of Burma, Malay, etc., during the period from 600-1000 A.D. (pp. 250-51). The translation of Rajukas as "law-surveyors" (p. 182) is strange. So also is the description of the period from 200 B.C. to 250 A.D. as marking "the beginnings of Hindu power" (p. 198). The author's judgment that "Hindu imperial power disappeared" after Harsha's death and that "there was absolutely no political peace" between Harsha's accession and Sultan Mahmud's occupation of Kanauj (pp. 250-51) errs grievously on the side of exaggeration. The rendering of Sanskrit *anarya* as an-Aryan (pp. 36-7, 66, etc.) is inaccurate and unnecessary.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GROUP PREJUDICES IN INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM: Edited by Sir Mamulal B. Nanavati and C. N. Vakil. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay. 1951. Pp. 223. Price 16s. 6d.

The title of this book led the reviewer to think that it probably consisted of the findings of the various projects for sociological research which have recently sprung up throughout the country. But she was soon disappointed. A book with such a title may be one of two things. Either it may be the study of specific problems relating particular facts, or it may be the presentation of general theoretical discussions based on such facts. But this book does not seem to have either of these characteristics.

Besides the introductory material by the editors, twenty-nine different articles are presented in the book by thirty-one writers, (two being joint authors). Each article is written independently and separately without any seeming plans of co-ordination between the writers. Besides, as they do not come to any discussion with one another, and as there is no semblance of continuity from one chapter to the next the reviewer fails to see the basis of calling the book a "symposium."

The book is encyclopaedic in its outline in presenting six sections with titles, such as "culture and prejudices," "religions and prejudices," "social prejudices," "politics and prejudices," "minorities and prejudices," and "miscellaneous." The majority of the articles seem to present the view that there ought not to be any prejudices towards members of various groups in the Indian communities, and then each presents its own solutions for obliterating such prejudices. The views presented are usually supported by common observations and beliefs and historical knowledge. These elements are indeed important in social studies, but mere minglings of historical facts and common knowledge do not produce scientific social research.

The reviewer, therefore, wonders about the purpose of this book. In not presenting a scientific viewpoint or new facts the book can hardly expect to gain the attention of social scientists. And even the layman will find many of the articles repetitious, and the mode

of presentation of some of the articles, as those on the caste system, as rather archaic. Moreover, the majority of the articles are not documented, and so a serious student will not be able to use this book for references to other works.

JYOTIRMAYEE SARMA

THE MAKING OF MODERN HOLLAND: By A. J. Barnouw. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.

The Netherlands emerged as a distinct political entity with the Dutch revolt against Philip II of Spain in 1581. The Act of Abjuration passed by the Dutch in that year was the first spasm of a revolutionary tremor destined to revolutionise the body politic of Europe. The Union of Utrecht (1579) completed the process of gradual contraction of the Low Countries by drawing a line of demarcation between Belgium and the modern Netherlands, which has been known as Holland from the days of the Bonapartist regime in the late 18th century.

Mr. Barnouw gives a bird's-eye view of the history of Holland from the beginning of the Christian era down to the modern times. He faithfully records the succession of changes—evolutionary and revolutionary—that turned the Dutch people, once enslaved by the Vikings into a free, prosperous and self-confident nation.

The volume under review, meant primarily for beginners, may be read profitably by the advanced students of Dutch history as well.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

UNTIL BENGAL (Poems in War): By Harry Milner. Introduction by John Gawsworth.

FIFTY MODERN POEMS: By forty famous Poets.

Both published by Sushil Gupta, 1, Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5 each.

The British Royal Air Force, which was stationed in India, for waging war in Burma and the Far East had some members in it who were poets of considerable merit. Of them were Harry Milner and John Gawsworth. By publishing some of the works of these poets and writers Sushil Gupta, an Indian publisher, has surely won some distinction among his fellow-traders in India. Many of the poems of *Until Bengal* concern India and Ceylon as seen and understood by a foreigner. About Bengal, the poet sings:

"O freed from red Delhi, so spaced and so clean,
Let me swim in Bengal's haze of virulent green."

The words "virulent green" are so much expressive of Bengal's sweetness and strength, harmoniously balanced.

From Tennyson down to 1936, the best specimens of English verse during that period were collected by W. B. Yeats, that Irish poet of renown whose name we adore because it was he who could first appreciate the greatness of Poet Rabindranath. The collection by Yeats is entitled *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*. In 1938, John Gawsworth prepared his *Fifty Years of Modern Verse*, with 230 poems representing 110 poets.

Fifty Modern Poems is an abridgement of the *Fifty Years of Modern Verse*. The publisher's intention lies in "giving pleasure to those readers in India who have been dissatisfied with the one face of the Janus-head of British poetry." Among the poets who have found place in the collection have been Havelock Ellis, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Arthur Symonds, Lascelles Abercrombie, John Drinkwater, Siegfried Sassoon and others who have already been known to us for writings other than poetry. So, *Fifty Modern Poems* is an interesting publication from this aspect alone.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIAN ECONOMY AND ITS FUTURE: By Prof. K. C. Bhandari. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Hospital Road, Agra. Pages 133. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author discusses the subject-matter of this book in eight chapters and the three different stages in the history of the foreign capital are described as "Merchant Capital" (1600—1850), "Industrial Capital" (1850—1914) and "Finance and Loan Capital" (1914 onwards). Various estimates of the foreign capital invested in India made from time to time by distinguished authorities are discussed and examined and the author is of opinion that £500 millions is the correct figure of foreign capital invested in India as at 31st December, 1947. A chapter has been devoted to so-called "India" Companies which have foreign share-holders—these being Indian counterparts of English Companies operating in other parts of the world. The Government of the Indian Republic have announced in no uncertain terms that the investment of foreign capital in industries in India is welcome in the interest of the country's economic advancement. They have further declared that within the next ten years there shall be no programme of nationalisation to affect the activities of capitalistic undertakings. In spite of this the investment of American capital is negligible, although the investment of British capital is not so disappointing. The reason is that U.S.A. has ample opportunities to invest its own capital within its own borders and the British surplus is not so large as it was before the war. Independent India can with safety import foreign capital without any fear of foreign political domination provided such investments are economically sound. The author has a word of 'caution' for such capital import.

A. B. DUTTA

INVESTIGATION OFFICER'S POCKET MUFFASIL LAW GUIDE: By D. Das, I.P.S., Cuttack. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 4.

The investigating police officer in the mufasil often commits error of judgment due to his ignorance of law. For ready reference he can not carry all the bare Acts even; for him the relevant extracts, with short notes from different Acts, selected by the author, himself an experienced police officer, will be found to be extremely useful.

J. M. DATTA

STANDARD ESSAYS: By Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Published by Students' Friends, Allahabad and Banaras. Pp. 507. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book is intended for college students of Arts, Science, Agriculture and Commerce in the Indian Universities and for candidates for all competitive examinations in India. The number of essays are nearly 200 and the subjects selected for the essays are varied and miscellaneous, and deal with all the important current topics of our country and the world which every modern student ought to know. In the beginning of each essay are set forth outlines of ideas on the subject to be discussed upon. The essays are brief, but they are suggestive and written in a lucid style, which will serve as good models to be expanded upon by students with their own ideas and expressions. The writer deserves thanks for bringing out this excellent help-book for college students.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT

RATNADIPIKA AND RATNASASTRAM: Edited with Introduction by Sri P. S. Rama Sastri, Professor, Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore. Madras Government Oriental Series, No. LXXVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 2-4.

We have reference in different places to a good many authors and works on *Ratna-sastra* or literature dealing with jewels. But unfortunately quite a small and insignificant portion of this literature has so far been published. An idea of the subject may be formed from two Bengali works, e.g., *Ratna-rahasya* by Ramkamal Sen (Calcutta 1884) and *Ratna-pariksha* by Jogesh Chandra Roy (Calcutta, 1904). The *Ratna-pariksha* in Sanskrit, attributed to Agastya, is published in the former under the title *Agastimata*. In the volume under review we have editions of two works by Chandeswara and Buddhahatta based on two solitary manuscripts found in the Madras Oriental Library. The learned editor has made laudable attempts to correct the defects met with in the manuscripts by suggesting emendations which, however, are not always appropriate and free from doubts. And there still remain many cases where it was not possible to suggest any emendation. It is to be regretted that no other manuscript was available for collation. It has been pointed out that attempts to secure manuscripts belonging to the Venkateswar Institute proved unsuccessful. It is not known if enquiries were made in other quarters, especially in the big manuscript libraries of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona where manuscripts of the *Ratnadipika* are known to exist.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

BENGALI

GITAY SWARAJ: By Sri Trailakyanath Chakravarty. Published by Sri Gauranga Press, 5 Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta 9. Second edition. Pp. 279. Price Rs. 3.

The author is well-known for his extraordinary incarceration in the Indian Struggle for political freedom. He suffered and rot in the British Indian gaols for a very long period of thirty years. The pathetic story of his prolonged imprisonment has been recorded by him in an interesting Bengali book. He was suspected of a conspiracy to wage war against the British Government and banished to the Andamans for a full decade. Thence he was brought to the Alipore Jail at Calcutta where he managed to write this translation and annotation of the Gita.

The book under review contains the Sanskrit text of the whole Gita with literal renderings and simple explanations. Though no traditional commentary is followed yet the explanations are up-to-date and instructive. The Gita is such a wonderful scripture that it supplied necessary inspiration to the revolutionaries of Bengal to die for the country's freedom. Now that we are politically free it is high time for us to establish Swaraj on the stable foundation of the Gita. The author is constrained to observe that cowardice, immorality, indiscipline, dishonesty and the like that run riot in the country as the result of long foreign rule can never be uprooted from the society unless the Gita-ideal is lived collectively. As the author rightly wishes, if the Indian Swaraj is built

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SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

(1) **BAPU KI JHANKIAN:** By Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1.

(2) **BAPU—MERI MAN:** By Manubehn Gandhi. Pp. 55. Price ten annas.

(3) **HAMARI BA:** By Vanmala Parekh and Sushila Nayyar. Second edition. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 2. All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Kaka Kalelkar, the renowned raconteur and litterateur, has given varied glimpses of Gandhiji's mental myriadsidedness in his *Bapu Ki Jhankian*. They are authentic anecdotes recorded by the author with all the precision and pungency, delightfulness and descriptiveness of his style. The book is informative, interpretative and instructive; as such, it brings out Gandhiji's idealism, practicality and humanity more richly and revealingly than a dozen "essays" in the study of his character by library-dominated scholars.

Bapu—Meri Man is a collection of extracts from the private journal in Gujarati of Manubehn Gandhi who was one of Gandhiji's constant companions towards the end of his life, translated into Hindi, carefully and correctly by Kurangibehn Desai. These

extracts, covering the period of his Noakhali pilgrimage, "show up" Gandhiji in the role of a tender-hearted mother to the young, to the suffering and to the sorrowful, though at times his love looked like a menacing mentor, too!

Hamari Ba is a fascinating study of the life of Kasturba, that loyal and loving life-long partner of Gandhiji in his experiments with the love of truth and the truth of love. Indeed, Kasturba's soul had the hidden musk of the truly, and yet terribly meek. The translator Shri Kashinath Trivedi has preserved successfully the simplicity, spontaneity and sincerity of the Gujarati original.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KABIR SAHIBNUN BIJAK (Second Edition): By Manilal Tulsidas Mehta. Published by the Swayamved Office, Baroda. 1948. Thick Card-board. Pp. 544 + 12. Price Rs. 10.

Beejak, an account book, is Kabir Sahib's well-known work in Hindi setting out his philosophy, where he has discounted on the differences of various creeds and beliefs, described the real significance of Jiva, and commented on the Religion of Truth. Its translation into Gujarati with explanatory notes has proved so popular that a second edition has been called for. The original Hindi text as well as the text of the Guru Mahsina is also printed for the convenience of the reader.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Plight of the Writer Today

George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

When economic processes militate against cultural activities, the loss to the community is inevitably real though unmeasured and unfelt save by those adversely affected. This is the situation in which the writer finds himself today, for since the war the material end of his business has undergone radical economic changes and these have all been to his disadvantage.

In the first place the cost of manufacturing books has gone up steeply. Then the wages in the printing trade have advanced. Lastly, paper, now costing four times its pre-war cost, is in short supply. A large proportion of writers who could anticipate publication of their work with some degree of assurance know today that, unless a publisher's readers and other experts in such matters assure him that a proffered manuscript is probably sure of a sale of 10,000 copies, their work will be returned with regrets.

Since writers who aspire to live by the production of original work must live from the royalties of their books, many now find themselves driven from their chosen craft in order to secure enough money to pay their way.

Economic factors are exerting a breaking effect upon cultural activities, and the flow of creative literature is being dammed at its source.

I recently offered a full-length manuscript, an odd story, admittedly, since its central theme was Plato's theory of reincarnation, to Mr. Victor Gollancz. In reply came a charming personal letter to the effect that he found the book very much to his liking—the actual word was “delightful”—but that he could not see a sale of more than 2,000 copies, which would not be economic.

Stories like that may be heard wherever writers today discuss the economics of their craft. Yet—and here is the curious anomaly—while the publishers are pleading these increased costs as defence for (a) proposals to cut down royalties and (b) increasing the price of books, leading firms are making greater profits than ever before. The price of paper has increased fourfold since 1938. Printing costs are more than double, and all overhead costs have correspondingly gone up; and yet profits are not only maintained but increased.

No increment falls to the writer, however. He faces increased cost of living, increased cost of secretarial assistance. A good secretary was within the reach of a moderately busy writer before the war. She asked 3 to 4 guineas a week. Today, a girl with like qualifications can demand seven guineas. The paper upon which the writer writes may appear as a trifling overhead in his trade. Before the war it was. I could then buy quarto at under 3s. a ream. Today, it costs 15s. to 18s.

Let me give an example of the sort of financial return a writer may anticipate today for the labour of writing a non-fiction, 80,000-word book. Three years ago I signed a contract for a book of that length upon the subject of religious revivalism. I delivered my MS. within a year. Nine months later, after several applications, I was paid £50 as advance on royalties. Nearly three years after writing the book I have the manufactured article in my hand. From the American edition of 2,000 copies my share on a percentage basis is £28-10-0. But that is not paid to me, since the sales of the English edition are said not to have earned the £50 advance!

The writing of a book of that kind involves two separate labours. First, preparation of the material—the reading and note-making; next, the compilation of the actual book—a heavy task, since the typing of 80,000 words in itself is real work.

Now contrast that with what the writer may expect when he turns to the periodical market. For a 3,000-word article in the lately defunct *Strand Magazine* I was paid by its liberal and kindly editor the sum of fifty guineas—and that for the first British serial rights only.

The periodical press in Britain has advanced its rates well since the war. Why, then, cannot the writer of books turn to this lucrative market to supplement the dearth on the book side of his activities? The answer is simple. The continued shortage of newsprint has so limited the periodical press and the daily press that the space available for the outside contributor is exceedingly limited. But newspaper proprietors, and the proprietors of weekly and monthly magazines, faced as they are with increased costs, are contriving to make increased profits. (This may have something to do with the ratio between the number of pages and the advertising rates. I do not know).

It is apparent that the only worker who is suffering economically is he without whose labour none of the others could exist. For it is incontestable that, no authors, no books, and no books, no publishers.

In this brief paper I do not attempt to indicate the causes which have brought about this sorry state of affairs for the writing man; nor do I offer any solution for it. I merely attempt to set forth the facts as they touch myself and hundreds of other writers who are not best sellers, but merely men sufficiently competent to live by the pen.

One positive proposal has recently been put forward by a writer, John Brophy. He suggests that the writer might be given a fairer financial deal if those who read his books paid for that privilege. His is no crack-pot scheme for state subsidies, but a matter-of-fact businesslike proposal that a person who reads an author's book should pay for it.

Let me contrast for a moment the sharp distinction between the monetary rewards of the composer

of music and the writer of books. When a composer publishes his work he receives a royalty on every copy of sheet music sold to the public. So far the composer fares on terms of financial equality with the writer, deriving his revenue from the sale of his sheet music as the author from his printed book.

But after that the comparison ends. The composer has a further source of profit, namely, from the public performance of his work. This comes to him generally through the Performing Right Society, which efficient organization collects, in units of one-tenth of a penny, a further fee for the public performance of musical compositions.

Nobody can enjoy the public performance of music by living composers without such payment, whether the performance be by radio, a great orchestra or simple village-hall amateurs. The question that is now being asked is this: Can some analogous scheme be devised to increase the meagre returns of authorship? Mr. John Brophy, himself a successful author, in a lucid article in *The Author*, the organ of the Society of Authors, considers that it can.

In so brief a paper there is no space to set out Mr. Brophy's scheme in detail, but I will quote one paragraph from him:

"Commercial libraries are maintained by period subscriptions paid in advance, and public libraries are subsidized out of the rates—it is a misleading euphemism to call them 'free' libraries. The scheme I am putting forward would in no way alter either of these methods of defraying the cost of stocking and running libraries. The innovation would consist of a borrowing fee to be paid by the reader each time a volume is 'taken out.' The fee I suggest is one penny, and, after certain deductions, it would go wholly to the author of that volume."

As a class, writers are not particularly articulate about the economics of their work, and only within living memory have they possessed any sort of organization to afford mutual protection—the Society of Authors.

Today there are, in Great Britain, at least, many authors of established reputation who are living on the border line of want.

This is particularly true of present-day poets. It may be that the periods when a man might hope to live by poetry occur infrequently in history, and that in no period has the lot of the poet been financially rose-strewn. Today, it is certain that barring one or two men who have become fashionable, as Roger Montgomery became fashionable in the Victorian era, poets are under the necessity of turning to some secondary occupation in order to live.

One of the saddest commentaries upon our present civilization is the contemptibly mean allocation in the Civil List for pensions for men of outstanding literary talent who are unable to live by their work. The most a man may hope for, after the humiliation of making application for financial help to a state department, is a starvation pension seldom above £150 a year and more often less than £100.

The great public, knowing of authors only by their reputations, has, and can have, no idea of the economics of literature as a profession. It is true that there are writers with names known throughout the Western world who are barely above the economic level of penury. Surely, it is obvious that if the production of scholarly works and of works of literary merit is halted

by adverse economic burdens, the flow of ideas and the dissemination of thought throughout the world must be thereby impeded? A civilization that penalizes the creative elements in its people must decline and must face the danger of eventual eclipse.

Today, in Britain, the decline in standards of taste are everywhere notable, and it is significant that the slick journalist, producing worthless ephemera, can live at the economic level of the manufacturer of chocolate or the maker of munitions while scholars such as the late Sir James Frazer suffered want, and living poets, such as Herbert Palmer—to name but one—face the inexorable pressure of business economics.

In this brief and fugitive paper I have made a personal contribution to the problem for the sufficient reason that I have none to offer. But such as I am, and as I experience them myself, I have stated facts that are no longer in dispute. Times may be hard for the manufacturer of paper, for the publisher for the bookseller, for the printer. But one thing is incontestable, they are hard for that seldom considered creature, the author, upon whom paper maker, publisher, bookseller and printer depend for their existence. Nor are there anywhere signs that conditions are likely to improve in the future. On the contrary, the craft of authorship faces a future in which the writer may well approach with deep apprehension for his survival.

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Abanindranath Tagore's Art

Interview with D. P. Roy Chowdhury

The following report is taken from the *Andhra Patrika* :

I have come to see you on behalf of *Andhra Patrika* to know something about the late Dr. Tagore, the great artist. Could you throw some more light on his life and the masterpieces he created than what have already appeared in the local dailies? Of course, "I can," came the ready answer from Sri. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras. He continued saying:

I have been amused to read certain qualities of pictures painted by Sri Abanindra. The matter appeared in the leader of one of the leading dailies of our country. The qualities that have been dumped on the creations of the master-thinker, were confirmed as having the influence of the Japanese and Chinese Art. It is indeed a revelation. Leave alone his pupils, I do not think Tagore himself was aware of the existence of such an influence as has been referred to in the leader. The captions of the masterpieces were also announced probably with an idea to substantiate the contention. However, the fact is that there was no trace visible of Chinese or Japanese pattern, technique or the method of filling up of the space in Tagore's works. The last point concerns a vital characteristic of Chinese or Japanese school of painting, since they often use vacant space, names and description of the pictures as essential parts of the composition.

For information's sake, I would like to point out that all the assets that he had from the Japanese or Chinese were a few brushes in flat and round which were used only to give wash to soften the gradation of tone or hand lines. Merely using Japanese or Chinese brushes which are nothing else but tools, does not mean that the influence of the specific pattern or technique had come to stay on his works. The statement that appeared in the leader is not only wrong, but also an unkind reflection on a great master who lived to create and made a gift of the same to cultural cause, any civilised nation could be proud of. He was too great to borrow in the manner as he had been presented. It is a pity that such ignorance should flourish as authentic statement of facts. Let us hope for the peace of the great soul that the public will not take the appreciation very seriously even though the false statement found a place of honour in a distinguished daily.

Proceeding on this point of influence, I may be permitted to say that if there were any, it was that of the West, the science of which was utilised in the composition for filling up of the space. Whereas, the forms that built up the pictorial theme were visualised in his dreamland where no one had any access excepting the creative mind of the artist. Slight hints of the pattern motives of the Moghul-school and occasionally Rajput as well were present in the arrangement of drapery, but this little adaptation could not go further to encroach into his sphere of imagination where his individuality ruled. His colour harmony is a thing which will baffle any master artist of the West practising decorative art. The achievement of Sri. Abanindra has gone beyond the scope of a scientific analysis and assumed a stature that demands Bhakti.

Question: What was your relationship with him, I mean was he very much attached to you as a man?

Answer: I do not think such personal questions will be helpful for the purpose you have come. However, I can tell our relationship was that of Guru and Shishya. It was distinct from what is expected from a strong disciplinarian head of a modern academic institution where students are manufactured in mechanical manner to meet the needs of mass education. Our relationship had human touch, we felt for each other. I may say in this connection that higher forms of art can hardly reach the masses. It is approachable only by a few, though no pains were spared to contact the masses in our country or in the West. In support of this contention I can cite instances of the methods applied in our country as well as in the West.

In our country the masses contacted the beautiful creations with entirely a different angle of vision and that was Bhakthi, call it faith, if it suited better, since most of the works were derived from religious motifs. In the West though a very large number of citizens visit art galleries, yet the approach does not necessarily mean that the initiative was directed by a real understanding. I would rather go to the extent to say that majority of people visit such institutions merely to satisfy curiosity or to have the benefit of a social gathering in a ceremonial function of the institutions. However, there is no denying that the people of the West are more art-conscious than what we are. I do not wish to go into details in this respect for the present.

Question: What do you think is his best work?

Answer: It is a very embarrassing question, as all his successful works have different values of their own.

Question: Then, why certain pictures are picked up as special?

Answer: The choice in the circumstances depends entirely on temperamental issues of the observer but a critic has no business to be led away by sentiment or any other reason associated with personal interest excepting getting into the bottom of the intrinsic values that helped to make a good picture. This means a highly developed knowledge in comparative studies of different techniques practised by masters.

Question: What are the points of a good picture?

Answer: I appreciate your inquisitiveness, but I feel the question is irrelevant at the present moment when you are concerned with a particular person's work. You ought to know that every artist has a different approach towards the subject and also there are different methods of interpretation. In the circumstances if I were to satisfy you, I shall have to

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swerve to a different topic, which I suppose is not your objective.

At this moment there was a pause and I found Sri. Chowdhury's mind was distracted from the interest I had created. I felt from his sorrowful mood that it would be better that I left him alone, because I had been told that the relationship between Abanindra and Deviprosad was tied under the bondage of affection. The affection was too deep to be disturbed by an inquisitive reporter like me.

Individual or State ?

Mankumar Sen writes in *Vigil* :

With the progress of science and scientific political organizations, State has come more and more to the forefront, and individual has receded more and more to the background, so that in Modern States, including the democratic ones, individual has practically no place except as a cog to a vast machinery. Today to talk in terms of the individual is condemned as a corrupt thinking and glorification of the State is hailed as unadulterated patriotism. The result is that even Democracies have turned into lifeless machines and ideals of human life have increasingly disappeared from the society. Individuals or groups of individuals—the idealists, poets, prophets, philosophers, reformers and thinkers—built up human civilization and political, economic and social organizations; but today a mechanised monstrosity is engaged in the all-round destruction of the individual.

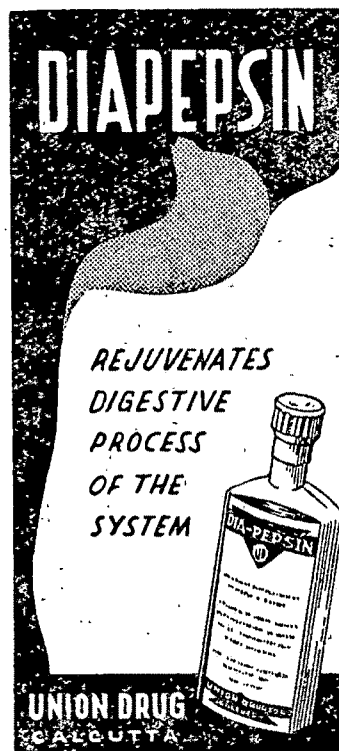
The history of civilization is nothing if it is not a chronicle of human struggle for freedom.

This basic impulse for freedom inspired human beings to conquer the wild forces of Nature, rigid social customs and the realm of diehard primitive ideals. In fact, political philosophy started from the basic truth that individual is prior to society, to State; that freedom for which individuals struggled can be enjoyed only by individuals as individuals and that the extent of freedom in a State can be measured only in terms of the real freedom enjoyed by individual constituents of the society and of the State. It was believed that once full freedom is assured to the individuals, it flowers into a dynamic spirit guiding the collective strength which we call State.

Unfortunately for human civilization, this basic principle of history has been assiduously ignored in Modern States, particularly since the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. Revolutionary changes in economic organization, in the mode of production and distribution as a result of the scientific inventions, naturally wrought havoc on the manners and outlook of the people. Old shackles of economic slavery were wellnigh completely broken only to make way for new shackles of moral wreckage. Decentralized societies and administrations rapidly broke down and capital having been concentrated in the hands of a few, a superior class emerged with special rights and privileges of economic and political mastery. Ere long this class broke in the holy arena of culture too. An all-round internal disintegration set in with rapid centralization of economic and political power. Individual beings that made and maintained the society and the country almost disappeared from the scene and the new men of wealth with the large machines in their possession enslaved the entire nation of individuals. Thus was born what we call Capitalism today.

Democratic principles were sharply narrowed down under the new centralized system and again that dormant force of freedom-impulse began to manifest itself among the down-trodden people, the factory labour in particular.

And the Marxian doctrine which more or less was a revolt against this system was propounded duly. Marx held that all that the individuals could do was to recognise the necessity and inevitability of the violent revolution, pre-determined by the march of human history. By this violent revolution he wanted to replace the capitalist order by a new social order built upon equal rights and opportunities. And his contemplation of the gradual withering away of the State is probably proof of his urge for individual freedom. Unfortunately, however, the land of Marx, the Modern Soviet Russia, has failed to achieve this ideal so far. It has not been naturally enough able to set at rest all doubts as to the prevalence in Russia of freedom of speech and expression. Even allowing a wide margin in view of the present world situation there is still a lingering doubt in us whether the Soviet State is not bureaucratic. On the other hand, we found totalitarian States, based on rigid national and race-hatred as was evident in Hitlerite Germany. Here too individualism was unceremoniously crushed out of existence under the fanaticism of 'National' or 'Racial' superiority. Thus we see that political thought has proceeded from one fallacious doctrine to another and has failed to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the social, economic and political organizations. Modern Democracies too, founded as they are on centralized economic and political power and not on



free individuals' developed conscience and co-operative efforts, are not immune from this wasteful fallacy.

Here then, we find the emergence of a new doctrine of humanism based on completest individual freedom.

Gandhiji said: "The individual is the one supreme consideration. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although it apparently does good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress." Unlike the determinists and the reformers who based their doctrines on the inexorable course of history, Gandhiji believed in the fundamentals of moral law; believed that "as the individual's character can be moulded so can society's by some kind of social engineering." "A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history"—this was his conviction and, we all know, his own life is symbolic of this conviction. Gandhiji's principle of decentralization, both political and economic, based on self-sufficient village units administered by village republics, will be the only panacea in the present circumstances. The agonies of the modern world have proved beyond doubt that the concentrated might of a party or class or of the State or the devolution of power as recommended by the National Planning Commission of India cannot safeguard individual freedom and afford opportunities for the unfolding of the individual genius. Communism in Russia has no doubt bettered the lot of the people economically and socially. But what about the abridgement of personal freedom? Individual freedom and *ipso facto* the freedom of the society and the State can securely rest only on an evolution of Democracy from the lowest level—the autonomous village unit, as conceived by Gandhiji.

Sleep

Prof. Nirod Mukerji writes in *Science and Culture* :

FUNCTIONS

Warren has described sleep as "a special state of the organism, due to certain as yet undetermined physiological conditions, which is characterised by relative immotility and failure of effective response to external stimuli and (generally) by absence of observable signs of consciousness." The most significant qualification of this definition is the undetermined character of which Warren has cautioned. Truly, many more observations have yet to be made before a precise conclusion could be arrived at with regard to the analysis of the exact nature of sleep. Extreme individual variations in the every aspect of sleep hinder us from definite generalizations.

From biological points of view, the broad characteristic features of sleep are, the reduction of metabolic rate, comparative physical immotility (though a sleeper moves on the average once every 5 to 12 minutes), diminished response to external stimuli (albeit, drops of water trickling on the sleeper's forehead may cause him to dream of falling rain), and the replacement of the degenerated cells by the new-born (more spoken of than proved).

Psychologically, sleep is said to cause cessation of higher mental processes (and yet Akbar's dream

took its shape in the sleeping state). It has, further, been ascribed to possess the power of replenishing the energy man uses up in his waking hours, though it is difficult to ascertain with exactitude as to what extent sleep is indispensable for this particular purpose.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES

(i) *Duration* is a fundamental factor of sleep. A wide range of individual differences is noticed with regard to this factor. Thomas Edison is credited to have done well with 3 to 4 hours of sleep often spreading them over 3 or 4 periods of an hour each. And, Napoleon could forego sleep for days together without any visible adverse effects. Yet, children of superior mentation are said to sleep longer than those who are comparatively inferior. Terman observed in his studies of gifted children that the superior child slept 25-50 minutes more than one of intellectually medial calibre. A person of pronounced habits and accustomed to get his eight hours would in all probability feel lethargic the next day if he were deprived of his sleep even by an hour any night. He would not, however, feel it irksome to carry on his normal duties if he gradually but confidently reduces his sleeping hours. It is perhaps an act overdone to assign the hours of sleep to children or the adults; suggestion and habit play distinguishing parts in increasing or decreasing the sleeping hours without producing any striking effect.

(ii) *Motility* in sleep is a characteristic which is closely related to the cause of sleep as also its effect. As it is well known, one of the simplest ways of bringing about sleep is to remain in a passive and relaxed state. Lower animals like, chicks and rats, have been induced to sleep by keeping them in a forced quiescent condition for a while. (Sleep thus caused has often been misjudged as hypnosis and catalepsy in the animals.) Motility on the other hand appears to be an essential feature in sleep, since sleeping on the same side for a prolonged period would impair the vascular circulation on that side of the body. Usually motility increases during the second half of sleep when its depth appears to slacken.

(iii) *Depth of sleep* is generally believed to be negatively related to the duration though the most important factor in the recuperative functions of sleep. In order to measure the depth several methods have been suggested but practically all of them have proved to be rather unreliable. A prevalent procedure is to measure the intensity of the stimulus applied externally which could disturb the sleep. But, then, the relation between stimulus and reaction could not be expressed on the principles of arithmetic progression. There is no reason why Wever-Fechner law should not hold good in sleeping state as it is in the waking condition. To estimate the depth of sleep, the writer found a method, using himself as the subject, which may be further developed to determine the quantitative value of sleep. In his observations, the quality of sleep was classified into three categories according to the state of physical and mental satisfaction attained immediately after his waking up, *viz.*, most satisfactory, usual and unsatisfactory sleep. He had to guess at the same time the exact hour of waking presuming of course that he was aware of the time he went to bed. Out of 53 such records kept by him, the difference between the estimated and the correct time in the case of the usual normal sleep was found not to be very high (the difference was between 10 and 35 minutes). Whereas, in the case of heavy or most satisfactory sleep as also in sleep not causing

satisfaction the time was usually overestimated (80 per cent of the cases), the maximum being 2 hrs. 17 min. Correlation between estimation of time and quality of sleep was found to be 0.63, with the standard error of 0.09.

RECOVERY

The functions of sleep as a process, from psychological standpoint, has often been overstressed. Lack of sleep even for a night, it is alleged, is usually accompanied not only by the physical discomfort felt during the next day, but, also, results in decreased output of work, and instances from industrial psychology are freely quoted in this connexion. But factual evidences gathered with due caution would lead one to conclude that such presumptions are rather overrated and too generalised if not hasty.

To mention one of the latest investigations, Edwards gave a large number of psychological tests, and measures of physical function to 17 students in whom insomnia was artificially induced. The tests and measures were used two days before the experiment, at regular intervals during the 100 hours of their wakefulness, and two weeks after the experiment was over. The difference in the results due to the supposed lack of sleep when compared with 10 students of controlled group proved to be statistically insignificant. 13 out of the 17 students showed definite improvement on the intelligent tests after 24 hours without sleep, and 6 did better even after 48 sleepless hours. It was on such evidence that Bills suggested that "most of the mental work of routine

sort" after loss of sleep or voluntary insomnia, "is performed as well or better after prolonged periods of wakefulness as after normal sleep."

An attempt was made by the writer to observe the psychological effects by cutting down his normal sleeping hours. Help was taken of benzedrine sulphate, administration of which in normal doses has been observed to result in artificial insomnia; this drug is reported to have been much in use during the last war among the night fliers. It takes about three hours for the drug to show the desirable actions. After taking 10 mg. of benzedrine sulph. natural sleep failed to appear even after sixteen hours of continued activity including a considerable amount of physical work.

The drug in increased doses was taken on two successive nights so that on no single night the subject could sleep (or, rather nap) for more than two hours, whereas he was accustomed to about seven hours of sleep every night.

Tests of fluctuation of attention, prior to the experiment had started, showed the subject's fluctuation to be about 12 per minute, with the average duration of attention being 4.8 inches. During the second day (no sleep for 32 hours) the number of fluctuations had increased to 22, and duration reduced to 1.4 inches. The situation had considerably improved by the next day, and the day after that. Changes in fluctuation, however, did not affect adversely the continuity of his thought processes.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Americans Honour Memory of Abraham Lincoln, February 12

The birth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, is celebrated throughout America on February 12.

Lincoln is regarded not only as one of the greatest American Presidents, but also as one of the very great men of all times. He has come to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

Lincoln stands out as a champion of democracy throughout the world. His image recalls personal goodness and social righteousness: he symbolizes the world's hopes and dreams of peace and freedom.

That is why Americans pay homage to the memory of Lincoln every February 12, in Lincoln Day observances, in public meetings and in visits to Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln lived. More than 250,000 persons go to Lincoln's home town each year.

Lincoln grew up in a little log cabin in Springfield. As a boy, he studied at night after working hard all day in the fields. All alone, without the aid of teachers, he mastered the English language, until he could speak with a beauty of words seldom equalled by any other orator. Through his own efforts he made of himself a competent scholar, a lawyer and a great thinker.

The age Lincoln lived in was one of the great eras of American pioneering. During his lifetime—1809 to 1865—immigrants were coming into the new country by the thousands. New cities sprang up. New farms were laid out. It was an era of invention and industrial expansion. Lincoln was a product of his times. His jokes and delight in deflating pomposity are the essence of frontier America. The tough frontier life taught young Lincoln to acquire self-reliance, courage and sympathy for his fellow men.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, symbolizes the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. His life exemplifies the opportunities open to all citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognised and championed.

The personality and character of Lincoln are well known to every student of history. He is remembered for his great tenderness and gentleness; for his love of children; his generosity (as a lawyer he never refused to serve a client who was poor); his wisdom and kindly wit; and his great strength of will.

In addition to his qualities as an individual, Lincoln is beloved by his countrymen for his emancipation of slaves, for his belief in the rightness of freedom for all men, and for his achievement in holding together the American nation during the Civil War.

The war of 1861-1865, over the issue of slavery, was important to the life and growth of the American

nation. Lincoln pronounced it the first great trial of democracy, the test to determine "whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure." He said: "This government cannot endure half slave and half free . . . Let us have faith that right makes might . . . and dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Two things were settled unequivocally by this war: slavery and state sovereignty. The United States entered the war as a confederacy with uncertain constitutional authority. It emerged as a nation.

This year, as in the past, the words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address will be quoted at many Lincoln Day observances. President Lincoln delivered this address on November 19, 1863, at the dedication of a national cemetery for soldiers killed during the Civil War. It was a short address, but it is probably the most memorable speech in United States' history. It is famous for its forthright expression of America's ideals of democratic freedom. Its simple eloquence has inspired translations in every language of the world.

As each year passes, the Gettysburg Address takes on a new and deeper meaning—a prophetic significance in his appeal to the living for "dedication to the great task remaining before us . . . that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Today, as in Lincoln's time, men all over the world are giving their lives for the cause Lincoln defended when he said:

" . . . We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—USIS.

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Indonesian Literature

Its Modern Development And Its Progress

Miss Sukesu Budiardjo writes in the *Indonesian Information*, July 3, 1951 :

The development of modern Indonesian literature really began after the fall of the Netherlands-Indies Government, although one cannot forget that much progress had been made during the period between the two world wars. Publications in the early part of the twentieth century were not very interesting as little attention was paid to the Malay language. In the past Malay literature consisted of chiefly novels and poetry which were traditional in character.

The old novels were mostly stories with a moral tendency and those were too dull for the new generation. But the ancient poems written in traditional form were still popular.

The best known form of these poems was the "Pantun," consisting of four lines and written in a romantic vein, with the first and third and the second and fourth lines rhyming and these classical "Pantuns" are learnt by memorising.

Under Dutch influence, some Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in the Dutch language, but when national consciousness began to develop, this attitude of apeing the Dutch was given up and the Indonesian writers turned to their own language and developed it separately from Malay, which is known as the Indonesian language. Their writings were still influenced by the West. *Pudjangga Baru* aimed at finding out new forms of expression but in vain. The year 1942 really marked the end of an epoch.

During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, but this was, of course, 'sub rosa,' as the Japanese censored everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. Thus valuable literature was not published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics.

It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale and a great number of poems and novels were published along with many modern plays that were enacted with outstanding success. Most of this literature was written during the Japanese occupation and remained unpublished because of the censor. It was at once apparent that there was a great difference between the work of the 'war generation' and that of the Editor of *Pudjangga Baru* who saw everything through the eyes of national idealism and sometimes this tended to become exaggerated and sentimental. Great emphasis was laid on rhythm and rhyme, both of which were set aside by the 1945 generation.

The sorrow and distress endured during the Japanese occupation and the proximity of death, even after the Proclamation of Independence, gave a deeper meaning to life. The war generation had grown up with grief and this tended to find expression in their writings. They at once abandoned the complicated and obtrusive style of the schoolmaster and the agitator, finding it old-fashioned and clumsy, and they acquired a new style of their own in which their wartime experiences proved of inestimable value. Attention was focussed on foreign literature, such as the English, French, Russian and American authors, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Chekov, Ilja Ehrenburg, Andre Gide, Andre Malraux, Aldous Huxley, Hemingway, Steinbeck and others; some of whose writings have already been translated into Indonesian.

Modern Indonesian Writers: Takdir—A Great

Writer: The Indonesian galaxy of literature is studded with such versatile writers as Mr. Takdir Alisjahbana, the Editor and one of the founders of *Pudjangga Baru*. He is not only a distinguished writer but also a lawyer, a poet and an essayist. His first novel—*Ta'Putus di Rundung Malang* or *Always Dogged by Ill-Luck*—was published in 1929. It is a story of two orphans—a boy and a girl—who leave their birthplace on account of ill-treatment by their uncle. After many wanderings, they meet and will have a very miserable time. The boy is jailed on a false accusation while his sister is ill and he is released after his sister's death. He then becomes a sailor and after sailing for fifteen years, he gets tired of life and longs for death. Takdir's second novel entitled *Dian Jung Tak Kundjung Padam* or *The Ever-lighted Lamp* is a love story of a poor boy and a rich girl. The boy becomes a hermit owing to disappointment in life and in the end he saves a young couple from their pursuers by giving them shelter. Takdir's one more novel *Lajar Terkembang* or *Unfurled Sails* unfolds the story of two young sisters of different characters who love one and the same man. The story ends with the death of the younger sister who requests the elder sister to marry her husband and the new couple make a pilgrimage to the deceased's grave.

Main Ideas in the Works of Takdir: To raise Indonesia to a worthy place among the nations of the world. Mr. Takdir strongly maintained in his writings the idea that if Indonesians were to play a prominent part in the affairs of the world, they must adapt themselves to the varying conditions. In his works he places at the forefront the humanistic aspect of life namely the economic contentment of the people at

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the same time laying considerable stress on the need of Western literature for Indonesians to enrich their knowledge of the world. His works, full of scenic descriptions and lively dialogues, convey the message of unity.

Another writer of the modern era Mr. Amir Hamza depicts melancholy and home sickness in his novels. In the field of "Sonnets," Mr. Sanoesi Pane's works are influenced by Western writers. His stay in India for many years made him choose India as the subject-matter of his writings in which he exemplifies his reverence for India as the country of his inspiration. He clings to the ideas of the past and does not believe in starting afresh. In contrast to Mr. Takdir, he disagrees with the idea of giving preference to the humanistic attitude in his works and believes in the notion—"Art for Art's Sake." Unlike Mr. Sanoesi Pane, his brother Mr. Armin Pane, is more divorced from the past. He is the forerunner of the 1945 school of thought. His works are vivid, natural and concise.

Pre-1945 Writers: Among the pre-1945 writers in Indonesia Mr. Abdul Muis is well-known for his literary works and as journalist and lawyer. The Balinese author Mr. I Goesti Njoman wrote about Balinese people and his country. He made his writings more attractive by adding folk tales in his novels. His contribution to the Indonesian literature is praiseworthy.

Since 1942 Mr. Chairil Anwar became famous even before the publication of his writings as the same was hindered owing to the Japanese occupation of the country. He is an architect of the Indonesian tongue and his contribution of new words and new combinations of words to the Indonesian language are noteworthy. He held a burning torch to illuminate the Indonesian literature during his short life. The other distinguished writer Mr. Rosinan Anwar's poems may be described as "Snapshots," well-known for their conciseness and clearness.

In the field of short stories Mr. Idrus has made remarkable contribution. Along with him may be ranked Mr. Asrul Sani and Mr. Pramudya Ananta, well-known for their contributions.

Great development is seen in the field of Modern Plays. The growth of the modern Indonesian play is the direct result of the development of the language. Indonesia is heading towards a glorious position in the field of literature and it may be said that the day is not far off when the Indonesian literature adorns the galaxy of world literatures.

Village Administration in Java

The average Javanese village has about three thousand inhabitants. It is not a genealogical unit and so the inhabitants form a territorial community. As the sphere of interest of this community lies within the village itself, the ties between its members are strong—a factor which favours the maintenance of law and order.

The system of administration in a Javanese village dates back to a period before the advent of the Hindus. But with the passage of time it has, of course, undergone many changes. The headman, in whom rests the executive power of the administration, is elected by all the adult members of the community. The election regulations are laid down by government ordinance. The chieftain is not only the head of the village but also he is a representative of the central government. In his work he is assisted by several persons who, at his proposal, are appointed by the government. They are his deputy (who is also his adviser), the clerk, the police, the priest and the water master (who controls the supply of water for the rice fields). These officials remain in office when the headman for one reason or another resigns or has to resign his post. The village headman and his assistants do not get salaries like ordinary government officials. Instead they get a piece of land on loan from the government. The grounds allotted to the headman comprises an area of about 8-35 acres. In cultivating his land he gets the assistance of some villagers, free of charge. In his capacity as tax collector, he receives eight per cent of the taxes he collects. His assistants receive a similar kind of income, but lesser in amount. The village headman also plays an important part in the administration of justice. He fixes the penalties in consultation with his assistants especially his adviser. These penalties mostly include fines, deprivation of certain rights (for instance those relating to communal ownership), or placing at the bottom of the list of those who share the profits of some enterprise.

Among the inhabitants of a Javanese village, the following groups can be distinguished: (1) descendants of the founders of the village who possess houses and fields of their own; (2) people who have a house of their own but no rice fields; (3) those who have a house of their own which is built on a plot of land belonging to someone else and (4) those who have no house of their own and lodge with someone else, for instance newly married men who live with their fathers-in-law for a few weeks according to the tradition, and the aged, servants and the new-comers.

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Although the Javanese village is an administrative, but not an ethnic, unit the villagers regard themselves as members of one family. This can be judged, for instance, from their spontaneous co-operation when and where such co-operation can serve the interest of the community. The affairs with which the villagers are jointly concerned are: marriage, divorce, division of an estate, selling of cattle, hunting wild bears (which uproot the fields) and squirrels (which eat the coconuts), calling together the reapers during the harvesting season, organising harvest festivals, proper distribution of irrigation water, care for orphans, etc.; upkeep of roads, bridges, and irrigation canals and night watch are done by turns. For these kinds of work, they do not get payment in money; they regard them as part of their obligations to the village.

As the village forms a more or less intimate circle of persons who have many interests in common, not everybody is allowed to settle in the village without permission. This permit is to be obtained by the headman of the village only after giving references of two residents of the village who vouchsafe for the new-comer. Thus the villagers keep out the undesirables from entering and residing in the village.

When a member of the community wants to leave the village in order to settle elsewhere, he has to inform the headman of the village of his intention. If he leaves his dwelling place without informing the chieftain, he will be regarded as an "absconder." In the village, where everybody knows and carries out his duties, order and regularity, peace and happiness reign among the members of the community who live like brothers and sisters of one big family.—*Indonesian Information.*



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Denmark and the Danes

Denmark! The very name brings to one's mental vision vast green pastoral fields and fine herds of cattle. It looks as if Nature had meant her to be the foremost Dairist in the world.

Well-equipped by Nature's bounteous gifts, Denmark soon became famous throughout the world for her dairy products. Not that such munificence did not bring to the fore several problems to Denmark. Numerous heads of cattle had to be milked, the huge quantity of excess milk after local consumption to be stored, their distribution arranged. Necessity is the mother of invention. Local inventive genius came upon the scene to solve these various problems. Mechanical devices for the automatic milking of cattle, cream separators for the separation of cream from milk, hygienic, sturdy and handy milk cans for the transportation of milk were the result. Demand followed growth and invention followed demand.

HOW ARE THE DANES?

"What are the Danes like, how do they live, how do they differ from other peoples? They are friendly, open, hospitable and quite diversified. There are two epithets commonly used when speaking of Danes which are absolutely misleading: flaxen-haired and melancholic. Though most Danes are more or less blond with blue eyes, towheads are very rare in this most southern of the northern countries and dark eyes are by no means unusual. And though Shakespeare's melancholy Dane has become the orthodox prototype of his countrymen for most foreigners, the truth is that they are an exceptionally optimistic, cheerful people. "Take it easy," in the sense of "don't let it get you down," is a typical Danish expression; often, indeed, the very English words are used, for the majority of Danes have at least a smattering of the language.

"They are a rather material people, who set great store by comfort and good living. The result is, on the one hand, that there is almost no abject poverty in the country, where even the poorest homes are usually brightened by clean curtains and a flowering plant or two at the window; and, on the other hand, that food plays an inordinate role in their lives. Danes frankly like to eat and insist on fresh, well-prepared food. But to tell the truth, Danish eating customs are far from epicurean. Practically every man, woman or child who is forced to eat his lunch away from home carries a small paper packet of sandwiches with him to work or school. The typical hot meal of the day, in well-to-do as well as smaller homes, begins with a porridge or sweet cereal soup which is inexpensive and helps to make the second dish last longer.

"A belief in cosiness, comfort and good living is one side of the Danish character; another is a sense of humour, often identical with a love of teasing that takes on the proportions of a national vice and an inquisitiveness that to a high degree is responsible for the enlightened intellectual standing of the Danes but which can be embarrassing to more reticent peoples.

"There are no deeply defined class distinctions in Denmark. Danish newspapers carry no special society columns, as society, in the usual sense of the word, does not exist. There are almost no multi-millionaires and no "high-life" nor, at the other end of the scale, are there shameful slums or an ignorant, suffering proletariat. Albeit, this nation of democratic peers is very title-conscious and whether you are addressing the Prime Minister or the little man who repairs your boots, you call him "Mr. Prime Minister" or "Mr. Shoe-Maker Hansen," as the case may be.

"The Danes are a talkative race and love to make speeches. At even a very small dinner party the hostess' table partner is expected to—and usually does—rise to his feet toward the end of the meal and thank the hostess in the name of the guests. On more solemn occasions any number of laudatory speeches may be held and if there is a rhymster present he will probably deal out printed copies of a song he has composed for the occasion which will be duly sung by all present at the appropriate moment.

"The Dane is a friendly, helpful, courteous soul, eager to welcome the stranger within his gates and proud and happy to show him why Denmark is, in his eyes, a good place to live."—Extract from *This is Denmark* by Knud Gedde.

HOW TO GET TO DENMARK BY AIR CONNECTIONS

You may reach Copenhagen by air from: London in 4 hours, Paris in 3 hours, Zurich in 3 hours, Stockholm in 2 hours, and Calcutta in 29 hours. S.A.S. (Scandinavian Airlines System) maintain regular weekly flights between Calcutta and Copenhagen.

MOTORING

Denmark has excellent roads and large modern ferry boats take you across the belts. When motoring from Western Europe to Denmark you pass through Western Germany.

Soren Kierkegaard, father of "Existential" philosophy, is the topic of an interesting analysis by K. S. K. Menon in the *Bharat*, Bombay of October 21, 1951. The importance of the famous Danish writer of philosophy of religion is rapidly being recognised in many countries.—*Danish Bulletin*.



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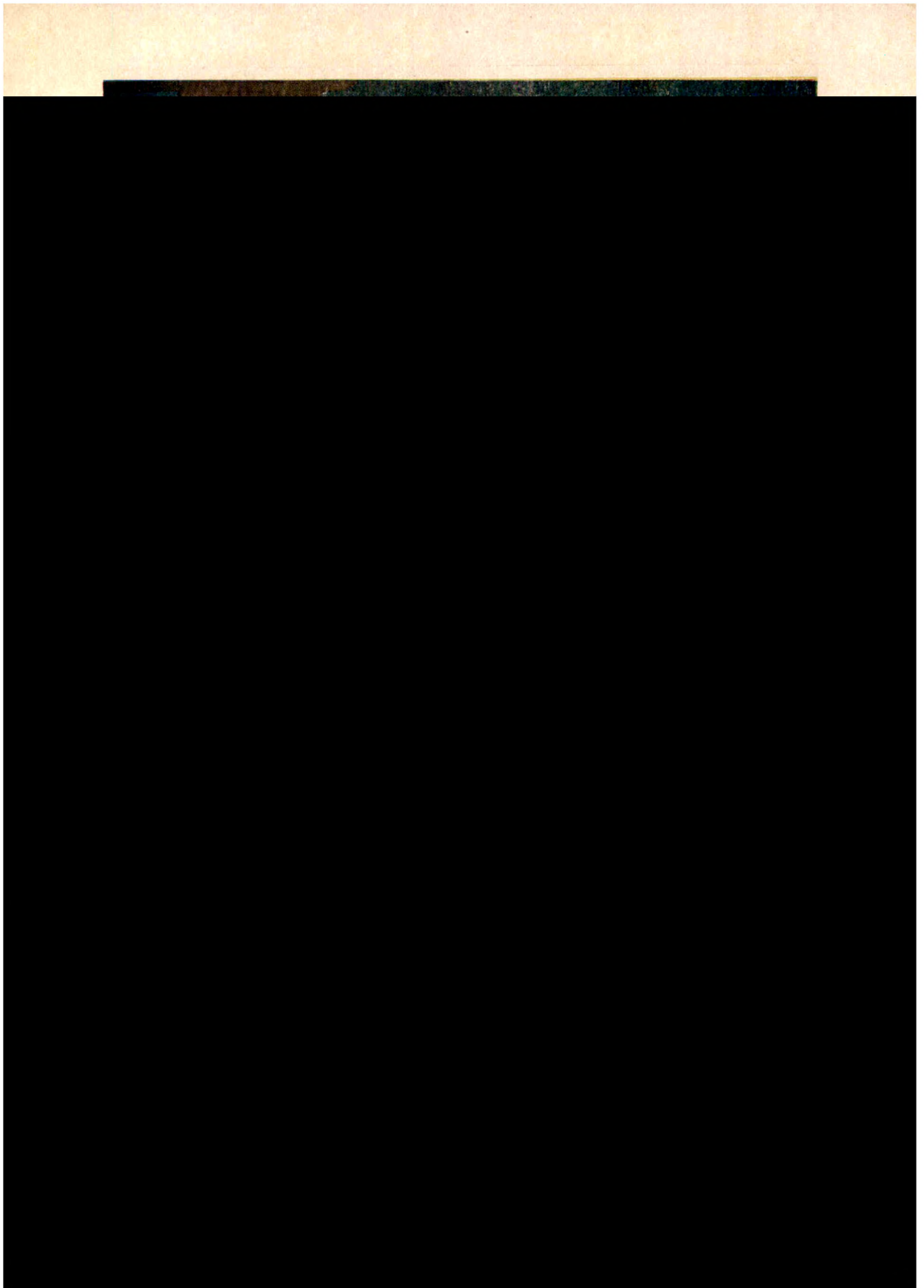
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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1952



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NOTES

The A. I. C. C. Session at Calcutta

The A-I. C.C. session was held in Calcutta with a great deal of pomp and empty ritual. There was an air of unreality about the whole affair. Pandit Nehru's speech, of which we give an extract below, contained not a word about the purging of undesirables and the reforming of the Congress rank and file. The usual vainglorious utterances and the mistaken analysis of facts were all there. It was a paean of victory, a discordant paean on a Pyrrhic victory!

We would make no further comments. But in all sincerity we hope for an early dawning of realities for Pandit Nehru, that is, for a realisation as to the nature and quality of his satellites, and the sorry pass the Congress is in today.

Congressmen had two tasks today—to run the Congress as a disciplined and dynamic party and to show the right path to the country, said Congress President Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in course of his opening speech at the A-I.C.C. meeting on Saturday afternoon.

Congress, said Sri Nehru, must attract sufficient "new blood" and give ample opportunity to new people to work. At the same time it must not become a *dharamshala* of people of divergent views.

The time had come, the Congress President went on, when the Congress should enlist the support of even its opponents in nation-building activities. It might not be possible to co-operate with communal parties or the Communist party, but surely, the Socialists, the K.M.P.P. and the Congress should not fritter away their energies in mutual opposition.

Referring to the record of his Government during the last four and a half years, the Congress President said, the country could well be proud of this record. It compared favourably with the achievements of any other country during the same period.

This general election had many lessons for the nation and it was but proper that the Congressmen learnt those. The first lesson was that the country

had rejected communalism. But it could not be said that the task of combating this menace was over. Congressmen had to be vigilant lest communalism raised its ugly head again and did the nation harm.

Although communalism had been rejected, said Sri Nehru, another deplorable tendency, casteism, had appeared in the body politic of India. That was an unhappy and dangerous development which must be fought. Similarly, the Congress President continued, the provincial and parochial mentality of many was also likely to undermine the unity of India.

Another important lesson of the election, observed Sri Nehru, was that wherever the Congress organization was functioning properly it emerged successful. But wherever the organization did not function properly it had to face serious reverses. Naturally, if Congressmen stopped working among the masses they had no right to get votes. Such Congressmen might have depended on the name of the Congress, but surely, one could not bank upon past achievements and glory for ever.

An unhappy development, the Congress President said, was that after freedom Congressmen had started scrambling for seats in Parliament and Assemblies and for other offices. In the last election itself, they had to choose 4,000 Congress candidates. No one could say that all the candidates chosen were desirable, possibly, some very desirable persons were left out. But that did not mean that such Congressmen as could not be sent to Assemblies should cease working. "If there are people who do not want to work because they have been left out, they should get out of Congress Committees and make room for others," he said.

The Resolutions

The first official resolution, couched in the usual frothy hyperbole, and possibly with the same fragile quality as of the resolutions of the past four years, was moved by Sri B. G. Kher. We give the salient points.

"The General Election, which has just concluded in India, has cast a heavy responsibility on the Congress. The confidence that millions of voters have placed in Congress ideals, objectives and the programme of the Congress, is a matter of deep satisfaction to the All-India Congress Committee. It is at the same time a challenge and all Congressmen must realise the significance of recent developments in the country and adapt themselves to the ever-changing situation in India. India is in a process of dynamic evolution, in a world which is itself rapidly changing. *Any static and self-complacent appraisal of the situation and inability to keep pace with changing events will be a betrayal of this heavy responsibility that the Congress has to shoulder.*

For long years it was the destiny of the Congress to lead the struggle for freedom in India and that task was completed under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The next historic step is, while maintaining political stability and continuity, to harness the country's resources for economic advancement, so as to raise the living and cultural standards of the masses and remove the inequalities that persist in the social structure. To this task of bringing about peacefully and co-operatively essential changes in the social and economic structure of the country, the Congress must now address itself with all its strength.

In doing so, the Congress must function as a disciplined and well-knit organisation which works for the attainment of its objective as laid down in Article 1 of the Constitution. This objective is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful means, of a co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship. This involves not only the production in everchanging measure of national wealth but the pursuit of a social purpose in production and distribution and other forms of social and economic activities. It means the removal of such vested interests as come in the way of the nation's growth. Every member of the Congress should appreciate fully the significance of this objective and accept it for the guidance of his activities.

While the nation must advance on all fronts, the immediate task is to complete the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and like systems of land tenure, and thus further the agrarian revolution in India. The growth of productive industry must proceed side by side with this agrarian change and the realisation of the objective of full employment.

The standards of public life and the purity of the administration must be given the highest place, because no effective progress can be made if these standards are allowed to be lowered."

The next resolution laid full emphasis on communalism and provincialism, as was only to be ex-

pected. This resolution should have been captioned "The Red Herring Resolution."

The resolution reads: "It has been the basic policy of the Congress to build up the unity of India and to combat all disruptive and separatist tendencies. In furtherance of this policy it has opposed communalism and provincialism. The All-India Congress Committee expresses its deep gratification at the overwhelming response of the electorate in favour of this policy and in rejection of communalism. This response, however, must not lead Congressmen or others to think that the danger from communal tendencies is wholly over. Communal and separatist tendencies still exist in various forms in the country and have to be constantly watched from whatever section of the community whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other, they might arise.

As some misunderstandings have arisen on this subject, the Committee declares that there should be no alliance, co-operation or understanding, explicit or implicit, between the Congress and any organisation which is essentially communal in character and conscience whatever its designation might be.

While the menace of communalism has been effectively countered, another danger has come to the surface and has been very noticeable in some of the elections. This is casteism. The Committee considers this tendency to be very injurious and a danger to the community. It runs counter to the basic spirit of the Constitution of India. Any furtherance or encouragement of casteism more especially for political purposes, is a violation of the object of the Congress and its basic principles and must not be permitted."

There was a pious resolution in the usual terms about War and Peace with special reference to the cease-fire talks in Korea. It hoped for the removal of colonialism in Asia and Africa and fervidly approved Pandit Nehru's Foreign Policy in the following terms:

"The Committee considers it essential in the interests of peace and human progress for all remaining forms of colonial or foreign control over the countries of Asia and Africa to be removed so as to enable the peoples of those countries to develop in accordance with their own genius.

The Committee expresses its full approval of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, which while avoiding alignment with any nation or group against another seeks the friendship of all countries. It trusts that other countries will also follow a like policy and thus advance the cause of peace."

There was likewise a resolution on South Africa:

"The All-India Congress Committee deeply regrets that the Union Government of South Africa have rejected the direction of the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding the steps to be taken to settle the problem of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, and have continued to implement ruth-

lessly its policy of 'apartheid.' Both in the administrative and legislative spheres fresh disabilities, hardships and indignities have been imposed on the non-white population of the Union including Indians. For many years past, the Government of India have endeavoured to find an honourable way for a settlement of this problem in South Africa. All these attempts have, however, failed because of the attitude of the South African Union Government which has consistently ignored the decisions of the United Nations.

The Group Areas Act introduces complete segregation in the whole of the Union and envisages the uprooting of thousands of non-whites, particularly Indians, from their settled localities. Its chief aim is the liquidation of the Indian community in South Africa. Other legislation is also based on racial discrimination and the domination of a relatively small racial minority at the cost of the great majority of the population of the country.

The Committee welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa declaring the South African Government's Act placing coloured voters on a separate electoral roll to be invalid.

The Committee trusts that the South African Union Government will, in view of the high judicial decision, put an end to their policy of segregation.

The Committee welcomes the co-operation of Africans and Indians in not submitting to such legislative and administrative measures which condemn them to servitude.

The Committee, however, trusts that both the Indians and Africans will pursue peaceful and non-violent methods.

The Committee is of opinion that the interests of the Africans must have first place in Africa and Indians must not in any way associate themselves with the exploitation of Africans or seek any privilege at the cost of the Africans."

The self-sufficiency in Food resolution was short and sweet, signifying the Congress efficiency in attaining the same.

"The A.-I.C.C., recognising the imperative necessity of attaining the goal of self-sufficiency in food, impresses upon every citizen to co-operate fully with every organisation's concerted efforts to increase the food production."

The most crucial and important resolution was, however, that of propping up the crazy structure of Post-Gandhi Congress. Even here the language was ambiguous enough to reassure the Humpty-Dumpties, The Fagins and Bill Sykeses, who have scrambled into or consolidated their position in office. The usual shibboleths were included.

"(A) In view of recent developments and pending full elections when the new electoral rolls have been prepared, the office bearers of every Congress committee and the executives of the P.C.C.s and the

D.C.C.s, wherever such exist, should be reconstituted. An attempt should be made to make the Committee as representative as possible.

(B) The task before the Congress is to harness and utilise the services of hundreds of thousands of Congressmen, as well as others who wish to be associated in Congress work. The general election showed that there are large numbers of such persons who are capable of doing good work, if they are given a chance. Every effort should be made to invite their co-operation and to provide opportunities to them for this work.

(E) Congress members of the legislatures, both in the Centre and the States, should be associated with the local Congress Committees which function in the area in which their constituency occurs.

(4) No separate groups must be formed in Congress Committees or Congress legislature parties. In particular, provincialism, communalism, casteism, or any kind of separate ideological grouping must not be allowed. Within the committee or party the fullest freedom of discussion and criticism should be allowed but any decisions taken should be acted upon. Congressmen should act in a disciplined manner and should not allow personal or other differences to come up on public affairs and there should be no attacks on each other in the press or on the platform."

Two amendments to the Congress Constitution moved by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a former Congress President, to come into effect immediately, were approved.

Membership fee of the Congress has been reduced to four annas from the present fee of rupee one, by the first amendment. Active members are to pay an additional subscription of rupee one.

The second amendment has abolished the condition that a person could become an active member of the Congress only after being a primary member for two years. Hitherto, only active members—primary members of two years' standing—could vote. The amendment removes this condition also and now all primary members would have the right to vote and take part in the election of Congress Committees.

Pandit Nehru wound up the proceedings with his usual non-mathematical lecture on Statics and Dynamics. His concluding words were, however, of great significance to all well-wishers of the Congress. We hope he gets the desired answer soon.

Sri Nehru reminded his audience that they were living in a dynamic age when the world was fast changing. It was, therefore, very dangerous to have static minds.

Reiterating that the consolidation of India's unity was the paramount need of the hour, the Congress President said: "Anything that undermines the unity and solidarity of India is dangerous. It must be rejected straight away."

"The work of the A.-I. C. C.," said Sri Nehru, "has ended. Before we disperse, I want to know what

message you will carry from here. *As I sat here during the last two days presiding over this meeting, I kept on wondering whether our proceedings and resolutions had any basis and reality or were they a mere formality. Time and future events alone can give an answer to this question.*"

Regrouping of Railways

The Railways of India were originally built with two specific purposes. The primary object was the exploitation of India's resources and markets for the benefit of British capital. The secondary object, which came to the fore much later, was the defence of India from outside aggression. The needs of the people and the development of the countries' resources were totally ignored excepting when it suited the purposes of British capital or the exigencies of Imperial Britain.

Needless to say the reorganisation of these railways and the railways of the Native States, which were absorbed in the main system with the integration of the States in the Union, was deemed to be urgent and essential for the development of the countries' potential. For this purpose a special committee was set up in 1950 by the Railway Board.

The recommendation of that committee was given to the Parliament during the discussion of the railway budget in 1951 by Sri Gopalaswamy Ayyengar in these words:

"The Committee recommended that the different railway systems should be welded to form one co-ordinated railway undertaking, divided into six major zonal administrative units, the governing considerations being operational efficiency, economy, and what is even more important, the economic interdependence of contiguous regions."

The Committee further gave the assurance that by this regrouping overhead charges would be lowered; unnecessary delays and costs in correspondence between contiguous systems would be eliminated; difficulties of dual control at junctions would be obviated by breaking down 13 controlling units over 16 railways into 6, which would facilitate goods traffic running. Additional gains in efficiency would be obtained by longer runs of locomotives and wagons and through the rationalisation of workshops, and wastage through multiple purchasing authorities would also be eliminated.

These recommendations being accepted by the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Southern zone, centred in Madras, was brought into being first and then the Western and the Central zones with headquarters at Bombay.

There remain three more zones, Northern, Eastern, and North-Eastern, and Sri Ayyengar gave an assurance that they would be regrouped without further delay. It was further determined that the last two, Eastern and North-Eastern, would be centred in Calcutta.

Then came political legerdemain coupled with intense provincialism, in Pandit Nehru's home State. Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of U.P., had promised during his election campaign that the North-Eastern zone would have its headquarters at Gorakhpur. And so, despite immense loss of efficiency, enormous trouble to staff and total upsetting of major traffic considerations, all the plans are being upset!

This is a major straw indicating how "Five Years" or "Six Years" Plans are going to be implemented. We would only request Pandit Nehru to redefine provincialism.

Central Budget

Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, Finance Minister of India, presented the budget estimates to the Parliament in a White Paper giving an account of the economic conditions in the country during 1951 against the background of which the budget has been framed.

This care-taker and interim Budget of Sir C. D. Deshmukh and his speech thereon deserves particular attention.

The economic condition, observes Sri Deshmukh, continued to be difficult during 1951, and the main problems before the country continued to be those of arresting inflation, increasing production and meeting a large good deficit.

The outbreak of war in Korea and the large-scale switch over armament programme of U.S.A. and other European countries gave a further impetus to the existing high price level. The causes were rather international in origin over which the Government of India have little control. But is it true that the Government had really nothing to do with this inflationary spiral? Were not some of the policies of the Government of India responsible for this higher price level? It is a realised fact today which not even the Finance Minister could deny, that devaluation of the currency was a contributory factor to give a fillip to the inflationary trends in recent years.

In regard to the measures adopted to fight inflation and high price level, the Finance Minister declared that it was the realisation of a substantial revenue surplus brought about by enhancement of customs duties, which greatly assisted the Government. Secondly, the sale-proceeds of the wheat obtained from the American loan had also had the same effect of reducing money supply within the country. Besides, the raising of Bank Rate had produced a real and psychological change in the money market. This transfer of purchasing power from the public to the Exchequer helps the Government to hold inflation in check.

In spite of good progress in agricultural production, the food situation in the country continued to be a matter of grave anxiety. This was due to a failure of rains over large parts of the country. Serious damage was caused to *kharif* crops in Kutch, Gujarat district

of Bombay; Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Ajmer by a partial failure of monsoons and this has necessitated substantial imports. We have incessantly been informed of chronic drought or floods inflicting serious damage to good crops since the Congress came to power in 1947.

The condition of our manufacturing industries is not such that it can hope to increase the quantum of export. The only manufactured goods exported are hessian and gunnybags. The jute mills are to depend partially on Pakistan for the supply of raw jute. Consequently the production and exportation of jute goods is subject to great uncertainty as the relation between Pakistan and Indian Union is not always congenial. Moreover, as Pakistan refused to devalue her currency, a large portion of the profits earned through high prices of jute goods, were wiped out to meet up the cost of raw jute.

There was some deterioration in the dollar position during 1951. India's contribution to the Central Reserves was of the order of \$71 million: and there was a net withdrawal of \$14 million. In order to halt this drainage and building up adequate reserves for the future it has been agreed in the recent conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers, that the sterling area as a whole should be in balance with the rest of the world in respect of the second half of 1952 at the latest. Accordingly, the surplus foreign exchange in gold and dollar earned by India will be accumulated in the Central Reserves under Great Britain and her deficit will be borne by the Central Reserve. Thus the deficit incurred by Great Britain will not be borne by herself alone but will be shared by other member countries and India being a member will have to follow the rest in spite of her surplus in foreign exchange, if there be any.

India had Rs. 781 crores of sterling balances with United Kingdom during 1951. Mr. Deshmukh had agreed under the recent agreement to realise a part of it during the six-year ending in June 1957. Thus we had agreed to block our accumulated wealth, earned with such hardships and sufferings, with Great Britain; on the other hand India has been negotiating with the World Bank of Reconstruction and Development for loans for financing some of the important projects of the country. A loan of 31 crores of rupees had already been obtained for certain railway, agricultural and thermal schemes.

While presenting the Budget, it is announced that the revised estimates for the current year had disclosed the revenue surplus of Rs. 92.61 crores. The total revenue was budgeted at Rs. 497.67 crores as against an expenditure of Rs. 405.06 crores leaving a big surplus of Rs. 92.61 crores. At the existing level of taxation the revenue for next year is estimated at Rs. 429.98 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 406.25 crores leaving a surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores.

In the Budget, the thing which strikes most is the wide gap between the revised figure for the current year and Budget estimates for the next year. Had the Budget been framed on the basis of the Revised figure for 1951-52, the actual surplus for the next year in the revenue account would have been far more than estimated by Mr. Deshmukh and even a small tax remission would not have been impracticable. But according to Mr. Deshmukh this surplus is illusory and hence cannot be a basis for tax remission. The major portion of the surplus revenue was raised from Customs—the import duties accounting for an excess of Rs. 51 crores and the export for Rs. 26 crores. As the yield from these sources can not be indefinitely maintained at this high level, the Finance Minister would not dare to estimate the future income on this basis.

The expenditure, on the other hand, has unnecessarily been increased without any substantial benefit to the country. If we analyse some of the heads of expenditure, it will be clear how haphazard the policy has been.

The expenditure under Health and Education is said to have been increased. Let us see how much of this will really benefit the people of the country.

The Causes of Increased Expenditure Under Medical

All-India Medical Institute in Delhi	Rs. 7 lakhs
Ayurvedic and Hakimi Pharmacy at Ramnagar and the establishment of a chest clinic at Delhi University in honour of Sardar Patel	Rs. 4 lakhs

Causes of Increment Under Public Health

The movement of goods on behalf of the UNICEF (International Children Welfare Fund); manufacture of B.C.G. vaccination in India; purchase of rats and rabbits in the Laboratory at Kasouli	Rs. 3 lakhs
Planning of Family	Rs. 3 lakhs
Expenditure on account of the visit of the experts of the WHO (World Health Organisation) in this country—	Rs. 2 lakhs and 50 thousands
Construction of new building for Anti-Tuberculosis in Delhi	Rs. 2 lakhs
Subscription to the WHO	Rs. 20 lakhs
Subscription to the UNICEF	Rs. 12 lakhs.

Let us examine how Mr. Deshmukh has increased the amount of general expenditure:

- Home department—Rs. 30 lakhs over previous year; of this Rs. 25 lakhs will be spent for the establishment of a detective section.
- Meteorological Department—Rs. 20 lakhs.
- Under Education extra sanction is Rs. 27 lakhs, of which Rs. 17 lakhs will be given to the UNESCO as annual subscription.

These are the directions through which the public money are exhausted.

Expenditure Under External Relation Department

The total budgeted grant under the department was Rs. 3,79,78,000 but the actual expenditure has

amounted to Rs. 4,96,37,000. The following are the heads of expenditure:

	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Budget
Establishment charge	7124000
Embassies	17344000	21589000
High Commissioners	3688000	4639000
Subscription for UNO	5982000	6670000
Miscellaneous	5542000	6004000
Charges in London	5422000	3611000
	37978000	49637000

The causes for such increment in the cost of maintaining the Embassies are the following:

1. Increased publicity in America Rs. 6½ lakhs.
2. New appointments and allowances Rs. 8 lakhs.
3. Increased House Rent and repairing charges Rs. 2½ lakhs.
4. Visit of the Chinese Cultural Mission to India Rs. 1 lakh.
5. Increment in the expenditure of the Indian team in the UNO Rs. 1 lakh.

Let us examine the nature of expenditure on national development projects. It was declared that Rs. 26 crores will be annually spent from the Central Budget for the implementation of the Five-year Plan and that the sum will be realised through economy. But instead of practising economy the expenditure has been raised by Rs. 30 crores. The actual spending under the Five-year Plan falls far below the estimated grant although Rs. 93 crores has been realised as a surplus.

Annual Grant Under the Five-year Plan		Budgeted amount
1. Improvement in civil aviation		Rs. 10 lakhs
2. Broadcasting		Rs. 8 "
3. Education		Rs. 270 "
4. Scientific Research		Rs. 130 "
5. Health		Rs. 60 "
6. Rehabilitation		Rs. 100 "
(In all Rs. 11 crores)		
7. Grow More Food—Rs. 8 crores	Rs. 635	"
8. Rehabilitation of displaced persons—Rs. 3 crores	Rs. 130	"
9. Food subsidies—Rs. 160 lakhs	

Grand total Rs. 2360 lakhs Rs. 1343 lakhs

Thus goes the Budget of the national government of India.

Indian Companies Act

The report of the Company Law Committee, submitted to the Government of India, a few weeks ago, has been published recently. It is the first comprehensive review of the working of the Indian Companies Act since 1913. The Committee's recommendations, which cover entire field of Company Law, are designed to establish sufficient control over companies with a view to preventing abuses without hampering their healthy growth.

The Committee was appointed by the Government of India in 1950 with Mr. C. H. Bhaba as chairman and with Mr. D. L. Mazumdar as member-

secretary. The recommendations are unanimous except a dissenting note from only one member, viz., Mr. Mohanlal Shah.

The Report proper is comprised of nineteen chapters divided into three parts. The problem relating to the administration of the Indian Companies Act have been dealt with in the last two parts of the report.

Joint Stock Company: The Committee observe that the general approach of the Company Law is essentially a systematization of the structure and mod of operation of a particular type of economic institution, namely, the Joint Stock Companies.

The Committee's recommendations appear to be based on the following basic principles:

(a) The law should provide for the fullest possible disclosure in prospectuses or statements in lieu of them before a company is formed and the failure to make such disclosure should be visited with effective penalties;

(b) The Company Accounts should be prepared in such a way that they disclose all facts which are material to a full understanding of the manner in which companies are worked;

(c) The meeting should be conducted in such a way that the shareholders receive all reasonable facilities for exercising intelligent judgment on the activities of the management.

The Committee recommends that in future, the capital of a company should consist of only two broad categories, viz., Equity capital and Preference capital and voting rights in respect of share capital should be strictly in proportion of the capital paid or credited as paid thereon. No other class of shares which confer any rights to dividend, capital or voting power disproportionate to the rights attaching to the ordinary shares should be issued.

As regards directors, it is prescribed that a minimum number of directors should be appointed—three in the case of public and two in the case of private company. They should be selected from those who can devote sufficient time and thought to the work of the companies. As to the relationship between the directors and the managing agents, the superior position is assigned by the Committee to the former. All powers should be reserved for the Directors and should be exercised by the managing agents if they are delegated to them by the directors.

MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM

As the management of a large sector of Indian trade and industry is in the hands of managing agents, a not inconsiderable part of the Committee's report is devoted to the managing agency system, which has been subject to much controversy and debate in recent years. The Committee observes that under the present economic structure of the country it would be an advantage to continue to rely on the managing agent. For, in spite of many abuses and malpractices, the system may yet prove to be a potent instrument for tapping the springs of private

enterprise. And hence tightening up of the provisions of the Act relating the powers and positions of the managing agents are the primary objects of the Committee. The appointment and removal of the agents, their remuneration, their powers *vis-a-vis* the directors, and finally their activities in respect of borrowing loans, contracts, sale and purchases, are the main recommendations of the Committee on the managing agents.

It is declared that in future the managing agency agreement should be limited to fifteen years and an ordinary resolution of the company should be sufficient to dismiss a managing agent in case of fraud and breach of trust. As regards the transfer of managing agency, the Committee recommends several restrictions to remove the current evils of cornering managing agency rights.

The remuneration of the managing agents should not in any case exceed 12½ per cent on "net profits"; no office allowance would be admissible to managing agents and in case of absence or inadequacy of profits, the managing agents would have such minimum remuneration as is considered reasonable by the company in general meeting subject to a maximum of Rs. 50,000 per annum.

The managing agents should act only under the general control and direction of the directors and their powers and duties should be clearly laid down in advance. The specific approval of directors would be required to certain acts enumerated in a schedule. As regards the inter-investment of funds in different companies under the same management, the Committee recommends that the limit on such investment should be 10 per cent of the subscribed capital of the company in which the investment is to be made. The managing agents should not be entitled to any commission on purchase made on behalf of the company.

Besides, the Committee suggests extensive amendments of the provision relating to audit of the accounts of the company.

✓A CENTRAL AUTHORITY

Analysing the defects and deficiencies of the existing system, the Committee pleads for a complete reorientation of the present administrative machinery. For the present the Registrars of Joint Stock Companies are under the various State Governments and their main functions are to act as filling authorities with little or no executive powers. As such the Committee suggests to form a Central Authority with important executive and supervisory functions under the designation of Corporate Investment and Administrative Commission. The Registrars will be placed directly under the Central Authority and should carry out the functions statutorily imposed upon them under the proposed act. The Central Authority, composed of one chairman and four members should be invested with wide administrative powers. It will keep

the investment market under constant watch and the present function of the Controller of Capital Issue will be taken over by this body. The authority will also exercise the function of inspection and supervision of companies, the accounts and balance sheets and also the supervision of the winding up proceedings. In short, the authority will supervise the working of joint stock companies according to the provisions laid down in the report.

These are the main recommendations of the Company Law Committee, to reform the existing system of business organisation. But, however, scientific and rigorous the approach to the problem may be, it is hardly expected that any real and lasting effect will follow from the reform as envisaged by the Committee, so long as the managing agency system is not abolished completely. It is an established and widely acknowledged fact today that the managing agents are, in the main, the root of all the evils from which the present industrial and commercial organisations of India suffer. Hence, unless and until the provision for their complete abolition is accepted as an official creed by the Government, whatever attempt is made, it is bound to be vitiated with foul prospects. The Committee, giving its decision in favour of the managing agents will fail to satisfy informed public opinion of the country which has been pressing for their ready and immediate removal. Its abolition was also the avowed policy of the Congress and even a resolution was accepted in this regard in the A.-I. C. C. Conference shortly after independence. But later on with extension of control of the capitalists over Congress, it has gradually dissuaded from that principle. And even the committee has not the moral courage to recommend its abolition.

The greatest evils from which the system suffer are long period agreement, the privilege to keep all accounts in their own hands and last but the most important, the inter-locking directorship and the inter-investment of funds, an inevitable effect of the former.

The managing agents earn a lot in several stages through purchase of raw materials and sale of finished goods. An example will clarify the point. The coal of a coal mining company cannot be sold by itself. It will have to be disposed by the managing agents. The managing agents purchase all coal from the client-company at Rs. 18 per ton and sell them in the market at Rs. 20 per ton. The shareholders have nothing to do with this. The company itself could have sold the commodity at Rs. 20 but as it is controlled and managed by the agents, it is compelled to incur this loss. But there are all "legal" perquisites, it is the illegal sources which counted much in the total income of the managing agents. A particular commodity produced by a managed company is purchased at Rs. 18 by No. 1 Company under the same managing

agents. In the next step No. 2 Company, also run by the same agents, purchase it at Rs. 20; and finally it is purchased by the client company at Rs. 22 from this second company. Thus the purchasing price of the main company unnecessarily becomes higher than the normal market price by Rs. 4. The proprietors of these two companies are the *benamdars* of the managing agents who act on behalf of the managing agents and through these people the extra income is pocketed by them. It was this unfair tactics which was detected by the Assistant Commissioner of Sales Tax in Bengal with regard to a textile concern.

The Amendment Act of 1936 endeavoured to remove some of these defects of the system. But the ingenuity of the managing agents had found out the loopholes of the Act through which they escaped the rulings. Similar events may happen again in due course. Any modification and tightening up of the existing law will invariably fail to restrict the managing agents who will any way manage the thing and continue to exploit the shareholders and the consumers.

✓ It has been declared by the committee that under the present condition of our trade and industry we still require promoters of new business and the managing agents perform that function excellently and perfectly. If that be the case, why should we not establish Promoters' Houses on the American model, who will give initial start to the business and when the company becomes quite well-established will leave the management to the shareholders and retire with sufficient compensation and respects!

Anyway we require complete abolition of the system and no patchwork will be sufficient to remove the evils and malpractices associated with the system. It is nowhere found except in India. If large-scale efficient organisation was possible without the help and guidance of the managing agents in other countries why they should not be possible in India. The system moreover was designed originally with a motive of exploitation. Does the Government or the Committee appointed by it think that there is any such necessity for exploitation of the resources of the country even now?

"Hyderabad and Kashmir"

Under the above title appeared an article in the *Marhatta* of Poona, dated February 22, 1952, contrasting the hostile attitude of the Nehru Government to Maharaja Harisingh of Kashmir-Jammu and the chivalry shown to Nizam of Hyderabad. The writer said that the then Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, "prevented" the former from acceding to the Union of India. This criticism is not true to facts, as we have known from Sardar Patel's speeches, and from Allan Campbell-Johnson's "Mission with Mountbatten." Campbell-Johnson says in p. 223 of his book:

"Three days before the transfer of power and the Accession time-limit, the Kashmir Government announced its intention of signing stand-still agreements with both India and Pakistan. . . . Indeed, the States Ministry, under Patel's direction, went out of its way to take no action which could be interpreted as forcing Kashmir's hand, and to give assurances that accession to Pakistan would not be taken amiss by India. The Maharaja's chronic indecision must be accounted a big factor in the present crisis. (The Diary bears the date-line of 28th October, 1947—about 6 days after the start of the raids by Pakistanis—military and tribals). . . .

" . . . no final decision was taken (by the Defence Committee on the 25th October, but it agreed that V. P. (Menon) should fly to Srinagar at once to find out the true position."

Menon's report was "disturbing." He had found "the Maharaja unnerved by the rush of events and the sense of his lone helplessness." This led the Maharaja to accede on October 26. Campbell-Johnson further says that while Mountbatten had been urging the Princes generally, the Kashmir Maharaja and inferentially the Nizam also, to make up their minds about accession "before the transfer of power, he had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him (Maharaja Harisingh) from acceding to one Dominion or the other, without first taking steps to ascertain the will of the people by referendum, plebiscite, election, or, even if these were impracticable, by representative public meetings . . ." Kodanda Rao's words should also be quoted:

"The Maharaja was in favour of accession to India but was prevented from so doing by the then Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, while the Nizam was against it, in spite of the pressure of Lord Mountbatten. If the Maharaja's Dogra administration had its black spots, the Nizam's Razakar Government had blacker spots. India had to fight to save Kashmir from outside hostiles, the raiders and Pakistan; she had to fight Hyderabad to save it from internal hostiles, the Nizam and his Razakars! Indeed, if the Maharaja deserved to be deposed, the Nizam deserved it infinitely more. And yet the Maharaja has been deposed while the Nizam has been made the Rajapramukh! While the Government of India have been chivalrous towards the hostile Nizam who defied them they have been mean towards the friendly Maharaja who sought their protection."

The latest report (March 28) says that Doctor Frank Graham, the U.N.O. representative in the matter of Kashmir, has not yet given up hopes of holding a plebiscite under the U.N. auspices. So we are still at the same impasse.

Kashmir and the Moslem World

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, former Indian Consul in Saudi Arabia, said that the conference of twelve Muslim countries called by Pakistan is "a diplomatic stunt calculated to overawe and terrorise Dr. Graham,

who is to submit his final report on the Kashmir problem in the near future."

"In political parlance," he said in a statement, "it is impossible to define a Muslim country. If population is the only criterion then Lebanon is not a Muslim country as 52 per cent of its inhabitants are Christians by faith. The followers of Islam who live and enjoy the full rights of citizenship in India are greater in number than the Muslims of the eight Arab States put together."

"Why should the Prime Minister of India be then excluded from a conference which is being convened with the avowed object of considering the establishment of a system of consultation on questions of common interests," he asked.

Prof. Majid Khan said that the 12 Muslim countries constituted "a sort of crazy-quilt or a fascinating medley." Turkey had adopted to modern life, "Syria and Lebanon are Republics, Egypt is a limited monarchy, Saudi Arabia, an absolute monarchy, Indonesia—a secular democracy and Pakistan a dominion."

Compulsory Military Training in U.P.

In September last an announcement was made that twenty thousand college students in 17 districts of the Uttar Pradesh were being given compulsory military training. The scheme, we were told, was first taken up in July, 1948. We welcomed this project, and thought that finance should not handicap it. But except these announcements no direct report has been issued up to date to show what progress has been made, the number of young people trained, and the future possibilities of the scheme. The proposed 200 hours' training each year in drill, map reading, platoon drill, musketry and signalling should be good enough for the beginner.

In West Bengal, Shree Bhupati Mazumder, the Irrigation and Defence Minister was in charge of this work which was known as "Home Defence"—the training of village young men for the defence of their particular areas. Now that he has to give up that post, it would be in the fitness of things that a report should be published of this work so that we may know where we stand in this matter. The new Ministry in West Bengal is not yet formed, and we would like to know who is going to take charge of this work—as important as any. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy cannot do all things himself as he loves to do.

Grow More Food in West Bengal

The outgoing Food Minister, Shree Profulla Chandra Sen told the members on the 17th March last that Rs. 4 crores 30 lakhs and 67 thousand have been spent on the G.M.F. campaign. He gave the figures of production of rice in the State from year to year, excluding Cooch Behar, as follows: 1947-48—34,06,400 tons; 1948-49—32,98,800 tons; 1949-50—

35,37,800 tons; 1950-51—37,82,300 tons. The forecast in respect of rice crop for 1951-52 has not yet been published.

The annual requirement of cereals in West Bengal was 38,70,000 tons at normal pre-war per capita consumption rate of 4.25 maunds per year as suggested by the Indian Statistical Institute on the basis of the results of several pre-war diet and family budget surveys and on the basis of a total population of 247.9 lakhs as revealed by the 1951 Census. The normal annual wheat requirement of the State is estimated to be 250,000 tons and the annual consumption of cereals other than rice and wheat was estimated to be about 50,000 tons. The rice requirement accordingly came to about 35,70,000 tons.

These figures do not help us in any way. On more than one occasion we have said that we do not believe that we are so short of food in West Bengal. Parliamentarians like M. Sidhwa, now a Central Minister, have long expressed their scepticism of such deficits. The recent letter of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on the food situation in the Contai Subdivision of Midnapore specially is a sample of the whole controversy. He is reported to have written that the shortage is of the magnitude of about 8 lakh 85 thousand maunds in that area. These figures he got from the report of the office secretary of the West Bengal "Jana Sangha." Sample surveys are generally wide of the mark and when one can talk of crores of maunds of things, one's imagination generally plays tricks with facts.

It is notorious that food has become a part of power-politics. Our Communist friends are ever ready to boost the fact that the Soviet Union and China are eager to help India tide over the food difficulty. The inside story has been given in summarized form from Madras in the 26th March issue of the *Svastika*, a Bengali paper. A Communist member of the Madras Legislature brought forward this topic. In reply Mr. J. P. Roche-Victoria, Food Minister, said that the Indian ambassador at Peking has been informed that this year there would be no export of food from China.

The record regarding the Soviet Union was still more curious. It offered food to India as a gift—as a token of friendship. The Nehru Government was grateful. But when it learnt later that the price of Soviet food was double that of other countries, the order was cancelled. But by that time 50,000 tons had arrived, and our Government had to pay through the nose this inflated price.

Election of Rashtrapati

The Delhi correspondent of the Nagpur *Hitavada* reported on March 20th last that another "chance" of Babu Rajendra Prasad's being made President of our Republic was being considered. Now, the Congress Party has decided that he should be the

President and Prof. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President. These two choices are unexceptionable, though some would have liked as Vice-President a person other than a Hindu. We are glad to notice members of Kashmir's Legislature have decided to take part in this election which will be held in October next, the final date of filing nomination papers being May.

Rules in this behalf passed by Parliament on February 28th last have been published in the *Gazette* on March 20th last. Here they are:

✓ "According to the Rules, nomination papers duly filled in, together with certified copies of the entries relating to the candidate in the electoral roll for the ✓ Parliamenatry Constituency in which he is registered, should be delivered either in person by the candidate or by his proposer or seconder to the Returning Officer by 3 p.m. on the last date for nomination. While a candidate may be nominated by more than one nomination paper, the Rules ban any elector subscribing whether as a proposer or seconder, more than one nomination paper at any election.

"Rejection of a nomination paper may be on any of the following grounds:

- ✓ 1. That the candidate is not eligible for election as President or Vice-President (as the case may be) under the Constitution;
- ✓ 2. That the proposer or seconder is not qualified to subscribe a nomination paper under the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Act;
- ✓ 3. That the signature of the candidate proposer or seconder is not genuine or has been obtained by fraud;
- ✓ 4. That the nomination paper has not been duly completed and the defect or irregularity is of a substantial character; or
- ✓ 5. That the proposer or seconder has subscribed, whether as a proposer or seconder, another nomination paper received earlier by the Returning Officer at the same election.

"The poll in respect of the Presidential election will be held in the Parliament House, New Delhi, and in the premises of each State-Legislative Assembly. For the Vice-Presidential election, the place of poll will be Parliament House, New Delhi.

"The Rules require that every Government should intimate to the Election Commission at the appropriate time the names and other particulars of electors at a Presidential election who are under preventive detention. Such electors will get postal ballot forms on the day of the poll and their votes will be sent to the Returning Officer before the time fixed for the counting of votes.)

"Counting of votes will be done at the office of the Returning Officer in New Delhi on the day and time fixed by the Election Commission. Each ballot paper of an elector at a Presidential election will have a value assigned in accordance with Article 55 of the Constitution. The procedure for the counting and transfer of preferences and the determination of

results is set out in the schedule to the present rules."

✓ In this connection the nomination of Governors of States is being considered. Shree Kanhayalal Munshi and Shree Girija Sankar Bajpai are almost sure to get these posts. The Governors of West Bengal, East Punjab, and Assam are to continue. There may be other nominations.

The Language Controversy in East Pakistan

The tragedy at the Dacca University on 24th February last, the shooting to death of 8 students followed by curfew order, and the expulsion of some 900 students, affecting another 1,400, is sure to raise questions in the minds of people who desire peace in East Bengal. We are not philosophic pacifists. But we have the fear that the agitation for Bengali language and script in East Bengal may be cleverly turned to anti-Hindu activities. The arrest of three Hindu members of the East Bengal Assembly and of two Muslim members is proof that peace is in jeopardy. The most sinister symptom of the phenomena, that more than ten of the leaders have gone underground.

In Karachi itself, we have had a denial of the East Pakistan Government's charges as the following news-item shows:

"Karachi, March 20: The charges of the East Bengal Government and East Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Nurul Amin, that the language agitation in East Bengal had its support and inspiration from the Communists or *agents provocateurs* from outside were strongly repudiated in Pakistan Parliament by a member of the Muslim League Party from East Bengal.

"Mr. Hamid (East Bengal) said that 99 per cent of East Pakistanis would vote for Bengali if there was a plebiscite.

"Claiming that language agitation was spontaneous, Mr. Hamid said: 'No one can say that these people (agitators) were influenced by Communists or *agents provocateurs* from outside. To say that this has been done by somebody from outside is not true.'

"Mr. Hamid thought that the very fact that the Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin, came out with his statement alleging that the Communists and agents from outside were behind the agitation after the incident, shows that the allegation is clearly wrong. If it was so, he should have told us so long before. If the Chief Minister believed there were people from outside, then the proper thing for him should have been to send for the Vice-Chancellor of the University, a few students and a few leaders of public opinion and to tell them the facts, but he did not do that."

Our own Government's reaction as yet is not clear. A few terse announcements like the following news-item are all that have been made public:

"The Central Rehabilitation Minister, Sri Ajit Prasad Jain said in an interview on March 19 that Pakistan Government's attempt to turn the so-called language controversy in East Bengal to a communal question has failed."

In the East Pakistan Assembly, the whole matter was sought to be threshed out.

Replying to queries by Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, leader of the Congress Opposition, the Speaker said that no information had been sent to him regarding the arrest of MLA's. As regards prorogation of the Assembly, he had been informed that this was going to be done.

The main interest of proceedings lay in the statement made by the Premier, Mr. Nurul Amin, on the recent language disturbances. According to him, what appeared on surface to be an innocent and legitimate agitation in favour of Bengali was in fact a device to cloak "a determined attempt to overthrow the Government by force." Evidence in possession of the Government and the methods employed "prove conclusively that a handful of Communists and other foreign agents and political malcontents had conspired to subvert the State from within."

"Long and detailed preparations had been made and for many months past subversive elements had been active in the University, misleading the boys."

The measures taken by the Government to deal with subversive elements had saved the province, he claimed, from disaster and "democracy from a most insidious threat."

Certain lawless elements were still at large and may attempt to create similar situations again. "We can never afford to be complacent," he said.

The most vigorous criticism of the Premier's statement came from Mr. Sharifuddin Ahmed, a prominent member of the Muslim League, who said that University students and staff were sons of East Bengal. Nobody could believe that after February 21 and 22 they had all of a sudden become enemies of Pakistan and saboteurs. If the Government were in possession of evidence to prove their allegations the men arrested should fearlessly be placed before courts of law. Otherwise people will not be satisfied and "swallow this." They will gradually lose confidence not only in the administration but also in the Ministry. Police reports were no evidence in law, he said.

Mr. Nurul Amin's attempt to confuse issues was clearly exposed by the youth of East Pakistan as the following news-item shows:

"The East Pakistan Youth League has decided to observe March 27 as 'Youth's Demand Day' and directed all its branches accordingly.

"This decision was arrived at a recent session here of the Working Committee of the organization which noted with 'abhorrence the heinous propaganda carried out by the Ministry and the Muslim League against the workers and leaders of the State language movement in general, and the East Pakistan Youth League in particular, with a view to misleading the people.'

"The meeting demanded the release of all persons arrested in connexion with the State language movement, including Mr. Ali Ahad, General Secretary of the organization. The committee criticized the Govern-

ment decision to hold the inquiry into the recent police firing in Dacca in camera."

Mrs. Roosevelt in India

Mrs. Roosevelt has left behind her a very pleasing memory of a most sincere and charming personality. Her views on the rights of humanity are too well known to need further presentation. We hope she would be able to convince her own people to accept her impressions about India. She gave the following message on the eve of her departure:

"I am very much impressed with the dignity of the people of India, with their great hospitality, of their goodwill which they have shown to me and towards my nation," she said.

"I was also greatly impressed with the courage of your women and the manner in which they are tackling social services and problems of a magnitude which prevail nowhere else in the world. Their task is extremely difficult as their sphere of work covers a numerous number of people. The very great courage with which the Government and the people are trying to find solutions to numerous problems appears to me to be extraordinary and very remarkable," she added.

"Apartheid" Illegal

Dr. Malan's racial policy of segregation of the non-white voters of South Africa has received a sudden check. But Dr. Malan is trying to adopt the dictator's remedy for all opposition, in an attempt to solve the present *impasse*.

South Africa's highest court, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, declared invalid the Act placing coloured voters on a separate electoral list. Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, told the House of Assembly this afternoon that the Supreme Court's judgment "has created a constitutional position which cannot be accepted."

"Neither Parliament nor the people of South Africa," Dr. Malan said, "will be prepared to acquiesce in a position where the legislative sovereignty of the lawfully and democratically elected representatives of the people is denied and wherein the judicial authority assumes the testing right, the right to pass judgment on the exercise of their legislative powers by the elected representatives of the people—particularly since that judicial authority does not or is not obliged to act consistently.

"The situation which has now arisen creates uncertainty and chaos where certainty and order should exist. There are now two conflicting judgements of the Appeal Court in regard to a constitutional issue which is of the very greatest importance. So also there is no certainty that a subsequent Court of Appeal may not perhaps reverse the latest decision just as at present the Appeal Court has reversed its previous decision of 1937.

"It is most undesirable that decisions of this kind should vary with a change in the composition of the Court because this would certainly bring with it the danger of a 'packed' Bench as has happened in other countries.

"It is thus clear that the situation which has now arisen is an intolerable one and the Government would be grossly neglecting its duty towards the people and towards a democratically elected Parliament if steps are not taken to put an end to this confusing and dangerous situation.

"It is imperative that the legislative sovereignty of Parliament should be placed beyond any doubt in order to ensure order and certainty.

"The Government will take the necessary steps to do its duty and will at an appropriate time announce such steps after the reasons for the judgment have been studied and considered."

The Separate Representation Act is one of the cornerstones of Dr. Malan's apartheid policy. It removes coloured voters from the common electoral roll and provides that they shall vote only for special members of the House of Assembly, who will specifically represent coloured people.

Four coloured (mixed race) voters of Capetown appealed to the Court to upset the Act by declaring that the so-called "entrenched clauses" of the Act remain in force.

The Full Bench of the five Judges who heard the appeal, presided over by Chief Justice Centlivres, were unanimous in their verdict.

The reaction to Dr. Malan's crude attempt at dictatorship has been unfavourable in Canadian liberal circles.

Mr. David Croll, a member of the Liberal (Government) Party, told the Canadian House of Commons on March 24 that the South African policy of apartheid was "straining" Commonwealth relations. Canadians had "the right and the duty to examine our relationship with South Africa before the appropriate tribunal," he said.

He was speaking in a debate on a resolution calling for a written Canadian Bill of Rights moved by a Progressive Conservative.

He said: "I find it difficult, if not possible, to understand how the Commonwealth can sustain friendly relations while that statute is in effect."

It was a very serious question how "democratic Nehru can find common ground with Fascist Malan." It was splitting South Africa into "racial areas" and setting up a "ghettoland which we must deplore."

Mr. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the (Socialist) Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, said Canada should make it clear that "we will not be silent on South Africa's move." He felt that if Commonwealth countries had made their views on this point clear a year or two ago, Dr. Malan would have had much

more difficulty in putting forward his "incongruous" policies.

Mr. Alistair Stewart, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation member for Winnipeg, said: "A million people in the Cape territory have been refused the right to vote merely because their skins are coloured. That is going to be used against the democratic world all across Asia as another example of the hypocritical tactics of the Western world, and therefore we have to condemn it."

In the South African Senate too, the opposition has not taken this attempt to disregard constitutional law in a tame fashion.

Senator G. Heaton Nicholl, leader of the United Party Opposition in South Africa's Senate, accused the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, of precipitating a crisis more serious than any the Union has known.

He moved a motion taking the "strongest possible exception" to the Government's declared intention to "overrule the unanimous judgment" of the Supreme Court, which ruled invalid the Act placing coloured voters on a separate voters' roll.

The Opposition motion called on the Government to resign unless it would give an undertaking that it would act in accordance with the Constitution.

In the House of Assembly, yesterday Mr. J. N. Strauss said: "I move adjournment of the House on a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the grave constitutional crisis, to the serious detriment of the peace, order and good government of the Union, by a statement made to the House by the Prime Minister on Thursday and amplified by him in a statement to the Press the following day on the attitude of the executive in refusing to accept the unanimous judgment of the appellate division of the Supreme Court of South Africa setting aside the Separate Representation of Voters Act."

Dr. Malan has received support in his undemocratic moves from a curious quarter.

The South African Government had consulted a British legal expert, Prof. Wade, before the Appeal Court's session which declared invalid the Government's Bill to remove coloured voters from the common voters' roll.

Mr. Wade is a professor of law in Cambridge University and the author of several books on constitutional law.

He said that, in his opinion, the Union Government had full power to amend the section of the South African law dealing with the entrenched clauses.

The Union Parliament, he said, had since 1931, when it acquired equal power with the British Parliament, enjoyed complete power to amend the entrenched clauses from that date.

These clauses include the provision that the legislation disqualifying voters on grounds of race and

colour must be passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together.

The Separate Representation of Voters Act was passed through the Houses separately and with a simple majority.

Commentators cabling from South Africa have taken the gravest view of the situation that has arisen in that country during the weekend, writes a *P.T.I.* correspondent from London.

Not only has Dr. Malan "United all non-Nationalists against him for the first time" but he is also meeting with considerable opposition from his own party according to British Press correspondents in South Africa.

The South African Premier's decision to introduce legislation as soon as possible to "place the sovereignty of Parliament beyond doubt" has caused a crisis which is regarded "as the greatest in the country's history" said the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing from Cape Town.

✓ Dr. Malan's South Africa

The fascistic standpoint of South Africa, led by the fanatical group under Dr. Malan, is clearly given by Garrick Fullerton. Writing in the February 22 issue of the *World Interpreter* he gives a complete background of the present deadlock as follows:

"Contrary to the popular belief, the world's small nations are not always paragons of virtue. Some of them possess a capacity for stubborn backwardness which is almost unimaginable. Such is the case with the Union of South Africa, where for several years a tiny group of race-conscious fanatics has defied not only three-fourths of the country's population but the rest of the world besides.

The initial question, the treatment of people of Indian origin, was first considered by the U.N. in 1946, as the result of a protest by India and Pakistan against the discrimination being applied to South Africa's 200,000 Indians. These people, originally brought to the Cape by British colonists, are denied political equality with Europeans and subject to discrimination in housing and employment opportunities, all on the basis of "apartheid," an Afrikaner doctrine closely resembling Hitler's idea of the "master race."

South Africa argues that since the populations involved are nationals of the South African Union, the affair is no concern of Pakistan or India and still less a concern of the U.N. Conveniently forgotten is an international agreement on the subject which has been consistently violated since 1943. Various efforts at conciliation have been fruitless, the most recent being an attempt by last year's General Assembly to organize a round-table conference of the three governments. South Africa refused to take part.

The second question, a great deal more complicated, is that of the territory of South-west Africa which the Union government administered as a League

of Nations Mandate between the two wars and which it wants to annex. The General Assembly holds that it should be transformed into a Trusteeship Territory like most of the former mandates.

Aside from the complex legal issues, the quality of the administration has been questioned, and extremely serious charges have been laid against the Union government. Natives have been driven from their land so that their farms could be turned over to white settlers. Those who refused to leave have had their houses and gardens burned and their windmills destroyed. The more recalcitrant communities have been bombed and strafed. Furthermore, in the areas of white penetration, by means of the Pass Laws, the Masters and Servants Act, and other discriminatory legislation, the native populations have been reduced to a status of absolute servitude and degradation, hardly distinguishable from slavery. So run the complaints, backed by impressive evidence.

South Africa's case for annexation rests upon a "referendum" conducted among the tribes of the territory in 1946. According to the Union government's figures, some 208,850 people favored incorporation and only 33,520 were opposed. These figures lose all meaning, however, when one considers the method of the "referendum." In an almost totally illiterate population (itself an indictment of South Africa's administration) there was no question, of course, of a written ballot. Actually, most of the natives did not even vote as individuals. South African officials merely called in the tribal chiefs and headmen and asked them to consider one or another of carefully worded propositions.

In 1950, the International Court of Justice, whose competence in the case South Africa refuses to recognize, furnished an advisory opinion at the General Assembly's request. Among other things it said that South Africa has the same obligations toward the territory as it had under the mandate, that supervision of the administration should be exercised by the U.N., and that South Africa could modify the status of the territory only with U.N. consent. The Assembly last year created a special committee to negotiate with the Union government about the best means of implementing the Court's decision, but no progress resulted.

Both these questions, that of the Indian minority and that of South-West Africa, are complicated by the internal political situation in the Union itself. The European population is just about evenly divided between Boers and English, and such is the rancor that still exists between the two peoples that they form entirely separate political parties.

The Boer party, headed by Dr. D. F. Malan, the present Prime Minister, was openly pro-Nazi during the war and some of its leaders served prison sentences. It demands a republican form of government and the annexation not only of South-West Africa

but also of Swaziland and Basutoland, two small territories within the Union which are still under British control. The English party opposes the annexations because the Boers predominate in those areas. During the war the English backed the Allied cause, and are of course far more solicitous of Commonwealth ties than is Dr. Malan. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that there are vital differences between the parties as far as the race issue goes.

No account of these problems would be complete without a mention of the magnificent efforts put forward by two men who have fought many long years, often without support, for the rights of the peoples involved. Among the Indian minority, the well-known son of Mahatma Gandhi carries on the heroic work his father began in South Africa and took to India. For the tribes of South-West Africa, especially the Herero people, the Reverend Michael Scott, an Anglican clergyman, has carried the fight single-handed to the U. N. and has aroused world opinion. For his pains, he has been branded "a well-known, hostile, and fanatic foreigner and agitator" by Dr. Malan, and he has now been refused permission to return to South Africa.

As might be expected, the Union government found practically no support among the other delegations at the General Assembly this year. The long and bitter debates centered mainly in questions of procedure. And for the most part the South Africans boycotted the discussions. When they did participate, they confined themselves to legalistic arguments, beautifully logical but showing scant concern for justice. When the chiefs who had been invited to come to Paris and testify were not allowed to leave their territory, the Assembly's Trusteeship Committee limited itself to expressing its "regret." Further, although these same people have been demanding since 1947 that an impartial U.N. commission be sent to investigate conditions in the territory, no delegate made such a proposal.

What especially disappointed many observers was the noncommittal attitude of the larger nations. The Soviet Union opposed the re-creation of the committee on South West Africa, ostensibly on the ground that more positive action was necessary—yet it offered no alternative proposal. The United States voted for two of the resolutions and even co-sponsored one, but it could hardly be maintained that the U.S. delegation played an active role. The Commonwealth nations, India and Pakistan excepted, abstained to a man on all the important votes. Belgium did likewise. France and the Netherlands voted for only one of the resolutions."

Germ Warfare

Sri Sampurnanand brought up the question of Germ Warfare in the course of foreign policy discussions, in the A.-I. C. C. sessions.

He made a special reference to the bacteriological war reported to have taken place in Korea. Any such inhuman act must be resisted, he said.

But the U.S.A. has vehemently denied this accusation and has asked for an impartial enquiry. The U.N. has taken up the question without loss of time.

M. Trygve Lie, U.N. Secretary-General, has renewed his request that the International Red Cross be permitted to make an impartial investigation of Communist charges that germ warfare has caused widespread disease in Korea.

Acceptance of the U.N. Command proposal for an investigation by the Red Cross on both sides of the battle line, M. Lie said in a television interview at United Nations, N.Y., last week, would be "the test of the accusers' good faith." He again characterized the Communist charges as "utterly false."

The U.N. Command has agreed to the Red Cross offer to conduct an inquiry if it is given free access to both sides of the battle line, but no Communist reply has been received.

Meanwhile, strong support is developing in the U. N. Disarmament Commission for the proposal that the Red Cross be allowed to make an impartial investigation of Communist charges of germ warfare in Korea.

At the Commission meeting in United Nations last week, representatives of Greece, the Netherlands and Turkey backed the position stated earlier by the U.S. delegate, Mr. Benjamin Cohen.

"I want to ask M. Malik," Mr. Cohen said, "whether his Government will exercise its good offices to prevail on the Chinese Communist and North Korean authorities to accept the proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross for an impartial investigation of these charges."

He added: "I think we are entitled not only to a direct and unequivocal answer but to the active help of the Soviet Government to make this investigation possible."

"Those who make such charges have a duty to assist and not obstruct impartial international determination of the truth."

Discussing the Communist charge further, Mr. Cohen said: "If there are epidemics in North Korea and Communist China, the source lies not in any bacteriological warfare employed by the U. N., but rather in the terrible carnage which has been left in the wake of an aggressive war, the starting and waging of which was aided and abetted by the Soviet Union."

"Monstrous falsehoods are usually used to cover up monstrous faults. If corrective measures and medical care are lacking north of the U.N. lines, it is not the fault of the U.N."

The Arab League and Israel

The following news-item from Washington, U.S.A., is of great interest to all lovers of peace:

Indications that the Arab League may be getting ready to close its rift with Israel are being closely studied by the State Department, it was learned.

In various capitals of the Moslem world signs are appearing that second thoughts are being applied to the old rigid formula of hostility to Israel. These signs take a variety of forms, all of significance in the delicate diplomatic game. There are newspaper articles, which carry much greater significance in those Middle Eastern countries, where the precise affiliations and official inspiration of each paper can be exactly appraised, than they would in most of the Western world; there are occasional guarded statements, and there are diplomatic hints.

The State Department, putting all these pieces together, finds that they add up to a surprisingly legible pattern, and one which appears to indicate that the worst threat to Middle Eastern peace may be lifting.

If these hopes should be justified, the State Department believes that the opposition to the Western nations' plan for the Middle Eastern Command would fade away. Egypt, offered a place with the leading powers in the set-up, rejected it completely. A switch in policy toward Israel might presage a more receptive attitude toward the Western powers' proposals for Middle Eastern security, it is believed here.

Some of the most encouraging signs come from Egypt, which has hitherto been the most recalcitrant foe of Israel, with whom it is still technically at war.

Increasingly frequent references in the Egyptian press to the need of reaching a settlement with Israel are considered significant both as soundings and as a means of preparing Egyptian public opinion for an improvement in relations between the two countries. They take an additional significance from the fact that they have not been denied or refuted from official sources.

One reason for this change of heart may be that a considerable proportion of Egypt's effective strength is now tied up before Gaza, the southern gateway to Palestine, and along the Sinai Desert frontier. Between them and Egypt is the Suez Canal and a tough force of 50,000 British troops, who could cut off their retreat without difficulty.

But one of the most convincing signs that the Arab League may be experiencing a change of heart comes from Pakistan, where the Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, has been saying point-blank that the first duty of the Arab States is to work out a *modus vivendi* with Israel. He stated categorically that Israel must be regarded as "a limb in the body of the Middle East," and went on to advocate a peace settlement.

When is India going to establish good relations with Israel?

Indo-China and France

The Republic of France seems to be able to carry on with Ministries that do not last more than six months or at most twelve. This phenomenon has made friends sorry and foes glad. But, somehow or other, the French men and women manage to pull themselves through. Leftists and Rightists combine to drive a Ministry out; they quarrel and separate, and help form another. Now, it is reported that the followers of General de Gaulle and those of Communists have been thinking of joining hands. The latest Ministry, headed by M. Edgar Faure, has resigned, and President Auriol will find no difficulty in finding a new one.

The Republic has, however, its little Empire, territories and wars. The Morocco and Tunisian insurrections are cases in point. In these wars, in Indo-China specially, she has spent since its beginning in 1946 about Rs. 1,900 crores, at the present rate of exchange. Currently, it costs France about Rs. 1½ crores every day, about two-fifths more than the estimates of a year ago. But Rs. 1½ crores a day is nearly ten per cent of the total French national budget, or about three per cent of the entire French national income.

It is often believed that France has been spending much less on the fighting in Indo-China than she has been receiving from the United States by way of loans, Marshall Plan funds and military aid. But this is not the case. All that enormous American assistance, totalling about \$3,000 million, has indirectly replaced only two-thirds of the cost of the Indo-China war. The Marshall Plan aid has come to an end, and American assistance now consists mainly of direct military supplies which do not offset the large and continuously mounting war expenditures. Nor do the direct military supplies from the United States add much to the materials France has to pour into Indo-China: under the Military Aid Program for 1952, American deliveries are equivalent to only 13.5 per cent of actual French war expenditures.

As to the results of all this sacrifice, the record is unfavourable and the prospects are considered grim. The Franco-Vietnamese position today is no better than at any time since the war began; probably it is worse, considering that the Vietminh forces, while having made no headway either recently, are supposed to have strengthened their reserves, which might enable them sooner or later to launch more general and more serious offensives than they could afford in the past. The hope that France may still succeed single-handed to defeat the Vietminh, which was revived at the time the resourceful General de Latre de Tassigny took command, has vanished completely. The French rearmament programme and

the raising of the national standard of living, are both sadly lagging behind.

These are the basic facts that have greatly increased general impatience with the war in Indo-China and have raised a question which has been taboo outside extreme-Leftist and Pacifist circles: is it necessary to continue the fight in Indo-China? A prominent centre politician and former Finance Minister, M. Mendes-France, was the first to prove on the basis of official figures, that the nation could not hope to carry on at the same time the war in Indo-China and rearmament at home, to say nothing of industrial development and maintenance of the people's precarious living standards. He put the first question France would have to answer for herself in these three words: Asia or Europe? His own choice, clearly, was to devote the country's energies to its European tasks, that is, to recognize the hopelessness of the Indo-China situation and to withdraw from it. The echo to his conclusions echoed throughout the nation: not only that they confirmed popular views about the desirability of giving up Indo-China which, for some time, have by no means been confined to Communists and Pacifists; but are increasingly being shared by a good number of politicians in the various Government parties. Even the leaders of those parties are thus finding it more and more difficult to maintain their old thesis: France must hold Indo-China, or at least keep it out of the grasp of the Vietminh, whatever the cost, and they are now obliged unanimously to declare that France must mobilize foreign aid for Indo-China since she is unable to fulfill the task alone. One of the most revealing proofs of this change of attitude was an article of M. Pierre Brisson, the managing editor of the important right-wing *Figaro*, who writes only twice or three times a year on occasions of special national importance. "The moment has arrived to announce that the limit of our possibilities has been reached. No other Atlantic nation has assumed for so many months, and in the midst of so many ruins at home, a task comparable to ours" (in Indo-China).

But even this new attitude is split into two shades of opinion: One, probably numerically weaker and certainly the less popular, seeks the 'internationalization of the Indo-China conflict,' i.e., the participation of France's allies, or at least the United States, in the fight against the Vietminh; the other, which could easily mobilize the support of the vast majority of the French nation, advocates the 'internationalization of a solution for Indo-China,' i.e., a UN-promoted truce that would lead to an armistice and eventually to peace by way of a plebiscite on both sides of the fighting fronts.

The French Government, the Cabinet of M. Plevin, took the first of these two views. It was of the opinion that a transfer of the Indo-China issue

to the United Nations would harm the prestige of France in the 'French Union,' and encourage dependencies like Morocco and Algiers to appeal to that International Body against the Paris authorities. The French initiative at Washington for Franco-British-American discussions on the unification of the anti-Communist effort in South-East Asia was, therefore, intended not only as a means of 'internationalizing the Indo-China conflict' by obtaining more, and more direct American participation and a more active British interest in it, but also as a means of forestalling the 'internationalization of the solution' of the conflict through the good offices of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the French are uneasily aware of the possibility that events in Asia may take the decision on Indo-China out of their hands and embroil them even more deeply in the greater struggle between the Western Powers and China. For, on the one hand, there are the rumours from Formosa about Chinese troop concentrations on the Vietminh-held borders of Indo-China, which some interpret as a possible prelude to outright Chinese participation in the Indo-China war. And on the other hand, there are the accusations, according to which America, with the co-operation of Siam, has been helping to reinforce the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's South-western forces.

Security Plan for Western Europe

From Paris where the sixth session of the United Nations Organization had held its sittings that is just closed without being able to solve any problem, a news item was sent on January 7 last that

"India announced today that she would abstain from voting on the new Western Collective Security Plan. But she reserved her position on the rival Soviet move to call a 'top level' Security Council meeting to consider world tension and Korean peace."

"The Indian delegate, Sardar H. S. Malik, told the United Nations Political Committee that the Western resolution 'might increase mutual ill-will.' He recalled that India had abstained from voting on the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution last year, as she could not agree to the main recommendations relating to the maintenance of national units for service under the United Nations.

"Our main objection was on the ground that it was inopportune to stress the military aspects of the functions of the United Nations at a time when all the peoples of the world were looking for peace.

"Recommendations of the General Assembly were not as binding on member States as decisions of the Security Council and if some members carried them out and not others, particularly against the views of one of the Big Powers, 'There is grave danger of war on a large scale.'

"Referring to Korea, Sardar Malik said that des-

pite talks, the general hope was that there would be a successful outcome of the negotiations and that the fighting would cease.

"At the present time when the hopes of the people of the world are centred on the United Nations to bring some relief from the prevailing dangerous tension and to secure peace, it seems to be inopportune to proceed with a proposal which might result not in lessening but in increasing the prevailing tension, mutual suspicion and ill-will.

"Mr. R. S. Chhatari of Pakistan announced that his Delegation would support the Western resolution. He said he was pleased with the assurances contained in it that no State would be committed by the collective measures proposed. He did not agree with that section of the Soviet resolution which would abolish the Collective Measures Committee.

"With regard to the Soviet proposal for a Security Council meeting, he said: 'It would give us pleasure if the great powers would meet without using the veto to achieve international peace.'

"American Press reports said that the United States would probably turn down any new British proposal to revive the 'Combined Chiefs of Staff,' the Joint High Command which shaped strategy in World War II.

"The Defence Department's view was that while the combined Chiefs Agency was highly useful in fighting a world war, such an Anglo-American command would not be needed to operate in a North Atlantic Alliance."

This was from Washington dated December 25. Since then there has been a Truman-Churchill meeting and the latter has been prevailed upon in exchange for unspecified help to agree to many a U.S.A. demand while the former has climbed down from her high attitude towards the new regime in China and other consequences of Japan's defeat.

The following two news-items sent on March 20 last from Bonn by the *United Press of America* tell of the situation up-to-date. The first is headed "West German Guarantee to the U.N.O. Commission," the second, "Western Envoys' Meeting Likely" with a sub-heading "All German Government." Later news says that the Western Powers have rejected the East German offer, as it does not guarantee free and fair elections, free speech, and other democratic rights.

"The West German Government granted full dominion privileges and immunities as recognized by international law," to the U.N.O. Commission which is here to investigate whether conditions exist in Germany for free elections.

"The guarantee was presented by West German Federal Vice-Chancellor, Frank Bluecher to Professor Kristjan Albertson (Iceland), Chairman of the Commission. The Commission is composed of Brazil, Holland, Iceland and Pakistan representatives.

"The Western Powers may propose a meeting of

the High Commissioners with the Soviet occupation chief to discuss methods of forming an all-German Government."

Partition of Sudan

Another partition is on its way. This time it is in North Africa where we shall see the country dissected into two. The Egyptian Premier Hilaly Pasha is sending to London Amir Pasha, former Ambassador and close friend of King Farouk, to assure the British Government that Egypt was prepared to consider partition of the Sudan in order to solve the present dispute with Britain.

Circles close to the Egyptian Embassy point out that no other Egyptian Government was so eager as Hilaly Pasha's Government to make such a handsome offer to resolve the thorny problem.

In fact, all previous Governments in Cairo had accused Britain of the policy of "divide and rule" and preparing the way to divide the Sudan so that the North which was politically and economically more advanced and overwhelmingly Muslim would be handed over to Egypt and the more backward and essentially Pagan South would be joined to Kenya or Uganda and stay under the British flag and British administration. Hilaly Pasha's emissary to London will undoubtedly emphasise to Mr. Eden that his Government was persuaded to this change of policy in view of Britain's strategic needs.

This partition device is no new thing. Minority feelings are sought to be reconciled to the whole State by its adoption. And an early incision saves a lot of trouble and agitation. In India, we have this problem still troubling us. And the Nehru Government has been acting very unwisely in postponing decision in this matter. The Andhra Province is a symbol of this idea.

The partition of the Sudan will lead to eventual freedom of what is called the "Pagan" South. The Kenya-Uganda federation may put it under European domination. But the majority will prevail ultimately. And Malan's evil example will be scotched, liberating 16 crores of men and women from foreign rule.

Hydel Electricity in Agriculture

The following news-item from the *News and Views* of the Soviets, gives a very clear and interesting pointer towards the use of hydel power in co-operative farms in lands reclaimed under our river valley schemes.

"Electricity finds growing application in Soviet agriculture. The number of rural power stations grows steadily. Since 1949 electric tractors are successfully working in the collective farm fields; electricity is used for threshing and cleaning grain and in live-stock raising for pumping water, preparing fodder, milking cows and shearing sheep.

The building of gigantic hydro-electric stations on the Volga, Dnieper, Don and Amu Darya will supply

Soviet agriculture vast quantities of cheap electric power. Electric machine and tractor stations are being organized to serve to the collective farms, new electric machinery and equipment for agriculture is being designed and tested. This article describes scientific research in the use of electricity for agriculture.

Formerly, the electric tractor could plough up only 16 hectares after which the sub-station had to be moved to a new place and again hooked up to the power line. Now, by using additional cable, the tractor can travel 1,500 metres from the sub-station covering a much wider range. It can plough up as much on the other side of the line. All told a tractor of the new design can plough up and cultivate 250 hectares, without moving the sub-station.

Simultaneously, a plough of a new design is being tested. Its designers are Ivanovs—husband and wife, engineers—who have many different plough models to their credit. But the latest is really a novelty.

The Ivanovs have designed a plough with two sections of shares, right and left mouldboards. The electric tractor turns up to the soil to the left, while five shares of the right mouldboard are suspended in the air. At the end of the field the tractor driver, by pressing a hydraulic control lever, removes from the soil the shares of the left mouldboards. Turning around the machine and getting back into the furrow the tractor driver sinks into the soil the shares of the right mouldboard. In this way a tractor can start ploughing a field from any side and work without any idle runs.

The designers closely followed the plough. The depth of ploughing reached 35 centimetres, a load seldom handled both by the tractor and the ploughs. The splendid performance of the plough highly impressed all who followed these tests."

Marine Biology

The Fishing Industry in India is almost as old as India itself. And yet so few of our fishermen really know, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad put it, "the habits of fish or the influence of currents and seasons upon the appearance and disappearance of marine fauna." To enable India's fishermen, particularly those who dwell along her shores, to pursue with more intelligence and success their age-old industry, Dr. Prasad inaugurated on May 27 the Taraporevala Aquarium at Bombay. Thanks to the munificent donation of Rs. 2 lakhs the fisherfolk around Bombay will have an opportunity of studying through their own language medium facts essential for their trade. The Aquarium will thus be not merely the counter part of a Zoo or a Museum but a place where research will be carried out in the maritime life along our shores. To the extent to which the Aquarium assists in the exploitation of the fish-wealth of our country it will be doing a real service in combating the recurring famines that we have been experiencing.

The opening of the Bombay Aquarium is welcome. But equally important are the fishing-folk in India's eastern shores. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's grandiose sea-fish hunting with the help of Danish fishermen has struck a rock because it is too expensive for our people. Recent news tells us that the help of Japanese fishermen is being sought now.

Cultural Relations between India and Denmark

The following will be found of more permanent value than politics:

"Dr. Wolmer Clemmensen, Secretary to the Danish-Indian Society in Copenhagen, has spent a couple of months in India as a guest of the Government of India.

"The Danish-Indian Society was founded in 1948 for the furthering of the cultural relations between India and Denmark and the widening of the mutual knowledge and understanding between the two people. Among the activities of the Society may practically be mentioned the invitations extended to Indian students in Europe to visit Denmark during their studies as guests of the Society. About 50 students have during the last two years availed themselves of this opportunity to come to Copenhagen to become acquainted with life in Denmark.

"Dr. Clemmensen has visited and lectured at the Universities of Aligarh, Benares, Nagpur, Madras, Trivandrum, Bangalore and Poona.

"Dr. Thorbjorn Moller of the University of Copenhagen, who has a profound knowledge of Hinduism, has recently visited India to study Hinduism, especially in South India with a view to collect material for a book on Hinduism.

"Denmark takes a great and growing interest in India and an increasing number of Danish Journalists have lately visited India.

"At the present the world-famous Danish author and journalist Mr. Karl Eskelund and his Chinese-born wife are visiting India to write a book on India's country and people.

"Karl Eskelund has written 5 books, published in 12 languages. He has travelled through 50 countries and finds India highly attractive and intends spending several months here."

Golden Jubilee Celebrations

We gladly make room for the following:

"The Ramakrishna Mission Home of Service, Banaras, celebrated its Golden Jubilee from the 6th to the 9th March, 1952. The celebrations were attended by very large gatherings on all the four days and were a grand success. They were completed by the 5th March, 1952.

"An exhibition on health and hygiene, held through the courtesy of the Government of Uttar Pradesh, drew large crowds on all the gala days. On the western side, scenes relating to the life of Sri Ramakrishna

and Swami Vivekananda and the spread of the Ramakrishna Organisation were exhibited by means of beautiful drawings and models. On the northern side, the long and spacious verandah of the Library building was utilised for the display of the activities of the various centres of the Ramakrishna Mission in India and abroad. On the two sides of the dais were placed artistically decorated portraits of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

"Swami Vishuddhanandaji formally opened the celebrations with a highly illuminating speech bearing on Seva-dharma. He invoked the blessings of Sri Ramakrishna for the success of the Jubilee celebrations, and Swami Vimuktanandaji and Swami Japanandaji spoke next, elucidating the ideal of service to the suffering humanity.

"In the afternoon at 4-30 P.M. His Highness, Sri Vibhuti Narain Singh Bahadur, Maharaja, Banaras, presided over a meeting. The Secretary of the Home of Service read out a brief report of the activities of the Home for the past half a century. The report disclosed the regrettable fact that the financial position of the institution during the last few years had not been at all satisfactory. An appeal was made for more funds. The Maharaja also inaugurated the exhibitions. A film show on health and education, and music ended the day's function.

"On the 7th March, 1952, Sri Krishna Prasad, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P., Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, Government of India, presided over the meeting. Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, D. Litt., Head of the Hindi Department, Banaras Hindu University and Shri Haridas Bhattacharyya, Professor, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, delivered speeches. The students of the Rajghat Besant College and Montessori School and Nursery Section of the Central Hindu Girls' School, Banaras, entertained the audience with a dramatic performance. Sri Satyanshu Mukhopadhyaya, Principal, Teachers' Training College, Banaras Hindu University, brought the day's function to a close by moving a vote of thanks to the chair.

"On the 8th March, 1952, Dr. K. C. K. E. Rajah, Director of Health Services, Government of India, inaugurated the X-Ray Department of the Home in the afternoon in the presence of many eminent doctors of Banaras. Captain S. K. Chowdhury, one of the members of the Managing Committee of the Home of Service, thanked the Director for kindly opening the Department. He offered thanks also to the Government for their kind donation of Rs. 600 and to the proprietors of M. Bhattacharyya & Co. for their generous donation of Rs. 20,000 towards the construction of the X-Ray buildings in memory of the late Mahesh Chandra Bhattacharyya of many charities. He also appealed to the public for further donations for the said purpose. Dr. Hafiz-Syed, Professor,

Allahabad University, Miss Kartar Kaur Painthal, Headmistress, Central Hindu Girls' School, Banaras and Swami Japanandaji gave nice addresses on India and world peace, Service before self, etc. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Head of the Department of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, moved a vote of thanks to the chair.

"On Sunday, the 9th March, the last day of the celebrations, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, President, Servant of India Society, was the chairman. Dr. K. K. Bhattacharyya, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University, Prof. Arabinda Bose, Banaras Hindu University and Swami Gambhiranandaji, one of the Asst. Secretaries of the Ramakrishna Mission, made speeches on the ideal of service as preached by Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda. Nationalism and Swami Vivekananda. The President in his speech said that the Ramakrishna Mission differed from other institutions in this respect that it was the only organisation which while following a unique ideal of service, has at the same time produced a band of absolutely selfless workers who have dedicated their lives and everything to the service of God in the suffering humanity. Swami Bhaswaranandaji, the Assistant Secretary of the Home of Service, gave thanks to all those who had kindly helped to make the celebrations such a grand success.

"Swami Vishuddhanandaji, Vice-President of the Ramakrishna Mission, graced the occasion and inspired the audience by his presence throughout in the meetings of all the days.

"Four publications as part of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations were made available to the public: (1) *A Golden Jubilee Souvenir* in English; price Rs. 3-8. (2) *A Golden Jubilee Memorial Booklet* in English at a nominal price of As. 2 only. (3) *A Golden Jubilee Memorial Booklet* in Hindi at a nominal price of As. 2 only. (4) *Swami Vivekananda's Ideal of Karma-Yoga* in English (Sreemat Swami Vishuddhanandaji's speech), distributed free."

Memorial to Lady Abala Bose

We have no doubt that Doctor Harendra Coomar Mookherjee, who has inherited many of the unfulfilled ideas of his predecessor, will see that a memorial for the late Abala Bose is given shape to during his term of office. Doctor Harendra Coomar started with one advantage being a native of the province. He knows its educational requirements as thoroughly as anybody else. And we expect that he will make a special effort to give shape to the memorial to Abala Bose who dedicated nearly fifty years of her life to women's education, general and vocational.

In the memorial meeting, the resolution was moved by the treasurer Sri Bhagirath Kanoria, whose name is a guarantee, in the following words:

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta is strongly of opinion that there should be a suitable memorial to Lady Abala Bose, the founder of the

Nari Siksha Samity to the cause of which she gave her time, thought and energy for the last thirty years.

"It resolves that a substantial endowment fund be raised to be named 'Lady Abala Bose Endowment Fund' the income of which is to be utilised for the maintenance of the institutions under the Nari Siksha Samity."

It is up to the Nari Siksha Samity to be moving in the matter. The first step should be to formally approach the Governor and bespeak his support.

Abdul Rezak

News from Dehri-on-the-Sone told us that on the 22nd of January last this nationalist Muslim breathed his last. His life-long devotion to the cause of the Congress, specially under Gandhiji's inspiration, has had a steadying effect on communalism in that province. In tune with the simplicity of life practised by Gandhiji, Abdul Rezak went so far as to dress in gunny-cloth, and in the matter of food took it only once in 24 hours. Thus the Ramzan practice of a month only was extended to 12 months, not a difficult habit when idealism is there to uphold one. Our sincere condolences to his bereaved family. May he find peace.

Swami Yogananda

Swami Yogananda, Founder-President of the Self-Realisation Fellowship in America and Yogoda Sat-Sanga Society of India, died on March 7 last at Los Angeles, California, while addressing a meeting in honour of Mr. B. R. Sen, India's Ambassador to U.S.A. He was 62.

Son of Bhagabati Charan Ghosh, a high official of the B.N.R., his family name was Mukundlal Ghosh. A graduate of the Calcutta University, he met his Guru, Giriji Maharaj first at Banaras. After that he came to his Serampore Ashram and moulded his life under the guidance of the Guru.

Swami Yogananda went to America in 1920 as the delegate from India to the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston. The first Yogoda Satsanga centre in America was organised in Boston. He then proceeded to New York, Philadelphia and other cities. He established the Western Headquarters of the Yogoda Satsanga on Mount Washington in Los Angeles. A Satsanga centre was organised also in Washington under the leadership of a group of local businessmen. The Yogoda Math at Dakhineswar is the headquarters of all centres in various parts of India.

Sannyasins are generally beyond human sorrow and grief. But when any one of them impresses himself on society and its affairs, society learns to look upon him as one of its own. Swami Yogananda was one such. And we share the grief felt by his followers and relatives.

K. S. Venkatramani

Among the few Indian writers who have used

the English language, K. S. Venkatramani achieved a fair measure of success. He was a writer of exquisite charm and it is to his credit that he was able to transplant the Indian atmosphere in his English works. This he did by using the natural Indian style and the South Indian environment and social habits. His *Paper Boats* which gained him recognition in England as a writer of promise are delightful sketches of Indian scenes. One of the sponsors of the "Back to the Land" movement, he was a great champion of the village life of India and he tried to inspire the people in his campaign by a Tamil magazine which he was editing for years at great sacrifice. Recently his services to literature and the cultural life of the South were recognised when a purse was presented to him on his sixty-first birthday. His death last month will be widely deplored. He gave himself no rest—the mark of an ardent spirit burning to carry a message of human uplift. Our sympathies go to his bereaved family.

Don Stephen Senanayake

Don Stephen Senanayake, first Premier of Ceylon, died on March 22nd last from injuries received in a fall from his horse. He was a gentleman-farmer who turned Nationalist leader and steered Ceylon through the difficult first years of independence as the Dominion's first Prime Minister. He was 68.

While the island was still a British Colony, he led her war-effort as leader of the Ceylon State Council. Powerfully built, bluff, jovial and heavily moustached, he was famous as a young man for feats of strength, and was a champion boxer and wrestler. But he was also the man of whom Lord Soulbury, Governor-General of Ceylon, said: "He is a statesman of judgment, sagacity and foresight."

Though he did so much to achieve Ceylon's independence within the Commonwealth, Mr. Senanayake did not enter politics until he was 42. And his career was "made" by a prison sentence.

Son of a well-to-do landowner, he was born in October 1884 and went to school in Colombo at St. Thomas Church of England College. He entered public life only as a temperance reformer—a conviction arising out of his staunch Buddhism.

In 1915, he was arrested with other prominent Sinhalese after Muslim-Buddhist riots in Ceylon. He came out of gaol after a short time to find himself overnight a national hero, and took to the growing national independence movement.

At 42 he was elected to the Legislative Council, and five years later in 1931 became Minister for Agriculture and Lands. Here his early farming background helped, and he did much for the island's farming. Mr. Senanayake held the post until the Crown Colony achieved Dominion Status in 1948, when he took over as first Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and External Affairs.

The Population Problem of

* THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF INDIA

the density of

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.COM.

THE population problem is a fundamental human problem. It affects every aspect of man's life—social, individual, national, and international. It affects the health and happiness of individual families; it affects the social progress of nations; and it affects the peace of the whole world, for population problem may lead to war. The population question is the crux of our economic problem. And yet our human resources, our greatest potential asset, are in many ways the most neglected and most poorly developed. India's manpower, which is more important and valuable than land, minerals, forests, fisheries or any other natural resources, receives but little care or attention.

PROBLEM OF POPULATION

There are people who argue that India is over-populated. The question needs consideration. One factor for measuring over-population is its pressure per square mile. The pressure depends on the geographical situation of the country like configuration of land, fertility of soil, climate, the degree of industrialisation, security of life and property, standard of living of the people and the availability of economic resources and their exploitation. It should be remembered that at no time a country may be absolutely over-populated, for whether it be the insect or bacteria or human being, there is an optimum fixed by nature—the Logistic Curve of the Biological Growth of Population—which is never exceeded. Sociological research has shown that there are two kinds of over-population, conveniently called the absolute and the relative over-population. A country is considered to have an absolute over-population only when it is unable, under the best possible government and economic organisation that human ingenuity can devise, to provide itself with enough means of occupation for the adequate sustenance of its people. Thus if in any one country all known methods of production are employed and all natural resources utilised, and yet there is a surplus population which cannot be provided with wealth or occupation, it is said to be over-populated in the absolute sense. Thus it is difficult to believe that for centuries to come countries like Germany, France or Japan can have an absolute over-population for the rationalisation of industries. The adoption of the methods of scientific management and modernisation of agricultural methods of production will enable these and similar other countries to support a much larger population than what they do at present. If this is true in case of these countries it must also be true in respect of India which can produce various and varying kinds of cereals, raw materials and fruits and all kinds of minerals. Such conditions prevailing, India cannot certainly be considered to be already over-populated in the absolute sense. Opinions of men whose knowledge cannot be disputed and authority

cannot be denied, lead us to believe that India is not producing one-tenth of what it could by methods already known to humanity. Arnold Lupton has remarked:

"This great country and this great people with its enormous well-ordered population sufficient for all work it has to do, could, if wisely guided, support double its present number in health, plenty and pleasure."

To quote one more example, according to Sir Visvesvarya:

"Under favourable conditions, with steadfast perseverance in a settled national policy, and by the introduction of science, modern machinery and up-to-date business methods, the production of the country from agriculture and manufactures could easily be doubled within next ten and trebled in fifteen years."

Countless examples could be cited to prove that India's phenomenal under-production is not due to natural causes but due to fault of man. It, therefore, cannot be held that India is over-populated in the absolute sense.

Now let us turn to the question of relative over-population. If in any country on account of avoidable circumstances there is neither enough wealth nor means of livelihood for the existing population, the country is relatively over-populated. The avoidable circumstances may be illiteracy, mis-government, mal-administration, dis-unity, internal dissension, negligence of industries, absence of compulsory education, lack of industrial, commercial and agricultural training or antiquated methods of production. These are the very problems which confront India. There are large natural resources and the inhabitants are endowed with the different kinds and grades of latent talent, and yet she is not maintaining a reasonably high standard of living for its population. Hence, India is only relatively over-populated because her vast natural and human resources have so far been neglected. This is not the case with India alone, other countries of the world are also suffering from relative over-population. As long as there are millions of unemployed people who, in spite of ability, energy and will, are unable to find work; as long as millions of people are under-employed; and as long as many more millions suffer from want and from lack of necessities and comforts, a country must be held to be relatively over-populated. Most countries in the world including the most progressive and civilized countries are suffering from relative over-population.

PRESSURE OF POPULATION

The number of people living per sq. mile in a country is known as the density of population. India had a density of 255 persons per sq. mile (in 1947) as against 708 (1944) in Belgium, 703 (1940) in England and Wales, 639 in Netherlands, 250 (1940) in

Japan, 437 (1940) in U.S.A., 382 (1939) in Germany, and 200 (1947) in Pakistan. A high density does not in any way denote a high standard of well-being in a country. It is no indication of the economic condition of the country. For instance, Belgium has a density of 708 persons or little less than that of West Bengal but her people have a much higher standard of living than the people of Western Bengal. Again, the density of population in England and Wales is 703 and in America only 437 but the prosperity and economic development of the latter is much higher. The figures of density have, therefore, no meaning for the comparative study of economic prosperity of various regions in the country; on the other hand, they reflect the differences in physical and climatic conditions of the various regions and various stages of economic development in them.

The density varies considerably from place to place in India, being highest in the Ganges Valley and parts of the East Punjab and South India (Malabar Coast), and lowest in the outlying desert and hill tracts; parts of North Bengal have a mean density of over a thousand per square mile, while there are tracts in Assam and Rajasthan where there are less than 2 persons per square mile.

SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

The distribution of population according to sex has economic bearings, in so far as it affects the labour supply through marriage and fecundity. The disparity in the sex ratio in the composition of the Indian population is well-known. There is an acute shortage of females as compared with males. According to 1951 census there are 946 females for every 1000 males as against 934 in 1941; 940 in 1931; 945 in 1921; 953 in 1911; 963 in 1901; 958 in 1891 and 954 in 1881. What is more alarming is the fact that instead of showing diminution this disparity has tended to increase from decade to decade. There is also a great sex disparity between the different socio-economic groups, *e.g.*, among the major communities of India the scarcity of females is the largest; in the case of Sikhs, there are only 78 females for every 100 males as against 95 females in the case of Hindus and Christians; 94 in that of Jains and Parsis and 90 in that of Muslims for every 100 males. This disparity is felt throughout the major provinces of India. The only States which show an excess of females over males are Madras (1004), Orissa (1023) and Travancore-Cochin (1007: 1000). The acute shortage of females is to be met with in the East Punjab and West Bengal, where there are 863 and 861 females per 1000 males respectively. The proportion of females to males becomes less as one proceeds from South and East to North and West of India.

The proportion of male to female births in India is 108 to 100 while it is generally 106 to 100 in Western countries. Throughout Europe there is an excess of females but in India there is an excess of males over

females, *e.g.*, U.S.A. has 993 females for her 1000 males as against, 1088 females per 1000 males in England and Wales. The corresponding figures for Germany are 1050, for France 1071, for Italy 1037, for Sweden 1022 and for India 946. In Europe and other foreign countries, the excess of females over males in the total population is ascribed to the greater mortality among males due to the dangers of their occupations as soldiers, sailors, miners, railway and factory hands, and also to vice and other excesses which shorten life. Thus more males die off leaving an excess of female children to grow up into women.

Women generally have a lower death rate than men because nature has equipped them better to meet diseases. In India though the number of males born is greater than that of females, yet organically the female sex is stronger, the male sex being the weaker vessel. According to the statistics collected by the League of Nations, it will be seen that at all ages, the expectation of life for women is greater than for men in all countries, except India upto the age of 40 where mortality among women during the child-bearing age is particularly high. In India up to the age of 12 the mortality of female children is less than that of male children. It is after the age of 12 and up to the age of 45 (the child-bearing age) that huge numbers of women are cut off, thus reducing the ratio of females to males in India and creating a problem exactly the reverse of that in the West. The death of young mothers is more common during a somewhat later period of maternity, between the ages of 25 and 35, due to physical exhaustion and nervous breakdown, which follow in the wake of premature child-bearing.

Thus there has been a progressive decline in the number of females in India. Various reasons have been urged in the explanation of these figures:

(i) The prevalence of early marriage, *e.g.*, in 1931, 407 males and 493 females out of every 1000 were married; taking widowers, widows, ascetics and mendicants into account this means that almost every person of marriageable age was actually married;

(ii) Neglect of female life because of social attitude in the country wherein the birth of a girl is looked upon as a liability and the boy is welcomed as an asset;

(iii) The maternal mortality consequent on premature child-birth (one hundred out of every 1000 girl wives are doomed to die in child-birth);

(iv) The social ban on widow remarriage which means that about 12 million women do not participate in active motherhood;

(v) The caste system also worsening the situation for there is every possibility that in a particular caste there may be comparatively more females of the reproductive age than males of the same age group, therefore, the problem of every adult male finding a bride of a suitable age in his own caste becomes acute, (in fact excessive masculinity in the sex ratio of the

population group must be regarded as a result of inbreeding);

(vi) According to Dr. Neal Edwards the most important cause of scarcity of females is the puerperal sepsis, anaemia, albuminaria, convulsions and haemorrhage; behind these immediate causes are three ultimate factors—poverty, malnutrition and insanitary living; early and frequent child-bearing and inadequate pre- and post-natal care;

(vii) Certain regional conditions affecting death rates among the females also afford a partial explanation of the adverse sex-ratio. According to Dr. Mookerjee:

"In the plague regions of India, the malady appears to bear more savagely on females than on males; similarly in malaria-hunted zones, malaria appears to exercise a selective lethal influence on women. On the whole, where economic pressure is more severe and the women are exposed to the hardships of struggle with the soil and climate, as in the zones of precarious rainfall, there is a striking and permanent scarcity of women."

We may sum up the situation in the words of Dr. J. H. Hutton thus:

"The female infant is definitely better equipped by nature for survival than the male, but in India the advantages she has at birth are probably neutralised in infancy by comparative neglect and in adolescence by the strain of bearing children too early and too often."

In the industrial towns of India males greatly outnumber females, the number of females per 1000 males in 1941 was only 464 in Calcutta, 581 in Bombay and 550 in Howrah. This disparity is accounted for by the migratory character of the Indian labourers who do not bring their families to the towns and by the fact that women do not usually get many jobs in the urban industries. In Europe, on the other hand, there is commonly an excess of females in large cities. In the period between the ages of 10 and 20 the girls migrate to the towns as domestic servants, clerks, typists, etc. In the period of age beyond 50 men again migrate from the towns back to the country. It may also be that men become incapacitated for work before women. The scarcity of women in industrial towns in India leads to prostitution and many other vices like gambling, drinking, etc.

AGE COMPOSITION.

A study of the age distribution of the population is essential for determining the proportion of the working population to non-working dependents. The age distribution of the population in every country can be shown in the form of a pyramid.

The base of the pyramid is formed by the age group D-10 which usually includes the largest percentage of the population. The pyramid gradually narrows down as the higher age groups are reached. In the case of India, the age pyramid has the broadest base of all countries owing to the comparatively high birth rate. The pyramid, however, tapers towards a

point more sharply than in the case of any other country, indicating the inferior longevity of the Indian population. There are relatively very few people in India who live beyond the age of 50.

Sandberg, the Swedish statistician, based his classification of population into certain types on the distribution of population. According to him, a population was to be (i) progressive, if the proportions in the three age-groups were 40, 50 and 10 respectively, (ii) stationary, if the proportions were 33, 50 and 17 and (iii) regressive, if the proportions were 20, 50 and 30 respectively.

Thus Sandberg was of opinion that a normal population has about one half of its total between the age of 15 and 50 and the proportion of those above that age group to those below it indicates whether the population is increasing, stationary or declining. To be more precise:

"The youngest of the three groups must be double the eldest if the population is to continue to grow. Just short of that point it must be stationary."

According to this distribution our population seems clearly to be progressive. Remember that in India the working age of population is between 15 and 40 and not 15 and 50 as given by Sandberg. Hence, Sandberg's categories need some adjustment before they are applied to India. Sir Edward Gaits, the Census Commissioner for India, therefore, was right when he took the "age groups 15-40" instead of 15-50 (as done by Sandberg), partly because old age comes on quicker in India, and partly this corresponds more closely to the reproductive period of life. Taking the distribution of population on this basis, we find that the youngest age group (0-14) is slightly more than double (39.8 in 1938) the oldest (18.9). The relation is more similar to the proportions of a stationary type than those of the progressive type. It will thus appear that the working population—both male and female—in India, i.e., between 15 and 40 is 41 per cent of the total population and the rest 59 per cent is composed of the "unproductive section" of the population, counting beads and thinking of the other world. Owing to certain social customs prevailing in the country among the higher caste Hindus and Muslims, a considerable proportion of the females do not take part in the production of wealth except in so far as they perform services as mothers and as housewives. Hence, the whole burden of supporting the whole population falls on about 30 per cent of the working population, whereas in Europe and other Western countries the accepted age limit of the working population is between 15 and 60. On this standard there are 30 per cent people in the working age in India as compared with 61 per cent in France (1940), 65 per cent in England and Wales (1937), 66 per cent in Sweden (1938) and Germany, 63 per cent in Canada (1938), 59 per cent in Italy (1936), and 65 per cent in

U.S.A. This has serious consequences on the production and standard of well-being of the people in the country as it exhibits our qualitative deficiency as against greater numerical strength.

RURAL URBAN COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

The distribution of population between rural and urban areas is highly significant. Economic progress in every country has been marked by a corresponding increase in urban population. The preponderately rural character of our country is a sign of her economic backwardness. It shows unmistakably that we are yet far behind other civilized countries in the development of trade transport and industry. The rural urban distribution of population is also significant from another point of view. It throws light on a people's national character. The rural people are lethargic, conservative and superstitious, they are stagnates. Villages act as a drag on economic progress, whereas the urbanisation is the result of industrialisation, increase in trade and commerce and growth of arts and sciences. The urban people, consequently, are alert, industrious and resourceful. It is from the cities that progressive ideas radiate and civilization spreads around. The fact that we have only a few cities shows that the springs of economic progress are weak.

It has been rightly remarked that the Indian nation lives in villages. There are over 500,000 villages, and the average population per village is 517. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 66,436,094 so that each village on an average comprises of 101 occupied houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.1 persons. In 1872, 8.7 per cent of our people lived in towns; in 1891 it was 9.4 per cent; in 1911 it was 9.3 per cent; in 1921, 10.3 per cent; in 1931, 11 per cent; and in 1941, 12.8 per cent of Indian population lived in towns. Thus about 87 per cent of the people in India still live in the villages. The condition in the West is quite the reverse. In Western countries the percentage of urban population varies from 56 per cent in U.S.A. to 32 per cent in Sweden; 71 per cent in Italy; 56 per cent in Germany; 42 per cent in France; 77 per cent in England and Wales; 45 per cent in Austria; 41 per cent in Canada and 64 per cent in Japan.

The progress of urbanisation has been slow in India. The number of towns having a population of 5,000 or above is 2,000 with an average population of 18,365 persons per town. The number of occupied houses in towns was 9,599,251 so that each town on an average comprised of 3551.3 occupied houses and each urban household on an average consisted of 5.2 persons. After partition the number of towns has been reduced but the overcrowding of 10,000 and more was only 57 in 1941. Urban population has increased from 37 million in 1931 to 50 million in 1941 while rural population increased from 301 to 339 million during the same period. The Indian cities have largely grown in a most haphazard manner and they are nothing

more than mere conglomeration centres. This urbanisation has all the drawbacks of a lack of control and of general squalor destructive of both the moral and physical health of its inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that 94.2 million people live in villages with less than 500 people; 86.96 m. in villages with 500 to 1,000 people; 57.4 m. live in villages with 1,000 to 2,000 people; 63.4 m. live in villages with 2,000 to 5,000 people. Thus in all 301.96 million lived in rural areas in 1941. This shows that there is no progressive urbanization of the country as is to be seen in other countries of the world. What we want is the urbanization of the rural population and ruralization of the urban centres.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION

A demographer is interested in the religious composition of a population, for the religious factor is closely related to other population phenomena like the birth rate, the death rate, marital status, occupation and migration. Different religious groups may have different birth rates. Educational levels, economic security and occupational distribution may be explained (to a limited extent) on the basis of religious differences.

A study of the last six census returns reveals roughly that out of every 100 persons in India, 68 are Hindus, 22 are Muslims, 3 Buddhists, 2 Animists, 1 Sikh and 1 Christian. Of the remaining three, one may be a Christian, the other a Buddhist and the third is probably a Jain. Mass migration immediately after the partition of India has altered the above figures. Nearly 5 million Hindus migrated from West Punjab to East Punjab and 1½ million from East Bengal to West Bengal. In spite of these transfers about 14 million Hindus still live in Pakistan and about 32 million Muslims in the Indian Union.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

The statistics bearing on the occupational distribution of the population are of value as throwing light on social condition and changes. They are an excellent index of the stage of industrial development of a country. The predominance of rural population in the country is itself an indication of the chief occupation of the people. People live on land; and agriculture has remained for centuries their leading occupation. (The proportion of persons directly dependent on agriculture was 61 per cent in 1891; 16 per cent in 1901; 72 per cent in 1911; 73 per cent in 1921; 75 per cent in 1931 and 68 per cent in 1948-49). Manufacturing industries are few in number and confined only to big cities and the number employed in them is very small. Even where the number of people returned as "industrial workers" is substantial, the number employed in the organised industries is microscopically small.

The National Income Committee computed recently the strength of the working force in 1948-49 and its distribution among different occupations. The

following table indicates the distribution of the working force:

Principal Occupation	Earners Plus Working Dependents Figures in thousand (1948-49)	Percent- age age (in 1931)	Percent- age (in 1931)
66			
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	90,537	68.2	65.8
Exploitation of minerals	633	0.5	0.2
Industry	18,019	13.6	10.3
Transport	9,448	1.8	1.6
Trade	8,250	6.2	5.5
Public Forde	1,909	1.4	0.1
Professions and Liberal Arts	5,044	3.8	1.6
Public Administration	1,697	1.3	0.6
Domestic Service	4,194	3.2	7.5
Miscellaneous works	—	—	7.8
Total	132,731	100.0	100.0

Even a casual observer will be struck by the uneven distribution of our people over the various occupations as revealed from the above table. It simply reflects the lopsided nature of our economy. If the economic development of the country had taken place in a sufficiently diversified manner the human resources would have shown a more balanced allocation. Less than 3 per cent of the people are employed in administration and liberal arts. This shows a high degree of illiteracy and intellectual backwardness. This is a very unhealthy picture of an economy where practically the entire population is dependent on an occupation which is old, exhausted, uncertain and uneconomic too. This barometer of economic progress indicates the backward nature of our national economy. Experience shows that as an economy advances the percentage of population dependent on primary occupations diminishes and that dependent on secondary, and still more on tertiary, occupations increases. Our dependence on primary occupations is still striking. Thus whereas 19.3 per cent of the population depends on primary, 31.1 per cent on secondary and 49.6 per cent on tertiary occupations in U.S.A., in India the respective figures are 62.4 per cent, 14.4 per cent and 23.2 per cent.

Over-dependence on land makes the economic life of the people unstable and as a result of this the country has frequently experienced and still suffers from famines, poverty and scarcity. This state of affairs is not confined to mainly agricultural tracts only but even the industrialised areas too suffer from it. India must continue to be poor as long as this unbalance of economy is not removed.

ECONOMIC COMPOSITION

No precise classification of the population of India according to the income groups is possible, owing to the fact that no statistics on this aspect has ever been collected. Recently the National Income Committee has computed India's national income

during 1948-49 to Rs. 8,710 crores. For an estimated population of 341.04 million in the year, this works out to a per capita income of Rs. 255. Analysis of the income indicates that agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities, including transport, and marketing service performed by the cultivator on his own account in respect of his own produce, contribute roughly 48 per cent or nearly half of the national income. Statistical tables giving the net output per engaged person indicate that over-all national average is Rs. 600. The figures according to a few important trades and professions are: agriculture Rs. 500, mining and factory establishments Rs. 1700, small enterprises Rs. 600, commerce, transport and communication Rs. 1600, Government services Rs. 1300, professions including miscellaneous services Rs. 600, and domestic service Rs. 400.

Estimates of the division of the national income according to the income groups reveal extreme inequalities of distribution. According to Profs. Shah and Khambatta, the gross national income of Provincial India (undivided) is distributed as follows:

Estimated average income per year (Rs.)	Number of earners	No. of persons supported
100,000	6,000	30,000
10,000	230,000	1,150,000
5,000	270,000	1,350,000
200	2,500,000	12,500,000
50	35,000,000	100,000,000
The Remainder		The Remainder

This table clearly shows that more than a third of the wealth of the country is enjoyed by about 1 per cent of the population (or allowing for dependents about 5 per cent), that slightly more than another third (about 35 per cent) of the annual wealth produced in the country, is absorbed by another third of the population allowing for dependents; while 60 per cent of the people of Provincial India get about 30 per cent of the total wealth produced in the country.

LITERACY COMPOSITION

The educational composition of a population is one of the recognised indicators of the quality of the population of the country. A country's social telesis is considerably dependent on the educational status of its population. The absence of the ability of reading, writing and calculating means that the individual is culturably handicapped in a complex world of the modern era. The level of education or the number of years of schooling a person has received indicates also the nature and significance of the role played by the home, the school, the community, the province and the nation towards the cultural welfare of the population.

For the population, as a whole, the percentage of literacy has been gradually improving. Between 1921 and 1931, she gained one per cent, and between 1931 and 1941 she gained 4 per cent more. There

were 120 literates per 1000 according to 1941 census as against only 89 literates per 1000 in 1931. The figure of 120 literates per 1000 is really not an improvement, if we forget percentages and look into total figures. In 1931 we had 23 million literates and in 1941 the number rose to 47 million, i.e., during the last decade, 24 million more were made literate, showing a flattering increase of 101.5 per cent. The figure of 12 per cent literacy does not show the difference between males and females in this regard. Male literacy has always been higher than female literacy in India. In 1941 census the gross figure of 120 literates for every 1000 of total population is made up of 195 for males and 52 for females.

It is surprising to note that the number of illiterates increased more than the literates. In 1931 there were 315 millions illiterates and in 1941 the figure rose to 341 millions, despite the percentage increase in literacy. The main reason for this situation is the prevalence of high birth rate and the absence of concerted measures to make the people literate. India's literacy figures cannot be compared with those of other countries which have worked miracles by a planned system of education within the shortest time. The example of Russia would suffice. Between the two world wars, Russia has taken magnificent strides in this respect. In Czarist Russia, 78 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate but today, 30 years later, less than 8 per cent is illiterate. According to Dr. Frank Lerimer:

"The proportion of literacy among all persons aged 9 years and above in the USSR area rose from 24 per cent in 1897 to 51.1 per cent in 1926 and to 81.2 per cent in 1939. The comparable series persons aged 9-49 years of age rose from 21.3 in 1897 to 56.6 per cent in 1926 and 89.1 per cent in 1939."

India, after more than five thousand years of existence and nearly 200 years of British Rule, has made no improvement in this matter.

BIRTH RATES AND DEATH RATES

The natural rate of growth in the country is determined by birth and death rates. The birth rate means the number of children born every year in proportion to every thousand of the population. As regards the death and birth rates, India occupies a position of unenviable pre-eminence among the civilized countries of the world. The birth rate has shown a steady decline and stands low at present in European countries, it is as high as 24 per mille in India. The birth rate in India was steady at 32 till 1940 but fell to 28 in 1945 and 26 in 1949. The corresponding figures for U.S.A. are 17.2 per thousand (1939), U.K. 16.3 (1939), Egypt 43.4 (1938), France 15.9 (1941), Italy 20.5 (1941), Belgium 14.8 (1941), Germany 16.2 (1941), Sweden 19.3 (1941) and 21.4 (1941) in Denmark.

Leaving Egypt, birth rate in India is the highest of all civilized countries of the world. Even now it

stands very high. Causes are not far to seek and may be found in the peculiar socio-economic structure of the country. The most important of them are:

(i) The universality of marriages among all castes, e.g., in 1931, 467 males and 493 females out of every 1000 were married, i.e., if we take into account widows and widowers as well as ascetics and mendicants, almost every person of marriageable age was actually married. Most of the women in India are married before they are 20 and most of them bear children before they are 30.

(ii) Marriage is not only universal but it is performed at a very early age so that the young couples begin to get children comparatively earlier than in other countries. According to 1941 census if the wife belongs to age group 15-20, the average number of children born per family is 7, it is 5.4 in age group 20-25 and 4.9 in age group 25-30 and so on. This shows that the higher the age of the wife, the lower the fertility rate and hence the less number of children per family. In India, the 15-20 age period is most fertile, the age period 20-30 is also fertile though less than the previous one, but once women are past that age, their productive power decreases rapidly until it exhausts itself, generally at the age of 45. Taking the average of 30 years of child-bearing period a woman who completes the period has 6 to 7 children and every woman bears more children in the first half of the child-bearing period and fewer in the second half. An Indian woman has 7 children born, whereas it is 3.4 in England, 4.3 in Germany, 4.9 in Italy and 6.2 in Poland.

(iii) The low standard of living and poverty of the masses is also reckoned as the main reason of our high birth rate, says Adam Smith. "Poverty is favourable to generation," is applicable to India in procreation of life and accordingly the half-starved women bear many children, while "the pampered fine lady is often not capable of bearing any." It is a well-known fact that the tendency of multiplication is greatest where men have no stake in existence, where they have no prospect of improving their conditions and where children if born would not be more miserable than the parents. Poverty accentuates the process of multiplication, multiplication intensifies poverty. According to Dr. Pearl, "The upper and well-to-do classes are composed of not only mentally, morally and physically but also, genetically superior people, whereas in absolute members the vast majority of the people is made of mediocre people, who are unfortunate in their progeny." Accordingly people in India have "a multitude of unprofitable children" not because they desire them but because they do not mind their number.

(iv) Illiteracy and backwardness of the people give premium to the beast in man and the poor man's

psychology is "one child born means one mouth but two hands," which can be of great help to them on the farm or the field.

Therefore the usual contention is that the right kind of people are not breeding. In a word, it is the under-privileged and economically and culturally handicapped segment of the population and the wrong kind of people contributes more than its unwanted share to the growth of our population. The birth rate of a people is a complex phenomenon, dependent on the interplay of human motives and desires and instincts operating through institutions; it is also dependent on the age composition of the population, on the number of wives of child-bearing age, on marital fidelity, on the opportunity of satisfying sexual passions without the obligation of parentage in prudential consideration, on religious sanctions and belief and on material conditions.

It is interesting to note that the simple but dreary rural life of the majority of our population and the agrarian nature of our economy contribute their mite to the population problem. The rural birth rate is always higher than the urban birth rate. Men do not breed well in the cities and the cities in general have to depend on the country side for the replenishing and upkeep of their population. The lower fertility in the Indian urban areas is explained by "conditions of family, the employment of married women, housing difficulties, the adverse sex ratio among the industrial class, the relatively high percentage in cities of middle class families with strong economic motives towards family limitation, the availability of contraceptives and the clinical aid—all these and others play a part in diminishing fertility rates in the cities."

HIGH DEATH RATES

India's population growth during the last century has been conditioned mainly by the high but fluctuating death rate. Famines, epidemics, the general unsanitary environment, and violence, the prevalence of mal-nutrition among appreciable sections of people; a group of social phenomena consisting of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance, etc., have contributed to the high death rate.

The Indian death rate is high, about 30 per thousand. The recorded rates for 1941 were 22 per thousand and 15.6 in 1949, but these are under estimates due to incomplete returns. This however means that more than 10 million people die every year in India. The all-round death rate is appalling enough—22 per thousand in India as against 9.6 in Canada, 12.3 in Germany, 15.3 in France, 12.2 in U.K., 10.6 in U.S.A., 14.0 in Japan, 10.9 in Australia, 9.7 in New Zealand and 27.2 in Egypt. The death rate of various age groups is equally enormous. The most disquieting feature of the Indian death rate is the high incidence of mortality among first year

infants, women in child birth and women of reproductive age group. The infant mortality rate is very high, for nearly one-fourth of the babies born die during their first year. It has been estimated that about half the deaths among infants occur in the first month, and of these nearly 60 per cent in the first week. Mortality remains high not only throughout childhood but also follows up to the end of adolescence and even beyond. About 49 per cent of the total mortality in any given year is among those below 10 years of age. i.e., in India a quarter of the original batch disappears through the gate of death by the time the first year of life is reached, by the age of 5 the loss amounts to 40 per cent, by the 20th year only half survive and by the age of 60 only 15 per cent of the initial number survive.

As for maternal mortality the figures are equally shocking. The highest female mortality occurs in the age period 14-30. The death of young mothers at child-birth is a common feature, but more than this is the death of women in the later period of maternity, say between years 20-30, brought about by physical exhaustion, nervous break-down and lack of post-natal care. Bhole Committee estimated that in India maternal deaths total annually about 200,000 and that the number of those who suffer from varying degrees of disability and discomfort as a result of child-bearing must be about 4 millions. Dr. John Megaw was of the opinion that the maternal mortality in India was 24.05 per 1000 births. Our maternal mortality is very high indeed. It is nearly five times that of Australia, New Zealand, Germany and South Africa, thrice of U.S.A., 68 times that of England and Wales and Switzerland and 12 times that of France, Sweden, Japan, Italy, Norway and Denmark.

During the last two decades there has been, however, a steady fall in general mortality. Human life is nowhere so cheap as in India. The average expectation of life in India is only 27 years as against 67 years in New Zealand, 63 in Sweden and Norway, 62 in U.K., 62 in U.S.A., 60 in Canada, 57 in France and 43 in Japan. This short expanse of life in India has serious consequences. The number of working members is small and that of young dependants too high in an average family. When a young man grows up and becomes fit for work, he is snatched away by the cruel hands of death. The number of old people with experience is relatively smaller in India.

QUALITY OF POPULATION

The social condition of the community can be judged positively by the standard of life to which they are habituated and negatively by statistics relating to infirmities of body and mind and statistics of suicide, vice and crime. In India, like every other country, there are to be found a large number of persons who are not able-bodied on account of some

physical or mental disorder. They are a burden on society and their presence is an economic loss and indicates some defects in the social organism, —poverty, crime, vice and disease are all symptoms of a diseased body politic.

In India the returns of infirmities have never been satisfactory, inasmuch as the feeble-minded persons are returned as insane and many who are partially blind are returned as totally blind. According to the Blindness Committee there were about 2 million blinds in 1947 in India, and the number of partially blind was estimated to be three times that figure, i.e., there are roughly three blind persons for every thousand of population. Keratomalacia and trachoma are the common ailments 50 per cent of which is preventible. The majority of the incurably or partially blind become so when infant or young. Leprosy in India is also very prevalent. According to the *Report on Leprosy and Its Control in India*, India has more than a million of leprosy patients, although this number includes mild cases. In some highly infected areas the incidence is as high as 5 to 10 per cent of the total population, i.e., out of every 3 million leprosy patients in the world India claims more than her share by having about a third of the victims. Venereal diseases also take a heavy toll of Indian population. According to Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, "Thirty-seven persons per 1000 of population are infected by venereal disease like syphilis, gonorrhea etc." Nor is this all, for 15,00,000 people die annually of other causes including accidents, snake-bites and unclassified social diseases. These combined factors indicate what a grim tragedy human life in India is. It is a tragedy because medical progress in India is largely an illusion in comparison with advances in other countries.

Information regarding the incidence of mental disorders is very scanty. The Report of the Health Survey Committee points out:

"While purely sociological causes may not be operative in India to the same extent as in U.S.A. or U.K., chronic starvation or under nutrition, tropical fevers, anaemia and frequent child bearing in women who are unfit for motherhood are responsible for a large number of mental breakdown in India."

Even if the proportion of mental patients in India requiring hospitalization be taken as 2 per 1000 of the population, their number will at least be 8,00,000 in the country as a whole. It does not, therefore, seem reasonable to suggest that the number of persons suffering from various forms of mental disorder must be at least a million in this country.

India is a rich country with a poor people and hence any long-term plan cannot afford to neglect the upliftment of our human standards. In its variety of colour, creed and composition in its numerical

strength, our population is unique. The languages, manners and customs and modes of living of the people have made the country attractive from the standpoint of human studies. Its racial variety—combining as it does the peoples of Turko-Iranian, Aryan, Aryan-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, Scytho-Dravidian, Mongoloid and Dravidian stocks—has converted the country into a veritable museum. In its numerical strength this country comprises one-fifth of the human race. But this variety and enormity has most often proved to be a liability, a source of embarrassment of political disintegration, social disharmony, religious fanaticism and economic distress. Hence the need for planning the population.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis shows how the quality of human beings is gradually deteriorating which, if not prevented, would bring the human society to the level of animal society and the manifestation of divinity in life would be a far-off cry. Thus control is not only essential for restricting quantity but also for improving quality. It is now settled that it is not impossible to direct the processes of reproduction so as to bring out the best hereditary qualities that we have. Such scientific control of human breeding is known as *Eugenics*. There are two lines of approach, one *negative* and the other *positive*. Negative eugenics would prevent the increase in numbers among those classes of population that are clearly defective. Mental defectives, criminals and diseased persons should either be incarcerated in institutions where the sexes can be permanently separated, or, if allowed to remain at large, they should be prevented by *sterilisation* from reproducing their kind. Positive eugenics aims to promote the reproduction of our best stocks and is more difficult to carry out. Nevertheless society has set up certain conventions and standards on social, religious or racial lines, which influence marriage; such conventions on biological lines may be established.

It is, therefore, clear that population planning in India must proceed on four lines as follows:

(i) Increased use of birth-control appliances or practising of moral restraint to impose quantitative restrictions.

(ii) Adoption of the programme of *Eugenics*, both positive and negative, to raise qualitative standard.

(iii) Economic expansion for better utilisation of resources and man power through fuller employment.

(iv) Better occupational distribution of population with a view to establish a balanced economy and thereby make the country a working place for human beings to live in.

THE COUNCIL OF STATES

A Unique Chamber

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

WHEN the Constituent Assembly decided at an early stage to provide a Second Chamber at the Centre, it was not, probably contrary to your expectations, after long discussion or consideration about the utility of Second Chambers in general and particularly in India. And again when they decided on it, they, as well as the makers of the Constitution, did not realise that, far from creating an ordinary Second Chamber, they were creating a unique one, peculiar by itself and in a way more powerful than any Second Chamber in the world except probably of the U.S.S.R. In fact, there was no discussion at all directly on the question of Second Chambers in general, the little discussion centering round the other details of composition, etc. The House seemed to agree with the considered opinion of Sri Gopala-swami Ayyangar, who piloted this part of the Report of the Union Constitution Committee which laid the foundations of the Draft Constitution, when he said at the end that no "elaborate justification is necessary for this Clause," because "the need for a Second Chamber has been felt practically all over the World."

The Constituent Assembly also seemed to agree with Sri Ayyangar that the Second Chamber in India should also be a secondary Chamber.

"The most that we expect the Second Chamber to do is perhaps to hold dignified debates on important issues and delay legislations which might be the outcome of the passions of the moment until the passions have subsided and calm considerations should be bestowed on the measures before the legislature," explained Sri Ayyangar, and added, "and we shall take care to provide in the Constitution that, whenever on any important matter, particularly matters relating to finance, there is conflict between the House of the People and the Council of States, it is the view of the House of the People that shall prevail."

That is all the scope of the Council which they wanted to create, but the question is: Does the present Council of States, constituted as it is, serve the purpose and nothing more and nothing less? My thesis, after a careful study of the Constitution, is that while the Council of States fails to satisfy those conditions, it is given certain other functions and powers that such a Chamber should not have been given. The purpose of this essay is to prove my thesis.

Agreeing with Sri Ayyangar that no "elaborate justification is needed," let us also not examine whether a Second Chamber at all is needed for India. We shall take it as granted. We shall confine ourselves, again taking his advice, to the point whether it "performs any useful function at all." I

propose to divide this essay into three parts and examine:

- (1) What are the functions the Constitution-makers wanted it to perform;
- (2) What are the powers and functions they have actually given it; and
- (3) Whether, constituted as it is, it can usefully perform those functions.

Here are some of the functions which they wanted the Council of States to perform:

1. "To hold dignified debates" in a dispassionate manner;

2. "To delay legislation" until passions in the Lower House subside.

3. "To give an opportunity to seasoned people who may not be in the thickest of the political fray."

Negatively the Council should not have power:

1. "To prevent the will of the people (House of the People) from triumphing at the end, especially in financial matters: and

2. "To prove a clog either to legislation or administration."

The above are the points from the speech of Sri Ayyangar. If this is all that they expected out of it, then we may as well say that our People wanted to create a "House of Lords" in India as far as powers and functions are concerned. But Sri Ayyangar, in his speech quoted above, said justifying this Second Chamber that

"The need for a Second Chamber has been felt practically all over the world wherever there are *federations* of any importance." (Italics mine).

Because of this we are justified in assuming that they also wanted to give it certain special functions and powers which Second Chambers in federations like the U.S.A. perform, or at least the Council would be constituted on the model of a second chamber in a federation.

We may now proceed to examine what the Constitution has provided regarding the composition, powers and functions of the Council of States. First Composition. Apart from twelve members to be nominated by the President, the members of the Council shall be chosen by the Legislative Assemblies of States A and B by the system of proportional representation, the members chosen from each state being fixed, we are assured by Dr. Ambedkar,² according to the population of the State. The following questions now arise:

1. Is the federal principle of equality of representation of States observed in its composition?
2. Does the Council represent the States in any sense of the term?
3. Whom does it represent?

The answer to the first is an emphatic 'no'; as a matter of fact, a proposal to that effect, that equality should be given in the Council, as "otherwise there is no sense in saying that the States shall be represented in the Council of States" was negatived in the Constituent Assembly without even a discussion.³ We may also note that generally where attempts have been made to give representations to the States, the Upper Houses also are elected directly by the people. An indirect election through the State Legislatures was in vogue in the U.S.A. for some time, but it was given up later on so as to avoid the idea that the Senate is an 'agent' of the States. Now because in our own Constitution we have provided for such elections, can we conclude that the Council represents the States as units? If it does so, whom does it represent—the units as units, the State governments, or the people of the States? Because equality of representation is not given, we can easily conclude that it does not represent the units as units—we do not also subscribe to the theory of the 'personality' of a State. We cannot say that it represents the State Governments because while the Government of a State is run by one party, the majority party, the representatives of the States will belong to all the parties according to their proportion. Again after an election to the Council, the whole complexion of the State Government may change. It cannot also represent the people of the States, because such a claim is already made by the House of the People. We can now, therefore, definitely conclude that our Council does not contain the 'federal principle' of equality of States; nor can we say that it in any way 'represents' anybody. If it represents anybody, it represents the political parties that have been elected to the Assemblies.⁴ Therefore, we cannot justify a Second Chamber in India on the ground that "the need for it is felt" in all federations.

As a matter of fact, when the makers of the Constitution were thinking of the Composition of the Council, they were not thinking of introducing this 'federal' principle at all into its composition. No doubt, the Union Constitution Committee wanted India to be a Federation and referred to the members of the Council as 'representatives of the units', but it does not mean that they in any way wanted something like an American Senate in India, because they wanted to give it powers more or less enjoyed by the House of Lords in England. Later on they tried to change the system of composition to a mixed one of indirect election and the Irish Panel system, and finally ended in the present system. All this convinces us that what the makers wanted was *some way* of filling up the Council but not that particular way whereby it could be called a representative of the States as the units of a federal

State. As a matter of fact, though in the beginning they described India as a federation, as time went on they slowly gave up all those ideas, watered down provincial autonomy and finally even refused to call it by that name at all, defeating an attempt made by Prof. K. T. Shah to insert 'federation' in the Constitution.⁵ It looks, therefore, that the very name, 'Council of States' is a misnomer. The 1919 and the 1935 Acts call the Upper House of India in the singular, Council of State, because the former did not create a federation and the latter, though it created a federation, did not introduce the federal principle of equality. There is no reason or justification for calling it the Council of States.⁶

The whole idea of the mode of composition was only to get competent and experienced people into the Council because their object was to make it hold 'dignified debates,' in other words, to make it a 'body of elders,' say, something like the House of Lords. The question now is: Is it likely to attract such competent people? We may recollect here that attempts made elsewhere to create a 'House of Lords' by other methods, as in Canada or in Ireland, failed miserably. Can we succeed where others have failed? Would any ambitious or competent man ever care to seek election to this Council leaving the more powerful and attractive Lower House in the Centre or in the States? The Council has neither the traditional dignity of the House of Lords nor the prestige of the American Senate to attract any talent. We may expect that it will be a House reserved for the party back-benchers and the present signs are in that direction already.

We may now consider its functions and powers, remembering that the authors wanted it only to 'hold dignified debates,' and 'to delay legislation without being a clog on legislation or administration.' We may divide those functions and powers into four classes—(1) Powers over the Executive; (2) Powers over Legislation; (3) Powers over Finance, and (4) Miscellaneous powers. The Council has no powers over the Executive or over Finance and thus to some extent the makers have achieved their objective of making it a less powerful House than the House of the People. But it is given equal powers with the Lower House as far as ordinary legislation is concerned. While no 'money bill' can originate here nor can it amend or delay such bills, other bills can arise here and it can freely amend them if they are sent by the Lower House. The Constitution has also provided, in accordance with the wishes of the authors, that the Council cannot delay any bill for more than a short period, just like in England. But by this if we understand that it is less

3. C. A. Debates, Vol. VII, page 1208.

4. Even then Dr. Ambedkar thought that "*ex-hypothesi* the Upper Chamber represents the States."—C. A. Debates, Vol. IX, page 1118.

5. C. A. Debates, Vol. VII, page 399.

6. Prof. M. Venkataranagaih, however, thinks that the name is very appropriate and that the Council represents the States. Vide his article in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XI, No. 1, page 67. I am unable to understand how he has come to that conclusion.

powerful than the Lower House, we under-estimate its strength, for, instead of providing for breaking a 'dead-lock' as in England, our Constitution provides for a 'joint session' of both the Houses. And the popular conclusion is that therefore (because the Council is only about half of the House of the People it can easily be outnumbered there) the Council is weaker than the House and that the 'popular will' will triumph! There cannot be a more fantastic conclusion. These people take it as though voting in the Joint Session will take place on the basis of Council Vs. the House; in that case there is no need for a Joint Session at all. Let us take an example. A certain measure is passed in the House with a majority of 260 against 240 but defeated with 110 against 140. Then the measure will be defeated in the Joint Session with 270 for and 280 against. The significance of this defeat will be examined later on, but for the present we can conclude that the authors have failed to provide for their objective of making it a secondary chamber in legislation.

But when we come to the Miscellaneous Powers, we find that that not only is the Council as powerful as the House but in some respects even more powerful. Here is a list of those powers:

(1). An equal share with the House in the Election of the President. (Art. 54)

(2). An equal right with the House in impeaching the President, and in removing the Judges etc. (Arts. 61, 124 (4) etc.)

(3). An equal right with the House in choosing and dismissing the Vice-President. (Arts. 63 and 67).

(4). An equal right with the House in amending the Constitution (Art. 368).

(5). The sole right to transfer subjects from the State List to the Concurrent List in 'national interest.' (Art. 249).

(6). An equal right with the House to approve or not to approve the President's proclamation of an Emergency; and even a sole right to do so when the House stands dissolved. (Art. 352).

(7). An equal right with the House to extend the Life of the House and that of the State Legislatures in an Emergency. (Art. 83).

(8). An equal right with the House to approve the President's proclamation of the 'failure of constitutional machinery' in the States. (Art. 356).

These certainly are extraordinary powers which no other Second Chamber in the world possesses, possibly with the exception of that of Russia, whose constitution is a class by itself. Now in order to discharge the functions stated above certain qualities and qualifications are normally to be expected from the members of the Council. Are the members likely to possess these qualifications? For instance, when impeaching the President, the members are supposed to exercise a detached mind and examine the position dispassionately, but while amending the Constitution they are supposed to be representing the popular will. But we have seen that the Council is neither representative

nor is it likely to attract any special talent. If you examine it from a realistic manner, shorn of all legal and constitutional formalities, the Council is a Chamber of only *nominated* members, twelve nominated by the President and the rest nominated by the various political parties in proportion to their respective strengths in the provincial Assemblies. Is the Council to exercise such extraordinary powers?

How extraordinary I will give some examples. Suppose the Government have a majority in the House and not in the Council. Suppose the President declares an Emergency under 352 or under 356 and the Council does not agree. Or suppose in a Joint Session of the Chambers, an important Government measure is defeated? What is to be done? It becomes a greater nuisance if at the time of declaration of an Emergency, the Lower House stands dissolved. One of the objects of the makers of the Constitution is not to make this Council "a clog on legislation or administration." Have they not defeated their purpose by giving these extraordinary powers to this Council?

A more important point. We have seen that the Constitution gives no power to the Council over the Executive because it makes the ministers responsible only to the House of the People. True, but the legal significance of that provision is that the Ministry need not resign if an adverse vote is passed in the Council; or that the Ministry need possess a majority in the House only. But in reality the Ministry cannot get on even for a day without the Council. Let us consider once again our example given above. An important measure of the Government supported by an overwhelming majority in the House by 300 to 200 has been defeated in the Council by 180 to 70; and defeated in the Joint Session by 370 for and 380 against. Now what will the Ministry do? Their measure is buried and will they resign? And what happens if the Party position remains the same in the House even after a fresh election? This is an awkward position created by the provision of a 'Joint Session.'

There is another still. The Constitution at a number of places refers to certain orders of the President being "laid before each House of Parliament" (Arts. 352, 354 and 359, for instance). Explaining the meaning of this clause, Dr. Ambedkar said:

"It was now provided that such an order should be placed before Parliament, no doubt with the consequential provision that the Parliament will be free to take such action as it likes."

And Alladi agrees with this view that

"There is nothing to prevent Parliament from taking any action that it likes."

Now what happens if such an order of the President (which means the order of the Council of Ministers also) is approved by the Lower House and dis-

7. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. IX. page 524.

8. *Ibid*, Page 545.

approved by the Council. The Ministry may not resign, but what happens to the order?

One may say that it may always happen that the same party may be having majority in both the Houses and so all that I have said above may not happen. But the same party getting a majority in both the Houses is neither possible nor desirable. It may happen now and it may happen now and then, but not always. The Lower House is a popularly elected House and will represent from time to time the changes in popular opinion. The Upper House is neither popular nor representative and it will get renewed in parts once in two years and these periodic changes may not coincide with changes in popular opinion.

The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that the Constituent Assembly wanted to create one kind of House and finally created another kind. They wanted to have a Second Chamber which will be like the American Senate in its basis (i.e., federal idea), like the House of Lords in functions and like the Irish Senate in composition. In reality they have created a House which has none of the qualities. It is a House

of party-nominated non-entities, claiming equal rights with the popular House in vital matters, capable of thwarting public opinion as expressed in the Lower House and embarrassing the Executive to the extent of killing it. And the worst feature is that its powers cannot be taken away (and compare it with the House of Lords in England) without its own consent given with three-fourths majority.

The immediate object of this article is to point out how inadvertently powers have been given to this House by the Constituent Assembly without realising the consequences. These powers should not be allowed; otherwise it will prove more than a nuisance in the near future. I request all concerned to take all these points into consideration and amend the Constitution so that the Council cannot have the power either to thwart popular opinion as expressed in the Lower House or embarrass the Executive in any vital matter. This is the best, and possibly the only opportunity because the Congress Party is likely to get three-fourths majority in both the Houses and amending the Constitution is easy now and, probably impossible afterwards.

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MALAN'S SOUTH AFRICA "Man's Inhumanity to Man"

BY PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE racialism of the Union of South Africa is a serious challenge to the conscience of humanity. It is at the same time a threat to the peace in our times.

The European minority of the Union, who are the rulers of the country, are bent on keeping the non-European majority—the African, the Cape Coloured and the Indian¹—in a position of perpetual tutelage. For more than half a century they have been pursuing a policy of colour-bar inspired by racial arrogance and hatred. The Union stands guilty of a series of crimes against humanity in the name of Western civilisation. It has deprived the native African, whose home South Africa is, of his freedom, the half-caste Cape Coloured of his heritage and the Asian of his equality—all in the name of civilisation. But when white South Africa speaks of Western civilisation, it really means European domination.

"It is not civilisation that is threatened, but the doctrine of white supremacy."²

Safeguarding white supremacy really means safeguarding the economic domination of a particular race over all others. White South Africa stands today before the bar of world opinion—unabashed and unrepentant. It is still intent on committing fresh out-

rages against and imposing fresh indignities on coloured humanity.

South Africa is a plural community and its rulers believe in Herrenvolkism, in the theory of a master-race, which is inherent in and which forms the basis of all imperialism and colonialism. They believe further that the non-white people of the Union must be kept for all time to come in a position of subordination to the white population, that the different non-white racial groups must be isolated from the whites as well as from one another.

Apartheid, which literally means a state of separation, is the South African prescription for the solution of the racial problem. It is a theory of race formulated by the Nationalist party led by Dr. D. F. Malan, which has come to power after the 1948 election, in justification of its racial policy. The exponents of apartheid argue that feelings of racial antagonism run so high in the Union that unless dealt with a firm hand and with promptitude at that, the problem will baffle all attempts at solution. They contend further that there can be peace in the Union only if the Europeans, the Africans, and the Coloured races live in mutual isolation. This isolation is to be achieved by apartheid, which seeks to divide the country into a number of watertight racial compartments.

The Asian population in general and the Indian in particular has not been treated generously by the

1. In the present article when we speak of Indians, we mean Pakistanis as well.—S. B. M.

2. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in the United Nations Assembly, 1946.

Government of South Africa. As a matter of fact, the South Africans of Indian origin have lost more rights than any other South African community and today they are voteless and voiceless. What is worse, thousands of them are facing expulsion from their homes and places of business solely because of their colour. The largest number to be affected are in the city of Durban where they outnumber the Europeans and where the City Council is understood to be planning segregation of Indians in areas outside the city. Yet it is the ancestors of the present generation of Indians in the Union, who have helped not a little to make it economically what it is today. They built up the prosperity of South Africa, particularly of Natal, with the sweat of their brow.

The Indians, it should be remembered besides, went to South Africa not on their own initiative, but in response to repeated S. O. S.'s sent by the Natal Europeans in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The first anti-Indian law of South Africa—Law 3 of 1885—enunciated for the first time a residential segregation in the Transvaal on the grounds of colour. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (the Ghetto Act) of 1946 prescribes segregation, both for Natal and the Transvaal. The Group Areas Act placed on the Statute Book on July 7, 1950, gives the final shape to the theory of racial segregation. It makes the plight of Indians in South Africa more serious today than at any time since they arrived in the Union. In the words of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress:

"The operation of the Group Areas Act will mean life without hope and purpose for Indians."

During the sixty and odd years that intervene between the aforesaid Law No. 3 and the Group Areas Act, South Africa has stopped Indian immigration, restricted Indian commerce, disqualified Indians for certain businesses and professions, handicapped Indians in industries, disenfranchised Indians and imposed social disabilities upon them.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 provides that all lands in the Union of South Africa will be divided and controlled by the Government for purposes of ownership and occupation by different racial groups. The entire population has been classified for this purpose into three principal categories, *viz.*, White, Native and Coloured. The last, which includes Indians, can be further sub-divided. The Act empowers the Government to establish by proclamation "Group Areas" for the exclusive occupation or ownership or both of any of the above groups. Disqualified persons and companies³ are debarred from acquiring fresh lands in any "Group Area" not meant for them. If a disqualified company has any property in a "Group Area"

at the commencement of notification, it shall surrender its ownership of such property after ten years. The Minister of the Interior can "sell such property compulsorily" after the expiry of the ten-year period. The property in a "Group Area" held at the commencement of the proclamation by a disqualified individual shall, after his death, have to be sold to a member of the group for which the area is reserved. No disqualified person can occupy land or premises in a "Group Area" without a permit after one year of notification with the exception of such persons as servants, guests and the like. Areas other than "Group Areas" and "native locations" will be "controlled" in which no transfer of occupation and ownership between members of different racial groups will be permitted except under the authority of a permit. The Act makes no difference between occupation for residence and occupation for trade. Trade licences are to be issued or renewed only on proof that an applicant can lawfully occupy the premises in the area where the trade is to be carried on.

The sponsors and the champions of the Group Areas Act contend that it is equally applicable to all communities without any discrimination. But the past records of the white races—not so white ones after all—so far as their policy to the non-whites is concerned, have created a widespread suspicion that in the name of progress along parallel lines the Act will condemn all non-Europeans in the Union to live in inferior and neglected areas. Indians in particular will be hit hard—indeed, much harder than the other non-European communities. All skilled professions are closed to Indians by the laws of the Union Government and they have been forced to fall back almost wholly upon trade and commerce. The Indian businessmen have flourishing business—retail and wholesale—in the commercial sections of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. It is almost certain that these areas will be declared "White Group Areas." Indian business houses in that case have to close down and sell their property. Their employees will be thrown out of employment. After eviction, the Indians will have to move into "Group Areas" reserved for them or into "controlled" areas. There are clear indications that the Indian areas will be far away from the areas now occupied by them or those occupied by any other racial group. Indian trade will therefore be confined practically to the Indian group, which constitutes but 2.5 per cent of the total population of the Union of South Africa. Prospects in "controlled" areas are hardly better. Not unreasonably, therefore, has the Act been regarded as a shrewd device to get rid of the Indian population of the Union. The suspicion becomes a conviction when one reads the 1948 Election Manifesto of the Nationalist party—the party in power today—which reads in part as follows:

"The party holds the view that the Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is un-

3. Persons and companies in a "Group Area" meant for those belonging to a different racial group. An Indian individual or company is thus disqualified in a White or Native "Group Area."—S. B. M.

assimilable. They can never become part of the country and must, therefore, be treated as an immigrant community. *The party accepts as a basis of its policy the repatriation of as many Indians as it possible.* (Italics ours).

Are the Indians really a "foreign and outlandish" community? The views of Field Marshal Smuts, no friend of Indians in South Africa, bear quotation in this connection:

"They (i.e., the Indians) were brought here by us, the European population, and they have lived here. Generations have grown up here. They do not know India or any other country; they are South Africans, South African born; they do not even know their language; they have only the South African outlook; they have been subjected to all influences which transform a human being into a citizen of another country. Can we simply take away the right from them and give nothing in return?"

We too pose the question and pause for an honest reply.

It has been argued by the 'pundits' of apartheid that the Group Areas Act by isolating the different communities will create conditions for peaceful progress along parallel lines. Coloured and African leaders have exposed the hoax. Mr. G. J. Golding, a moderate coloured leader, describes apartheid as a counsel of despair, as a vicious, bankrupt and dishonest policy. The Coloured Advisory Council declares in no uncertain terms that apartheid, far from fostering fruitful harmony and co-operation, will lead to discontent, hatred and disaster. Mr. E. M. Gordon, President of the African Peoples Organisation, is more outspoken:

"To us in the A.P.O.," says Mr. Gordon, "apartheid could never mean anything else but segregation—segregation in the form of housing schemes with their pokey little houses with cement floors and in some cases built-in cement tables; inferior health facilities, lack of proper sanitation, one water tap for hundreds of families, darkness, squalor and neglect; discriminating laws, curfew and disfranchisement."

A number of laws besides the Group Areas Act have been passed in recent years (1948-51) by the Union of South Africa Government to enforce apartheid. The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949, forbids marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans. Should such a marriage be solemnised, it would be considered void and of no effect. The officials officiating at such a marriage would be guilty of an offence punishable with fine. The Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, empowers the Government to take action not only against Communists, but against all, who, in the opinion of the Government, encourage hostility between European and non-European races. This Act really aims at suppressing just agitation by Indians and Africans for the redress of genuine grievances. It authorises the Minister of Justice to label any organisation, journal, publication

or person as Communist. He may also prohibit any assembly, restrict movement of persons and deport non-nationals under suspicion. The Population Registration Act, 1950, requires every one over 16 years of age to carry an identity card issued by the Government and giving a description of his person and the ethnic group to which he belongs. The card has to be presented for inspection to authorised police officers. This Act, together with the Mixed Marriages Act, aims at ensuring the purity of the white race. Mr. Shoeman, the Union Minister of Labour and Public Works, said in June, 1948, that he would see that there were no mixed trade unions anywhere in the Union of South Africa and that Africans were no longer to be trained as artisans. Competition between Europeans and non-Europeans is sought to be eliminated in this manner. A directive of the Prime Minister's office issued a year later ordered the replacement of Africans by Europeans in public services. Mr. J. H. Vilgoen, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science had declared the other day that the Government will not give any financial aid to the South African Association of Arts unless it enforces racial separation at all times and in all its exhibition halls. We have yet to know whether this ukase refers to the exhibits or to the visitors or to both. Nor are we aware whether it is permissible for a European to paint an African sitter or vice versa, nor where such portraits—if at all—may be hung.

The 1948 Election Manifesto of the Nationalist party stated, *inter alia*, that admission of Africans to "European institutions together with European students must end." Needless to say, the Nationalists wanted to stop even the meagre educational facilities given so long to non-European students. And they have actually stopped them. Non-European students are no longer admitted to the Medical courses at Witwatersrand and Cape Universities. They are given inferior training in separate departments of Natal University.

The Government decided in 1949 that non-Europeans in the Union's permanent force would be non-combatants only. A number of first class compartments are reserved for the exclusive use of Europeans in the Union railways. Apartheid has been introduced at Johannesburg railway station from July 1, 1949, by providing separate entrances for European and non-European passengers. The central entrance is reserved for the former. The latter have to walk longer to reach their trains. The Union Minister of Posts and Telegraphs announced some time back that steps would be taken to separate Europeans and non-Europeans at Cape Town General Post Office and in forty other post offices in the Cape Province. There is apartheid in 847 of the Union's 1250 post offices. The Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress in its session of September, 1950, urged apartheid in telephone booths as well. It was "scandalous," according to a resolution of the Congress, to allow "Europeans and Kaffirs" to use the

same telephones. Apartheid has been in force in Durban race course from February, 1950, and enclosures have been set apart for the exclusive use of Europeans, Indians and Africans.

Air-hostesses on South African air lines have been warned for not observing the colour bar properly. They have been asked to do the same without fail in future. Linen head-rests used by Indians or Africans must be removed immediately after use and sent for "hygienic processing or dry-cleaning" instead of the normal laundering applied to articles used by European passengers. Immediately after a plane has landed and the non-European passengers have left, a red tag must be put on all articles used by them. Air-hostesses must not issue linen towels for use in wash-rooms. Special paper towels are to be used instead because of the risk of both European and non-European passengers using the same linen towels.

Admission of African students from territories outside the Union of South Africa to missionary colleges, schools, universities, etc. in the Union has been prohibited. Johannesburg City Council has approved the principle that entry into public recreation grounds should be restricted on racial grounds. Johannesburg has, besides, separate public transport facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans.

What has been said above does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of the disabilities—social, political and economic—of the non-white population of the Union of South Africa. It does, nevertheless, give a clear idea of the state of affairs in that sub-continent. The Union is passing through "new barbarism," which, in the words of President Truman, consists of acts of men "who conceive of other men as slaves, not as brothers." It violates and suppresses human rights and freedom in various parts of the world, the President's own country being not an exception.

The European rulers of South Africa know—and none better than they—that the steam-roller of racialism and colour bar is welding together the whole disinherited humanity of the Union—the African, the Coloured and the Asian—into a compact whole. So, not content with imposing disability after disability, heaping indignity after indignity, upon the latter, they have started the game of *divide et impera*, which seeks to alienate the various non-European groups from one another. Did not our erstwhile masters successfully play the same game in India? The Nationalist party has been doing its best to set the Africans against the Indians. The harsh treatment and the discriminatory policy of the Union Government have made the Africans utterly discontented.

The discontent "has given rise to a feeling of hatred which does not necessarily vent itself against the actual perpetrators of the evil."

The Durban race-riots⁵ which broke out on January 13, 1949, was a logical result of the racial policy of the Union Government. The Commission appointed to enquire into the riots reported:

"The cumulative effects of emotion built up over a period of time caused by complaints and conditions, some real and some imaginary, fanned by propaganda culminated in the riots. A background to these riots was a strong feeling of antagonism against Government and control by the Europeans in all spheres of life formed a strong undercurrent."

The Commission was of the opinion that

"Above and beyond all cause the Natives are dissatisfied with the conditions under which they live and the repressive measures that hem them at every turn."

Field Marshal Smuts pointed out that "South Africa was tasting her first fruits" of the Nationalist Government's "racially repressive, counter-re-actionary economic policies."

When the riots broke out, Durban witnessed the none too dignified spectacle of European women—quite respectable, we presume—dancing in joy in public streets. The Africans prosecuted for participation in the riots frankly expressed surprise in the court at their arrest. They had been assured, they said, that the rioters would be allowed a free hand and that the police would not intervene. The Enquiry Commission mentioned above—an all-white affair—had to admit, not very willingly perhaps, that there were Europeans who had actively incited the Africans to deeds of violence against the Indians. It took care, however, to tone down the above finding by adding that such Europeans were exceptions.

South Africa has witnessed of late a series of inter-racial disturbances. Of these, at least four deserve special mention. Neulands disturbances in January, 1950, led to about 600 arrests. In Newclare and Sophia Town disturbances, which followed a month later (February, 1950) property worth about £18,000 was destroyed. These were followed by Gerministan disturbances within two months (April, 1950) in which 11 Africans were killed and 20 injured. A severe Julu-Basuto clash near Johannesburg was reported by *Calcutta Statesman* on March 11, 1952. The riot took a toll of 8 lives on the first day. Hundreds were injured. There were besides a large number of minor disturbances.

These repeated race-riots should give food for thought to all genuine friends of the Union of South Africa. They are a sure indication that temper has risen high and that the Union is a boiling cauldron today. A major explosion may occur any moment leading to the disintegration of the Union. They must give a very careful thought to the president of the

5. 53 Indians were killed and 547 injured in these riots. The loss in property ran almost to a million pounds. 7 factories, 710 stores and 1332 dwellings were destroyed and damaged. 88 Africans were killed and 503 injured by the Government troops and the police. About 32 Europeans were killed and injured.

4. *Apartheid*: Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 19.

All-African Convention Mr. W. S. Tsotsi's note of warning—the Government as well as the Opposition of South Africa are "heavy with the wine of racial superiority" and unless there is a quick re-orientation of outlook and policy, Nemesis will overtake them engulfing both in a common ruin.

Racialism and colour bar have been scrutinised from all possible angles of vision. Not a few have discussed and debated them and commented upon them. The evils of a policy of racial discrimination are many and varied. The worst perhaps is that it is driving the rising generations of South Africa in an ever-increasing proportion to the folds of anti-social elements. Unless provision is made for the training and ultimate absorption of the rising generations of non-Europeans as useful citizens in the community "such potential citizens would be a burden, if not a menace, to the society which rejected them." South Africa is confronted today with the grave problem of dealing with thousands of non-European citizens, who, denied all opportunities of socio-economic betterment, have turned and are turning in hopelessness and frustration "to the idle and lawless alternatives left to" them. The Europeans in South Africa are blind—they seem to be, at any rate,—to the disastrous consequences of their policy. They demand that lawless non-European youths should be deported from townships and placed somewhere out of the way. Such a step like the quack's remedy might work well for a time. But it does not go to the roots of the problem. Racialism is doubly dangerous. Positively, it drives potentially useful citizens to the ranks of criminals. Negatively, it steadily drains away the vitality of the community by depriving it of the loyal and devoted services of those who might have enriched it in various ways.

The White South African should remember that he is rushing headlong to the abyss. He must not forget that genuine revolutions are always directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. He should remember in his own interest that

"Even the most submissive people cannot stand, in the long run, the rule of others with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit, into whose ranks they cannot be admitted. They can be temporarily kept in check by force and diplomacy, but such a subjection can never be indefinitely maintained even through the most ruthless forms of slavery."

A day will come when about ninety lacs of the Union's non-European population will rise against about twenty-five lacs of its Europeans and the consequences are not pleasant to contemplate.

All friends of South Africa and all lovers of world-peace should read, re-read and ponder over the following words of J. H. Hofmeyr pronounced years ago:

"We have to re-examine our prejudices and some of our traditional attitudes. We have to get away from the wickedness of exploiting colour prejudice for political purposes."

The colour problem of South Africa will defy solution till the non-European elements in its population are assured a full life—social, political and economic. The promulgation of a "South African Charter of Human Rights" is sure to usher in an era of peace and concord in the Union marked by greater happiness and prosperity for all its citizens—White Black and Coloured.

6. *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Va Moek, p. 74.

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THE BILL MARKET IN INDIA

By PROF. V. N. HUKKU, M.Com.

THE recent trends in the activities of the Reserve Bank of India have enabled the critics to wipe off their tears. The slow progress in the effectiveness of its functions has been a cause of resentment in some important circles. The initiative that the Reserve Bank has taken by raising the age-long Bank rate and suspending temporarily its dealing in government securities has been enough to disprove its inactiveness of the last sixteen years of its age. For the first time, again, the Reserve Bank has displayed its keenness to establish a Bill Market in India. These steps taken by the Reserve Bank at this important stage of business activity during the busy season is really very well-planned and entitles it to unprecedented credit.

The economic development in a country depends, to a considerable extent, upon the existence of a well-organised money-market in the country, which would provide ready finance for the various economic needs

of the country. With a view to maintaining a constant expansion and contraction of money and credit, the availability of profitable channels of investment is indispensable. A modern money market comprises of such specialised sections as the exchange market, investment, discount, and a bill market. A money market without one or more of these constituent would be just like a disabled person who cannot walk by himself. A bill market along with the discount market has been a special feature of the highly developed money markets of the U.S.A. and U.K. A bill market is an indication of the economic advancement in the country and the growing intelligence and economic consciousness among the businessmen.

RETROSPECT

India had, in the recent past, distinguished herself from the other organised money markets of the Western countries in respect of various aspects of the



money market. *Inter alia* other serious defects in the Indian money market, a serious handicap has been exhibited in the absence of an organised Bill Market in the country. This absence has been greatly felt in the country due to the fact that even the money markets of Bombay and Calcutta have been found to be devoid of the bill market.

This anomaly in India has not been due to the ignorance of the dealers in the money market about the use of bills or more popularly known in local phraseology as *hundis*. A popular legend is known in India which refers to an incident when Saint Narsi drew a *hundi* on Seth Sawalshah of Dwarka. Even if it is fabulous, at least the use of *hundis* in India has been regarded to date as back as the 12th century. We find that there are many reasons which attribute to this lack of a bill market in the country. To sum up in much smaller a space, it can be safely stated that the banking business itself has not yet been fully developed in the country. Due to the comparative lack of banking habit and the use of cheques, the banks in India have been confronted with the problem of maintaining as much as even 35 per cent of their investments in the form of Government Securities. The ratio of the said investment to the total investment in case of the 'Big Five' in England is only 20 per cent. Parallel to it has been the position of investment in the Treasury bills, and thus only a meagre portion of the entire loanable funds is available for other types of finances including those through the medium of bills. The prevalence of a cut-throat competition with and lack of confidence in the Imperial Bank of India, was an obstacle to the assistance that the commercial bank could avail of from it in the form of discounting of bills. The unfair treatment of the Imperial Bank of India and several other minor reasons have also been found to be discouraging and hampering a greater use of bills. Although the Reserve Bank has been, by virtue of the Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, empowered to buy, sell and rediscount commercial bills of specific nature yet on account of its over-cautiousness in its dealings on this account, it has not been in a position to enable the scheduled banks to make much use of its re-discounting facilities. This also added to the miserable fate of the bill business in India.

STEPS TAKEN

The conditions as stated above went on their usual way due to the peculiar monetary conditions in the country. It was not before 1942, that the Reserve Bank, having felt its own responsibility for the removal of this lack of the use of bills, proposed to the Provincial Co-operative Banks and Central Co-operative Banks to increase the use of usance bills and promissory notes. The main reason of approaching the said institutions has been their special function of financing the agricultural credit requirements, which are by far the most important and nauseating.

The unprecedented level of advances by the banks just before the present 'busy season' encouraged the Reserve Bank to take immediate steps for combating the attack on the available resources of the banks in the country. The Reserve Bank, having already taken an initiative by raising the bank rate, exhibited and undertook sincere pains to provide feasibility to the establishment of a Bill Market under existing monetary conditions. Early in the first week of December, 1951, the Reserve Bank considered the proposals at which it appeared to be prepared to grant re-discounting facilities at a rate lower than the prevailing bank rate, and the consideration, in consultation with the representatives of banks in Bombay and Calcutta, has been finalised in the form of a scheme, evolved to create a bill market in India for a temporary period on an experimental basis for the present busy season.

Under Section 17(4)(c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, the Reserve Bank has been empowered to make advances to scheduled banks against the security of usance promissory notes or bills drawn on and payable in India and arising out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions, bearing two or more good signatures one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank, and maturing within a period of ninety days from the date of the advance.

The press note issued by the Reserve Bank of India on the 16th January, 1952, mentions:

"... Advances will be granted to scheduled banks under this sub-section in the form of demand loans on the execution of the demand promissory notes supported by usance promissory notes of their constituents. . . ."

For this purpose it has been made necessary on the part of the scheduled banks to split up the accommodation granted to their clients in such a way that a part of the same (loan, cash credit, and overdraft) be converted into usance bills of exchange with a maturity of ninety days. The Reserve Bank is prepared to bear half the cost of the stamp duty to be incurred in this conversion.

Such advances by the Reserve Bank under Section 17(4)(c) will be available to the scheduled banks at the rate of three per cent (subject to the discretionary powers of the Reserve Bank to alter this rate) at all the five-offices of the Reserve Bank irrespective of the places, where the advances have been actually made by the scheduled banks. To maintain its traditional cautious policy the Reserve Bank has reserved the right to refuse accommodation against the bills of any particular scheduled bank without accounting for the reasons. The criterion of making advances will not be the merit of the security offered but also the manner in which the business of the bank is being conducted.

PROSPECTS

The provision for the minimum limit of borrowings by the scheduled banks for amount of Rs. 25

lakhs at any one time and that of Rs. 1 lakh for individual-bills does not seem to be fully justified as it would not provide equal facilities to all the banks. Moreover, it is really not desirable to have excluded the 'Multani hundis' which being dealt with in sums of Rs. 50 thousands each account for approximately Rs. 5 crores. The market thus seems to have lost the support of these *hundis* in meeting the present stringency. However, the tendency in the experimental stage will be to watch the success of the Reserve Bank in steering this scheme.

The success of the bill market in India will be much prospective if the indigenous bankers come into the open market with full sense of co-operation and undertake the discounting business so as to facilitate conditions for a discount market. The development of bankers acceptance business is also not far to be desired but it will take a pretty long time to expect the same.

Truly speaking what is popularly termed as bill market in India is not in the original sense a bill market as we find in London and New York. The above sentence has been written on purpose as the bills which will be dealt with will not be pure trade

bills but will be made like that by splitting the advances made by the scheduled banks to their customers. Anyway, with a view to tiding over the catastrophic rush on banks for advances, it is the best available measure that the Reserve Bank could adopt. However, if these facilities are regularly (not only during the period of monetary stringency) availed of and the scheduled banks adopt the practice of making use of usance bills regularly these measures would be surely regarded as foundation stones for the structure of a (bill market) in India on an improved standard.

The Reserve Bank has already anticipated a probable delay in the beginning, in sanctioning the advances as it would be required to make adequate enquiries about the bills and parties to them and the purpose for which the bills have been drawn. It will not be improper to remark that the Reserve Bank should not be overcautious and suspicious in every case and should not over-emphasise the need of scrutiny of the cases. It should act as a watch-dog and not as a blood-hound. The scheduled banks also deserve some confidence and if certain cases of misconduct are reported, the Reserve Bank should impose severe penalties.

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THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND AFTER

Pandit Nehru's Witch-Hunt Succeeds Gloriously

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Whose life laughs through and spits at their creed,
Who maintain thee in word, and defy thee in deed!"

—ROBERT BROWNING.

HAVING written a pre-election article in these columns it is but natural that I should deem it my duty to write a post-election article as well. That the election results have not either surprised or satisfied me is only to state the obvious. It is not that, even in my wildest dreams, I had hoped that the parties that have always claimed my unwavering support would romp home to success. Apart from other considerations these parties have largely themselves to blame for their unprecedented debacle. They were aware that the dice were loaded against them in every possible way: not least by the Congress President's crooked propaganda that the responsibility for the Mahatma's assassination four years ago rested squarely on their shoulders and on their shoulders alone. We know that it is the prerogative of Prime Ministers *cum* Congress Presidents to talk without thinking; but Pandit Nehru's *blitzkrieg* against what he chose to call the "Hindu communal bodies" had been, contrary to expectations, carefully planned and meticulously executed.

He might have botched the partition and the Kashmir issues to his heart's content for lack of the requisite intellectual grasp of political events; but when it came to the routing of the aforementioned bodies that are his "King Charles's head" his brain functioned astonishingly well and he went through his opponents like a devouring flame. By that one diabolical stratagem of repeating *ad nauseam* before his audiences that these parties had been instrumental in bringing about the tragic event of January 30, 1948 he, at one fell stroke, as it were, smote down the most genuinely patriotic elements in the country—the ones that, through good report and bad, have stood for its precious geographical unity.

In 1946

In that previous article of mine on the elections I took infinite pains to indicate how, by unscrupulously stealing the thunder of the Hindu Mahasabha in the 1946 general elections anent the vivisection of our

beloved Motherland, the Congress had won the elections. With brazen effrontery it assured the electorate that there was absolutely no difference between its ideology and that of the Mahasabha in the matter of granting the Muslims an "entirely separate homeland" for themselves. That, inevitably, knocked the Mahasabha's contention that it was the only custodian of Hindu interests into a cocked hat. It appeared that there was another Richmond in the field (namely, the Congress) that would equally valiantly uphold those interests. After winning the elections on the strength of that false assurance to the Hindus the Congress, as everyone knows now (and not a few anticipated at the time) gaily went back on its word and granted the Muslims their cherished boon.

IN 1952

That was the Congress's tactics in 1946. Different times, different ruses, and in 1952 another ruse was adopted in pursuance of the same estimable aim. Gandhiji's assassination proved to be a veritable god-send and the Congress was not slow to turn that ghastly tragedy to glorious gain. In Pandit Nehru's hands it—

"... became a trumpet, whence he blew
Soul-animating strains."

When the question was brought up during the murder trial that, after the Madanlal incident, the Government was amply forewarned and that it was up to it to have taken adequate precautionary measures to protect the Mahatma's valuable life, failing which the blame would be unmistakably laid at its door for any untoward consequences, Bombay's Home Minister (and prospective Chief Minister), Shri Morarji Desai, adroitly circumvented that accusation by declaring firmly that Gandhiji's death was "willed by God." That, of course, settled the hash of the Government's traducers and saved the Congress a lot of unpleasant explanation and expostulation.

THE PANDIT'S ADROITNESS

But Shri Morarji Desai's historic ruling to which one had supposed there would be no appeal has been forgotten (or else studiously ignored) in the interests of winning the elections, and Pandit Nehru exhorted the people with all the vehemence at his command not to cast their votes for "the Hindu communal bodies" that had, according to him, so shamelessly connived at the Mahatma's assassination. It mattered little to him that, as Shri P. R. Das has pointed out in a press statement vigorously confuting his baseless allegation, the Government Advocate himself had never, during the protracted trials, presumed to indict the Hindu Mahasabha for that assassination. All, however, is fair in elections, and the Congress President, cleverly side-tracking both Shri Morarji Desai's

historic ruling and Shri P. R. Das's unanswerable rejoinder, decided, early in the electioneering campaign, to exploit the assassination to its utmost limit. Nor can it be alleged that, having made that monumental decision, he committed the unforgivable sin of sleeping upon it. On the contrary, he leapt to the task with the zeal of a Crusader and the zest of a Covenanter. Girding up his loins he marched into the fray and gave the enemy no quarter. As a soapbox orator he has no rival, and he told it in Gath and bruted it about in the streets of Askalon that the hands of these "Hindu communal bodies" were dyed deeply with the blood of the "Father of the Nation" and that, far from "all great Neptune's ocean" washing that blood clean from their hands, their hands would rather

"The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red."

"DAMNED ITERATION" TELLS

Constantly dripping water wears away a stone, and a thumping lie reiterated a thousand times (each time embroidered with more and more frills and furbelows) from a plethora of platforms cannot but have its deadly effect—the essence of propaganda being what has been pithily termed "damned iteration." Pandit Nehru, being the very incarnation of "secularism" (if not its father and mother and wet nurse combined) could always have been relied upon to conduct this campaign in a ruthless manner; having been elected as the Congress President over the head of the reigning Rashtrapati, Rajarshi Tandon, with the express object of winning the elections for that ramshackle organization, he naturally conceived it his bounden duty to pile Pelion on Ossa and to pursue the stricken foe through every shade and covert. He had to "deliver the goods" at any cost: his party depended on him to steer it to victory in the gruelling electoral contests even if that steering necessitated the jettisoning of all moral scruples and ideological precepts.

THE MUD STRUCK

It was, therefore, doubly incumbent on him to rout those whom he regarded as belonging to the ranks of Tuscany; and with this edifying end in view he fought them with no holds barred. If the parties who have consistently claimed my unwavering support have fallen like ninepins before that relentless onslaught it was solely because of the unscrupulous tactics that he adopted in calling them "communal" and in holding them responsible for the Mahatma's assassination. It is a pity that not a single journalist, while gloating over the defeat of these so-called "communal" elements, has taken the trouble to analyse the causes of that defeat. Our masses are extremely gullible and the Congress, however low it might have fallen, is still a name to conjure with: in addition, the Prime Minister, under whose sole banner it chose

to fight the elections, trails clouds of glory behind him. Is there not a halo around his head as the son of Pandit Motilal and as the foster-son of the "Father of the Nation"? These things tell in the elections; and they tell all the more when the masses are as gullible as ours notoriously are. The Prime Minister has but traded on his name and fame and, further, on this well-known gullibility of those over whose destinies an inscrutable Providence has ordained that he should preside. Much of the mud that he so carefully aimed at the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh has stuck. There is no doubt that many persons that might otherwise have lined themselves solidly behind the three parties named above allowed their judgment to be swayed by the raging and tearing propaganda of Pandit Nehru and cast their votes elsewhere. It is a veritable shame, to be sure, but there is, obviously, no remedy for it: our people have yet a lot to learn, not being sufficiently politically-minded and still being prone to be completely taken in by all the "secular" nonsense that is being poured into their ears day in and day out by interested politicians. Very few have heads on their shoulders: nor are those few who have willing to put them to the use that the Almighty intended them to be put to.

WRONG TACTICS

How could these parties hope to win the elections when most of the time they were constrained to rebut the charges that they were "communal" and that they had a large share in the Mahatma's assassination? As long as the overwhelming weight of public opinion is not brought to bear upon the Pandit for his scandalous remarks upon reputable organizations he will continue to reign as the Grand Moghul that he, doubtless, regards himself to be. He has long convinced himself that he is the only man that counts in the country, the only pebble on the beach. It fairly took my breath away when I read the speeches of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee: he invariably prefaced them with a tedious declaration that the Jan Sangh was not a "communal" body as the distinguished Pandit had been systematically representing it to be. That a person of Dr. Mookherjee's standing should have taken so much pains to rebut a silly accusation like that, to expend much the greater portion of his electoral ammunition on such absurd targets, made me really sick. In his position I would have dismissed "the cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples" of the Congress President's fevered imagination with the few, but fitting, words:

"It all depends, Panditji, on what the term 'communal' means. It is not we that can be accused of clamping that 'putrefying albatross,' appeasement, on our necks, nor were we the people that so gaily accepted—the while protesting to high heaven that we would not, save and except over

our dead bodies—the partition of our beloved Motherland on the basis of the pernicious 'two-nation theory.' It is we who have consistently stood for the precious unity of our country. If, bearing these incontrovertible facts in mind, you still choose to dub us as 'communal' ('cracking the wind of the poor phrase,' as Polonius says), well,—be it so: only, never forget that, in the context in which you use it, it means 'truly national.' If, after frivolously acceding to the tragic vivisection of our thrice-hallowed land, you have the immortal rind to pass yourself off as the 'true nationalist,' the irreproachable patriot, then, it is obvious, being 'communally-minded' (in your connotation of the term) is something to be immensely proud of, not the reverse. Thank you, Panditji, we are not hurt: you are using that word in a purely Nehruian sense."

Instead of, in the manner I have sketched above, giving a Roland for his Oliver, instead of giving a shattering *quid pro quo*, Dr. Mookherjee elected to put himself and his party entirely on the defensive and—lost all along the line. With an organization like the Congress and with a leader like the Pandit that was, assuredly, not the tactics to have been followed: what, on the other hand, would have paid him handsome dividends was to have carried the war into the enemy's camp.

CRIMINAL LACK OF UNITY

I remarked, earlier, that these pro-Hindu parties had largely themselves to blame for their unprecedented debacle. They were aware that the dice were loaded against them in every possible manner. Yet, excepting at a few scattered places, they did not see their way to uniting and fighting as a *single* party. What, one asks in dismay, were those insurmountable differences among them that led them to fight the common enemy *separately*? The Congress itself was as a house divided: all the more, then, should the pro-Hindu elements have coalesced and presented a united front to it.

The Mahasabha is the oldest of the three: the other two could very easily, in my opinion, have agreed to fight under its hoary banner. Contrariwise, the Jan Sangh, exhibiting, as it did, unmistakable signs of being the strongest of the trio, could have been chosen as the leader by the other two and fighting carried on on that mutually satisfactory basis. But no: nothing of the sort had been done! The result was only what should have been expected in the circumstances. My heart bled at that sight. In my talks in New Delhi with the members of the several groups on the subject in October and November last I was given to understand that my sentiments were unexceptionable and that they, too, had been thinking on the same lines but that the difficulty was that *the others* would not combine with them. Nor did I discern that the vast majority of them felt a strong inner urge (as I did) to pool their resources and to fight as a *single* party. I have always been a bit of an

idealist and it shook me to the very foundations to witness such spectacular disharmony among them at the most crucial juncture of their history.

THE SILVER LINING

This spectacular disharmony, coupled with the mendacious propaganda of the Congress President against them dissertated upon by me in the foregoing paragraphs, cruelly upset the apple-cart of the pro-Hindu parties and catapulted the Congress again into power. A Congress Government will once more be in the saddle, except perhaps in one or two States, with results that the perspicacious may surmise for themselves. The one silver lining in this political cloud is that, though the Congress has again been catapulted into power, it has failed to secure the mammoth majorities that it had been in the habit of securing before. It will be a chastened Congress that will rule the roost hereafter. It has had many a rude shock: some of its tall poppies have been mercilessly levelled to the ground. The casualties in the Minsiterial ranks, particularly, have been very heavy. Nor, if we take the voting into account, need the Congress be excessively jubilant. Excepting in East Punjab the Congress has been able to secure more than 50 per cent of the votes only in three States—Delhi, Coorg, and Saurashtra. Even in West Bengal and Assam where it has secured absolute majorities its poll is respectively 38 per cent and 42 per cent. If we take the country as a whole it must be said to the discredit of the Congress that it has, so far, secured a *minority vote*: the implication, naturally, is that there are more people against it than for it. That should give it "furiously to think." And it should bear in mind also that it would not have secured even these votes but for Pandit Nehru's whirlwind tour in an I.A.F. plane, and his mendacious propaganda against the "Hindu communal parties." At so much expense it eventually gained so little!

WITH MUSLIM HELP

The Congress will do well to realise also that it owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Muslims who voted largely for it. In my pre-election article in these columns I ventured to state that the much-vaunted "secularism" of the Congress was nothing but "pro-Muslimism," the two terms being interchangeable. The Indian Muslims certainly prefer the Congress to the other parties: the Congress, under the aegis of Pandit Nehru, has established a sort of "Chota" Pakistan for them in India. And even here there is a distinction. Not all of them are for the Congress as such or for all the Congress leaders as such: they are for the Congress *only in so far as it is represented by the Pandit*. If tomorrow the Pandit were to relinquish the supreme leadership of the Congress (not that he would, he is too "canny" for

that!) the preponderating majority of the Muslims here would renounce their adherence to the Congress to a man. They know where they are well off and when they are well off: nor are they the people to give hostages to fortune in any shape or form. As though to buttress its position still further the Congress has gone out of its way to warn them that if they did not vote for it solidly they would suffer the fate worse than death under the "Hindu communal bodies." More than the Muslims themselves our beloved Panditji shouted the slogan that both Pakistan and Muslim India would be in terrible danger from these so-called communal bodies!

STRAWS IN THE WIND

He carried on a thoroughly gratuitous propaganda in the interests of Pakistan and Muslim India. The Congress did not hesitate to rope in even the notorious Razakers—the more Muslims the merrier evidently being its motto. It is not entirely a coincidence that the Government has withdrawn the notorious conspiracy case against the ex-Premier, Ministers, officers and other prominent persons of Hyderabad. One of the released Ministers has publicly expressed his gratitude to Pandit Nehru for being instrumental in securing the withdrawal of the case against them. This impressive gesture towards the Muslims was made even after the news trickled out that some Pakistani agents had visited Adilabad in the same State with a view to spreading communal feelings among the Muslim residents there. They, however, contrived to escape. It would appear that officers who had arrested some individuals of Adilabad on the charge of assisting these spies were themselves punished with dismissal. It is rumoured also that frantic efforts are being made to release the Razaker Chief and the principal accused in the Bibinagar dacoity case, Kasim Razvi.

The long and the short of it is that, as much as anything else, the Congress's success in the general elections is due to the overwhelming Muslim support that it received. Let the Hindus ponder over that!

WAR HYSTERIA

I wonder what the Congress's reaction is to the news that a documentary film is being exhibited in Pakistan that is calculated to inflame public opinion against this country. The Pakistani leaders, it is apparent, have not yet given up their recent war hysteria. The very title of the picture—*Josh-e-Jehad*—is highly provocative. It records messages from many prominent Pakistan leaders (including the Governor of East Bengal and the Chief Ministers of West Punjab and N.-W. F. P.). Among the high-lights of these messages is Mrs. Daulatana's threat to pull out "Bharat's evil eyes and trample upon them." It will be profitable to read these messages in the context of

India's continuance of its obnoxious appeasement policy. The people who, notwithstanding all that they have suffered as a result of this policy, have voted the Congress again into power ought to be the first to profit by them.

POLITICAL ACROBATICS

Before concluding my article I should find some place for the extraordinary political acrobatics of the Congress with respect to their defeated Ministers—especially with respect to one of them, Shri Morarji Desai, the present Home Minister of Bombay. This worthy had been boasting that whoever was pitted against him in the elections would receive such a trouncing at the hands of the electorate that he would lose his deposit and would have to hide his diminished head in shame thenceforward. The sequel to that was that he was himself trounced—and that, too, in his home constituency of Bulsar by his Socialist rival. Instead of taking his defeat gracefully (and even seeing in it the finger of Providence for his Gargantuan boast) he ordered a recount—and lost again. Normally, that should have put him in his place. But has it? The Home Minister of Bombay is not the man to allow himself to be so easily put in his place: he is determined to rise on stepping-stones of his dead self to higher things.

A WORD TO PANDIT NEHRU

There are, we have been told, sins venial and sins mortal; and everyone will agree that, while drinking comes under the former category, Shri Desai's casting a covetous eye on the Chief Ministership undoubtedly comes in the latter.

In this connection a word to Pandit Nehru is, surely, not inapposite. According to his own testimony he took over the reins of the Presidentship of the Congress from Shri Purushottamdas Tandon—the constitutional propriety of which is not above criticism—only with a view, as he picturesquely put it, “to administering a moral shock to the Congress” which was, it would seem, fast sinking in the abyss. I should like to ask him to remember this much-advertised justification of his inherently indefensible action in throwing Shri Tandonji overboard when he considers the advisability of advocating not only of a re-election of Shri Desai but also his election to the

leadership of the Congress Legislative party (which automatically carries with it his appointment as Chief Minister).

“SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS!”

Shri Morarji Desai has not been wanting in defenders and one such, in the person of another Bombay Minister, Shri M. P. Patil, has recently come forward to sponsor his cause. Saul also is among the prophets and Shri Patil also is among the champions of democracy. This is amply borne out by the statement he made in Poona the other day valiantly supporting the move to amend the constitution of the Bombay Legislative Congress party (*which has since been amended in the manner proposed*) with a view to electing Shri Morarji Desai as the party's leader.

It is evident that he was more than a little rattled by the vehement opposition to that move on the part of a fellow-Kannadiga, Shri G. V. Hallikerv, the Secretary of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and a newly elected member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.

FANTASTIC LOGIC

Shri Patil impresses a very ingenious argument into his service. With an engaging effrontery he seeks to rout his opponents by arguing from their own standpoint. Democracy would be in dire peril (these opponents say) were Shri Desai to be jockeyed into the leadership of the Bombay Legislative Congress Party. It is precisely to protect the interests of democracy (says Shri Patil) that it is proposed so to jockey Shri Desai! How to resolve this autonomy?

Shri Patil resolves it with a logic all his own! He contends that the constituency that defeated Shri Desai consists only of a few thousand people “as against a large body of representatives of the people elected on the Congress ticket who desire that Shri Desai should continue to be at the head of the Congress administration.” Arguing from this premise he concludes that the step contemplated by the Congress Legislative Party is right “according to the canons of democracy.” Shri Patil forgets that on this assumption, Shri Desai need not have contested the elections at all!

This is the (democratic) shape of things to come—during the second regime of the Congress!



DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE : INDIA

By PROF. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

IN India, production was formerly based upon a system of hereditary guilds. These caste-guilds enjoyed a fairly large measure of autonomy, for they framed their own laws which were put into execution by the State. The village communities were built up like small self-governing republics, and within them, the various castes were tied to one another by an elaborate system of exchange of services and of goods, in which money did not play any large part. The community, as a whole, was responsible for the economic security of the guilds and for the general stability of the entire social order. There were high and low among the castes, the reason of which was partly historical.

Many of the castes in ancient India had actually been recruited from among tribes who had been economically overwhelmed by the advancing Brahminical peoples. When such tribes became castes, they were generally assigned a lowly status in the Varna system; but, at the same time, they were encouraged to retain as large a part of their tribal beliefs and customs as possible. For it was held by social thinkers in those days, that every individual or social group had the right to live according to its own view of truth, provided it guaranteed the same freedom to everyone else.

This spirit of democracy in relation to various cultures converted Hinduism into a federation of cultures in which new departures of thought from within were also assigned a carefully regulated place in the entire scheme and in which complementary, hereditary guilds were tied to one another by the commonness of local needs.

Within the castes, as well as through the large, joint families, occupations and cultures were transmitted from one generation to another; age and experience were given great authority, and the word of the elders was often regarded as law.

Under the social and economic system which was thus built up in India, the individual was practically submerged under the common good. Conformity, as a virtue, was highly prized, while non-conformity was discouraged, as it might prove a potential danger to social stability. This restriction of variation was likely to lead to stagnation in the end. But Indian social thinkers, in their wisdom, left one door open for the individual of outstanding personality. One who was prepared to sacrifice the security and benefits which accrued to him from social conformity, was freed from the whole round of social obligations, if he was ready to take the bowl of the mendicant in his hand. He

was accorded a position of respect which was generally beyond the reach even of the sacerdotal caste.

The economic structure underlying caste worked so successfully that even the Mussalman converts in India were sometimes drawn within its embrace. This was generally true of rural areas and not of urban centres. Occupational castes among the Mussalmans occasionally functioned as endogamous groups, although this was against the spirit of Islam.

The system described above was an organization suited for peace and for an unhurried life. It had been brought into being by slow elaboration from within, and incorporation from without. But, in spite of the economic security and cultural autonomy which it offered, the system had some very important points of weakness. For instance, it could not cope with famine: caste rules broke down under the stress of famine. Secondly, when there was an unwieldy growth of population, new colonies had to be founded on fresh land in order to restore the balance. In case of shrinkage of land, some castes were likely to be thrown out of employment and forced into new ones. Even at its best, the system was perhaps not able to support more than two or three hundred people per square mile at a reasonable standard of life. The third point of weakness lay in the fact that, as caste was a more or less loose-knit structure, it was an unsuitable instrument of war. Nationalism, as we see it today, is essentially a war organisation, whether the war is carried on in the military or the economic sector. It thrives upon the feeling of exclusiveness which each nation fosters in respect of all communities which live outside its territorial boundary.

These were then some of the points of strength as well as of weakness of India's original economic and social structure.

In the modern age, capitalism has stepped into India and has become responsible for a widespread re-arrangement in the productive organization. Production today is no longer for the satisfaction of limited, local, human needs. It is very often undertaken for a distant market and for the sake of profit. The hereditary guild-structure of caste has been appreciably destroyed by the stress of more improved production, as needed for the sake of profit. Many castes have lost their trade, taken to new ones, and, after being cut off from their moorings within the republican village community, have drifted into the increasingly numerous and concentrated urban centres.

But our habits and thoughts have not kept pace

with the fast-moving scheme of economic changes. The respect shown to elders, the absence of a feeling of responsibility among most individuals, whose elders thought and acted on their belief, are still persistent phenomena. Therefore, in spite of the new economic situation, new social integrations are not being built up fast enough. In the schools and universities, in our municipal or local organisations, in private as well as public businesses, there is still the endeavour to shift responsibility on a few shoulders, as it used to be in the days of the joint family or of the caste organisations.

Those who face forwards instead of backwards, generally have a tendency to swing to the other extreme. A kind of hypertrophied individualism is in evidence in India within certain sectors, which refuses to tone down its character sufficiently to make it possible for new social integrations to come into being and take the place of the old. The reason for this seems to lie in the fact that the exaggerated individualism came into being as a hammer with which to break the old; and, as the task of breaking the old is not yet complete, the demand for an extravagant type of individualism has apparently not yet died out. Few people seem to realize that there can also be destruction *through* construction.

This is the reason why democratic institutions nurtured in the West, under a different set of economic, social and historical situations, do not find a congenial place in the Indian soil. It is not that the Indian has any hereditary defect in this respect, but the fact is that Western institutions have been imported into India without necessary adaptive changes. They have, therefore, been generally corrupted by either the remnants of the past or by special features which have arisen in reaction against the past.

There is a growing haste in many minds for the attainment of quick results. This creates an impatient desire for totalitarian methods. That way lies the retardation of the process of democracy. The healthy and natural way seems to lie in an intense stimulation of the democratic process itself. In the schools and colleges, in our clubs and industrial institutions, in municipalities and local boards, *i.e.*, in every sector of collective life, there must be a determined effort to stimulate individual initiative, an encouragement of the process of sharing responsibility. For in that way we can hope to rebuild India of the future along democratic lines, and without the retardation consequent upon the employment of methods based upon authority and obedience.

II

The reason why Western democratic institutions do not find a congenial soil in India has been outlined above. The Indian nation, in spite of many handicaps,

is struggling along the democratic way. But, up till now, India has contributed little which is original in this respect; it has tried, more or less, to copy Western institutions without local adaptation.

There has, however, been one great exception, in the shape of Mahatma Gandhi's experiments in the building up of democracy in India. In order to understand Gandhi's political and social work from this point of view, it is necessary to go down to some of the root problems of democracy; and it will be our purpose in the present lecture to deal with these problems as best as we can.

Democracy, in essence, means the assurance of equal opportunity to all to develop the best that is in them. The West invested the system of votes by which every man could help in shaping the government which was to rule over his life and destiny. But, in the West, it was soon discovered that equality in political rights is not enough so long as men remain unequal in their economic relations. So an extension of the meaning of democracy took place. Anarchists, Socialists and Communists of various shades of opinion, all began to look upon economic equality as the necessary foundation on which alone political equality can have any significant meaning.

But Gandhi went one step further. He saw, all round him, in the various countries of the world, that when war came along, everyone tended to give up the practice of democracy and resort to totalitarian methods. The needs of war led to a concentration of power, and hence to dictatorship, no matter whether the dictatorship was supported by popular vote or not. And all dictatorship, whether in the past, as in Brahminical India, or in the present, tends to leave the large masses of mankind devoid of real power, and, therefore, anaemic in the spiritual sense. Thus, argued Gandhi, if the fear of war is there, and the common man has to resort to the ownership of powerful arms for the sake of his own life, then democracy would always lie at the mercy of the god of war. If the so-called peace of today is no more than an interval of preparation for the next war, then any move which may run counter to the interests of self-defence in terms of violence, is sure to be crushed by the government which is representative of a frightened populace.

✓ The root problem of democracy therefore lies tied up with the problem of war. Unless a democratic substitute can be found for war by means of which, effective decisions can be taken in respect of conflicts of vital interests, then democracy will never appear on its own strength.

Gandhi's supreme contribution to human civilization lay in his original experiments in this very direction, and not so much in his other ideas, some of which were a carry-over from the past. He tried to find out how even the smallest group on the face of

the earth could defend what it held sacred by means of its own unaided strength.

III

In order to understand the meaning of Gandhi's moral substitute for war, we must, first of all, try and understand the nature of war itself.

Parliaments, and super-parliaments like the League of Nations or its conferees, have often been found wanting when the vital interests of powerful nations were at stake. The constitutional method has its obvious limitations. Therefore, human groups try to settle their differences by taking recourse to war when other means do not yield adequate results.

The fact is that common people all over the world are, on the whole, peace-loving. But when they are overwhelmed by a feeling of danger, they turn round and behave as all animals do under similar circumstances. The danger in human society ultimately springs from the feeling that perhaps there is not enough to go round in the world today and satisfy all the hungry mouths. Whether such a feeling is statistically justified or not is quite another matter. But nations who have more than enough want to save up for their children; so do classes within one nation who are comparatively more favourably situated. And when this standard is threatened, for their own sake or for the sake of their children, they turn round and fight ferociously.

War can be for good purposes as well as for bad. Its merit lies in the fact that, unlike parliamentary, constitutional methods, it succeeds in bringing about decisive results. And when the process of war is hitched on to a moral cause, like the liberation of the exploited sections of humanity, it succeeds in evoking continuous enthusiasm. The feeling of justice of one's cause covers up the real shortcomings of war as an instrument of bringing about desired social change.

The Communist way to end all war is ultimately to produce so much, and so abundantly, that there will be more than enough for everybody. That will be the objective condition which will make all war unnecessary. But, in the meanwhile, war is unavoidable: and, if war is to succeed, the regimentation must not be half-hearted but wholehearted and complete. That is the inner logic of Communism's theory of dictatorship. Democracy has to wait until dictatorship has performed its task of freeing the world for full, socialist production.

But Gandhi never found himself in agreement with this theoretical position. He worked, on the laboratory scale in India, to find a means of bringing about desired social change which would not lead to the concentration of power but which would, at the same time, be efficient and economical. He was for bringing democracy into being even if there was not enough for everybody. Human equality, in his opinion,

should be able to operate independently of the share which falls to one's lot, provided the sharing is on an equalitarian basis.

In war, the aim is to impose the will of the conqueror on the conquered by means of punishment. Before a war actually breaks out, every nation has to go through a long process of preparation. Mobilization and training, industrial production keyed up to the requirements of actual combat, a process of economic and political attrition calculated to reduce the strength of the enemy, are all necessary items in the preparation for war.

But in Satyagraha the aim is never to reduce the adversary into submission by means of punishment. Once the satyagrahi is convinced that the system for which his adversary stands is wrong, and he is in the right, once feels that his preparation is also fairly complete, he begins the offensive by launching non-co-operation with the system for which his adversary stands. He thus invites punishment upon himself as a result of his non-co-operation. If his fortitude and determination do not fail, and he is convinced more and more about the justice of his cause, then, eventually, his courage will touch the heart of the adversary. The latter will, at first, feel surprised and then give way to respect for the non-co-operator, until he agrees to the latter's claim on account of its inherent justice. At the end of a Satyagraha struggle, there is no sense of victory or of defeat; there is an agreement on what both sides recognize to be wholly just.

[The most important thing about Satyagraha is that it calls for an intense period of preparation, as war of the orthodox kind does. This was given the name of constructive work by Gandhi. The central object of constructive work is to build up a democratic and equalitarian, social and economic order by decentralizing the production of the vital necessities of life. In that, the means of production of those needs are ultimately to vest in public bodies and not in private hands. Gandhi held that when man's responsibilities are related to the needs of a small manageable area, they function much better than when very large organizations are run from a distance through personally little known representatives.]

When such small-scale republics are built up, they have to be multiplied until they cover the whole face of the land. But, instead of functioning as isolated atoms, they are expected to enter into wider and wider circles of interdependence, until they cross national boundaries and encompass the whole world within their orbit. Such a consummation can take place only when the ground has been swept clean of the old order. And among the elements of the old order, one of the most powerful is the desire of militarily powerful groups to live by the exploitation of honest toilers.

The implication of the kind of preparation described above is that just as the preparation for war

is a preparation in terms of violence, so a preparation for non-violent defence entails the exercise of non-violence within the national boundary. If the Satyagrahi succeeds, by constructive endeavour, and also by Satyagraha where necessary, in turning the direction of the social and economic system under which he lives towards non-exploitation, in so far as that is possible under the limitations set by surrounding conditions, and if his efforts are honest, intelligent and determined in character, then the news will inevitably go round the neighbouring countries and the stage will be prepared for an effective application of non-violence for defence purposes when an offence actually takes place.

Suppose, for instance, that a band of persons in the neighbouring country have actually succeeded in corrupting the rest of the populace until the latter, either through greed or fear, are fired with the desire to invade the land of the satyagrahis. Then the satyagrahis will allow the army to march over their dead bodies, yet not yield. If satyagrahis die like this, then their example will steel the hearts of the rest of their countrymen, and even if the whole country is overrun by the invading army, the latter will find themselves isolated through the complete non-co-operation of the populace. This continued non-co-operation, carried on in the spirit of non-violence, should ultimately convince the common soldier on the other side that the satyagrahis do not look upon them as enemies but would share the wealth and resources of their country provided the invaders lay down their swords and live the kind of life which the satyagrahis have slowly tried to build up on the basis of non-exploitation. And when this feeling spreads to the common soldier in the invading army, he will either refuse to fight and go back home, or identify himself with his erstwhile victims and share the life which he had come to destroy. Even if the heart of the warlord is not touched, he will eventually find himself isolated and unable to carry on his projects on account of the non-co-operation of his own men. The isolation

of the septic focus will in itself constitute victory for non-violence.

✓ It was thus that Gandhi wanted to replace war by means of Satyagraha.

In India, Satyagraha was applied on more than a score of occasions for the remedy of specific, local grievances. Some of them were of an economic nature and some were social. In Vaikom there was satyagraha against the exclusion of untouchables from entry into the temple road. Public opinion was already favourable towards the satyagrahis, so that the orthodox people who resisted, were actually fighting for a nearly lost cause. ✓ Under such circumstances, satyagraha yielded very quick and favourable results. In the case of economic disputes, where the moral position of the privileged classes has not been weakened by previous effort, satyagraha has sometimes failed and sometimes proved victorious. In the larger field of politics, it has undoubtedly helped very much in the attainment of India's national liberation.

What is needed today, is to undertake a critical study of the new technique of collective action in so far as it has been experimented upon in India. We have to find out the conditions under which it works best, and also how its application can be improved; and for this purpose, we should not hesitate to launch upon new, and controlled, experiments.

Surgical interference is an accepted remedy in many cases. But the modern development of antibiotics has wellnigh revolutionized the practice of surgery. Preventive medicine has also made very large strides. It is not unlikely that further progress in antibiotics and in preventive medicine may still further limit the field of surgical interference.

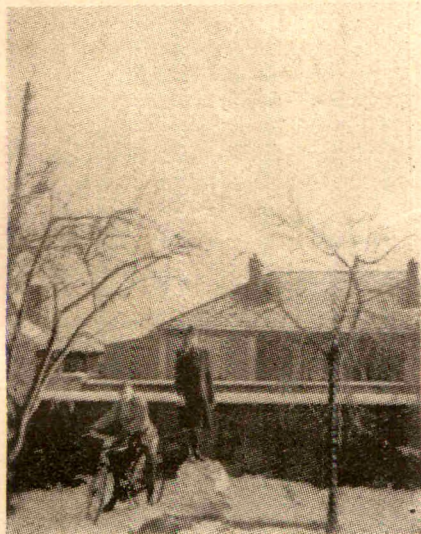
It should be even so with Satyagraha as a substitute for war. If war can be gradually replaced as the solution of vital conflicts, where constitutional means usually fail, then the last hurdle in the path of democracy will be crossed. ✓ That is a goal which calls for the highest type of human adventure.



Accordingly, the people are always active within the club compound, and the club also gets a generous response from the public, whose contributions constitute the only source of monetary income for the Managing Committee. The club has a farm-house where the members themselves work for the benefit of the unemployed and the whole system proceeds on the basis of something like barter of man-labour and the pool. The unemployed seem also to be quite happy about the atmosphere, as they have not to depend on others for their living.

We next went to the nursery centre where the children of the working families are kept and education imparted to them. There are several such

as to most children the mother tongue is as much foreign as the English language itself. The result is quite familiar to our experiences in India, as all



Snow-ball, Ireland

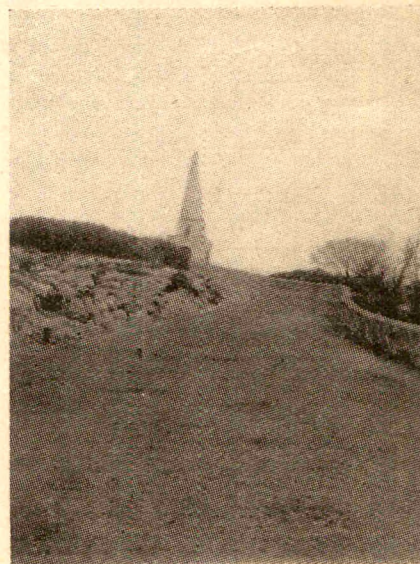
centres where all children between the ages of 2 and 5 years are taken in. The object of the Civic Institute of Ireland—for this is the name of the institution—is to help the working mothers to bring their children up, the children coming back to their mothers as soon as the job is given up or otherwise relinquished. The mother fills up the application form for admission of her children, and an identifying card is attested in the usual course by the employer. The children are provided with lunch and tea, as also with the amenities for games and sports along with imparting the usual courses, in primary education.

Older children up to the age of 14 are sent to schools for education, where however a good deal of time is wasted in teaching too many subjects. Another point of difficulty is the medium of instruction which had been English for the last 100 years or so. Mr. De Valera and his government have no doubt tried to introduce the Irish language, but in the initial stages it has added to the complications



Killiery hills

notices, government proceedings, advertisements, question papers—all have to be written in two languages, English and Irish, with the result that most of the children are only half-educated and come out of

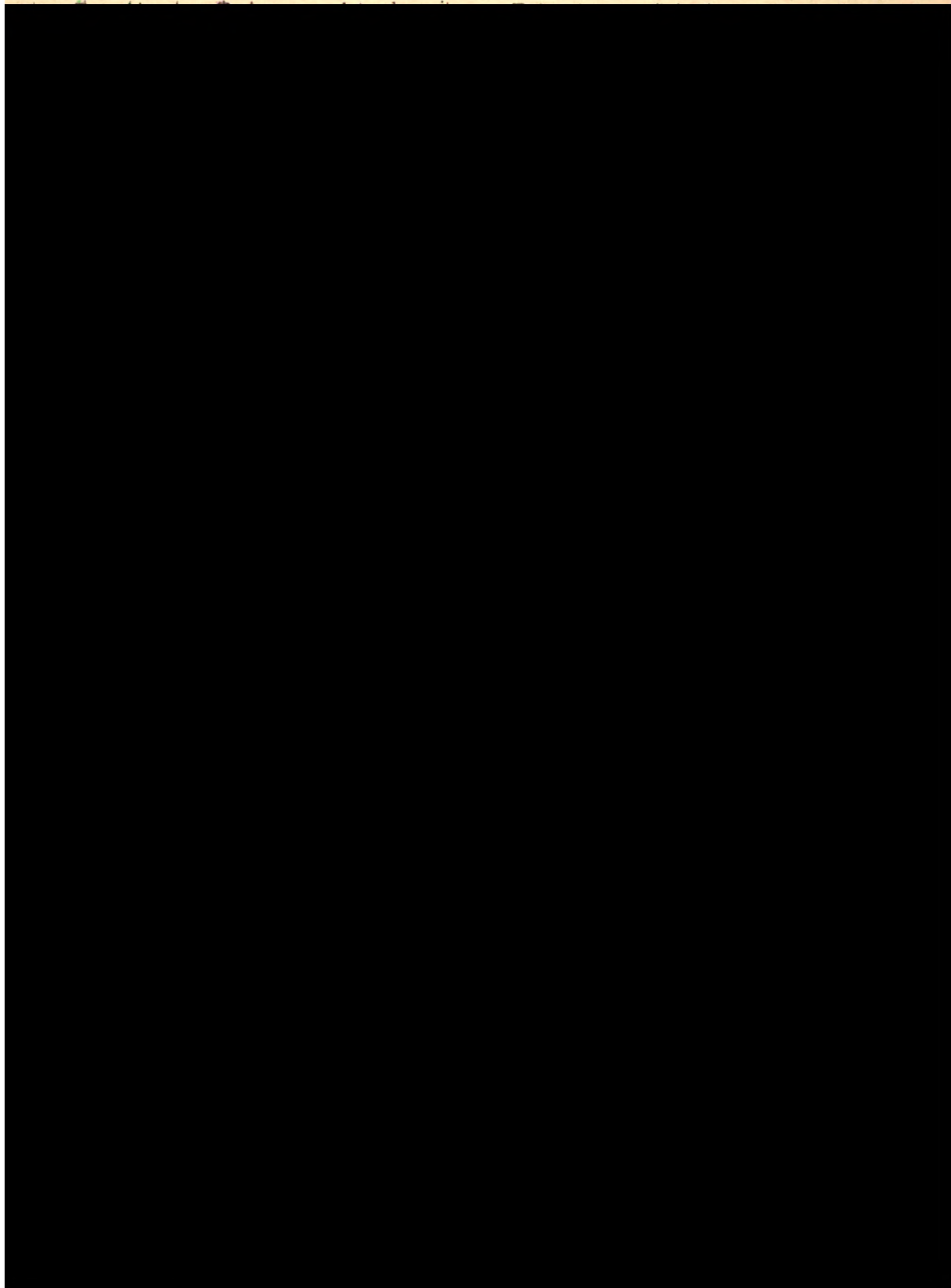


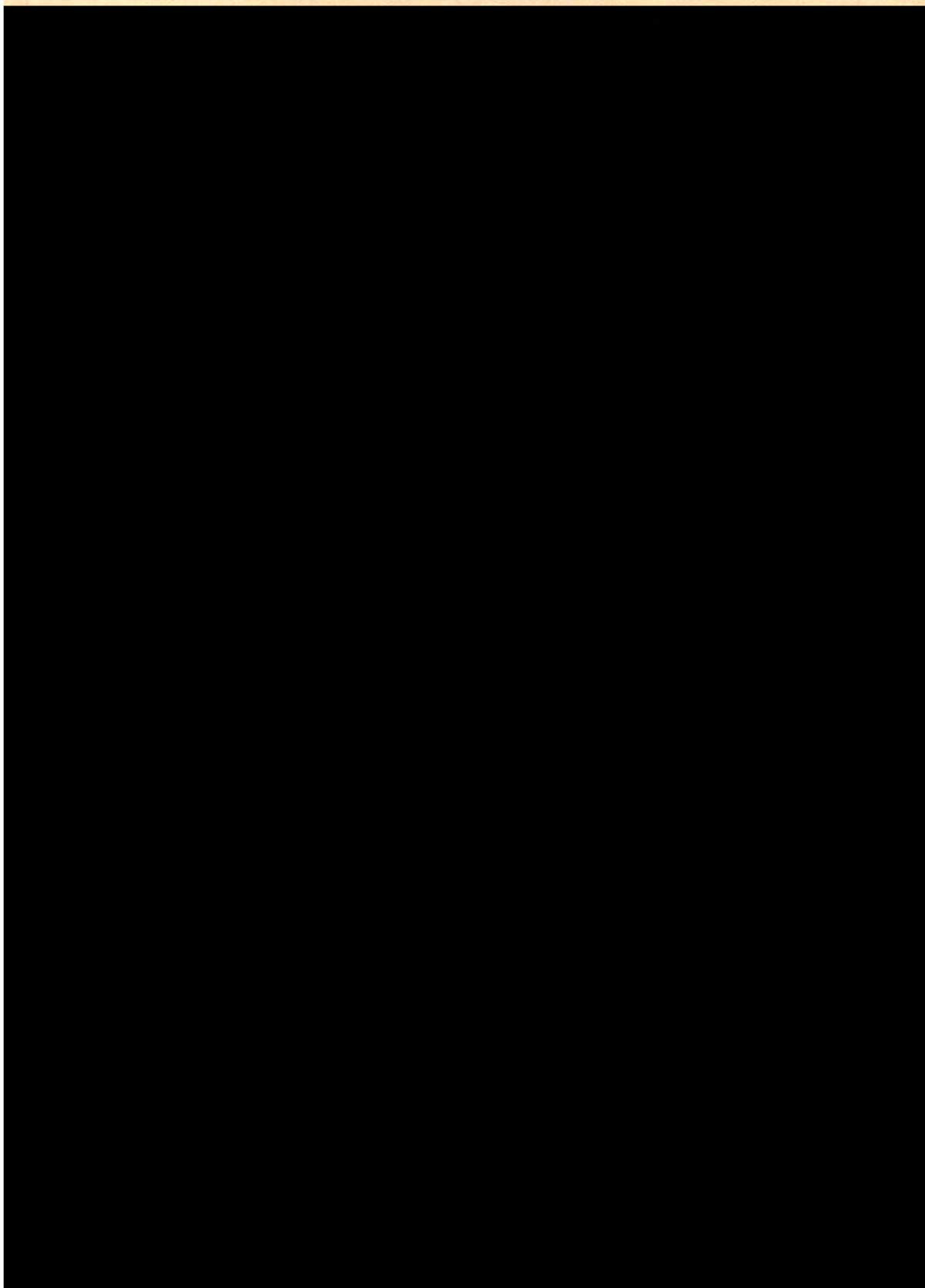
On the top of the Killiery hills

schools rather ill-equipped. Apart from these difficulties, another point for consideration is probably the anxiety of every father to see that his children

settle into a definite vocation as early as possible and add to the general income of the family. Most of these working families live in slums and housing conditions are miserable, and besides there is the prevalent prejudice against limitation of families. The Ministry is no doubt trying to make these conditions easier by providing better housing, but government resources being limited this is a serious

the right type of a friend, philosopher and guide in him. He said that in order to impart education no standardized system is absolutely necessary and added that the main point about an educational system is the intention to impart education, and that if the will in this regard is genuine and there is the necessary idealism, no obstacles or restrictions can stand in the way.





revitalize their work by studying the designs of their forefathers.

Here also a fine collection of Navajo Indian sand paintings is exhibited, and in the museum's library are hundreds of books on the Navajo religion.

Santa Fe is Roman Catholic and bilingual. Since 1875 the city has been the seat of a Holy See; and in the streets one may hear the descendants of early conquerors speaking a soft-voiced Spanish. Until

recently, all bills in the state legislature were read in both English and Spanish.

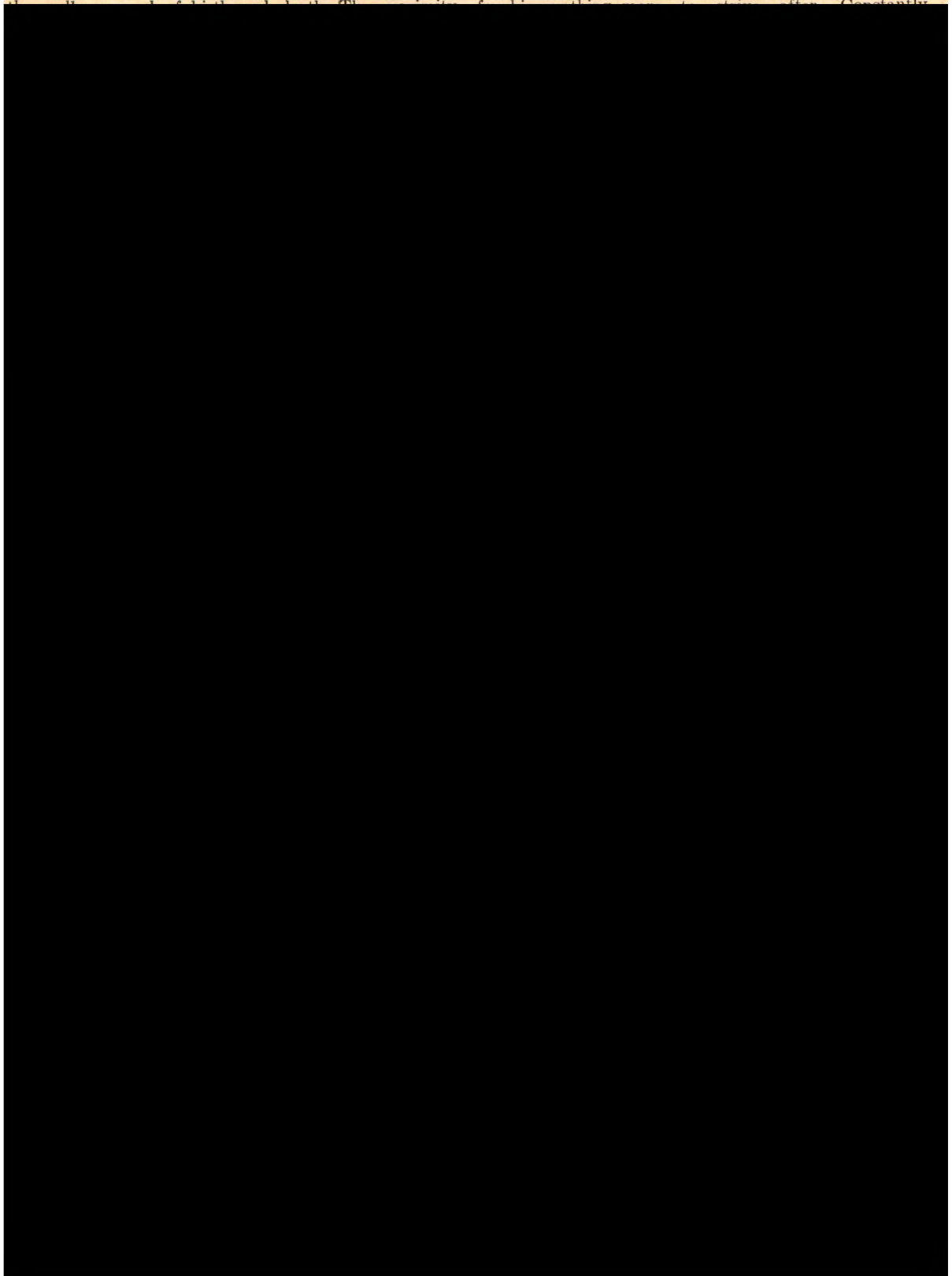
In its fourth century of existence the New Mexico state capital city of Santa Fe is casual, urbane, and stimulating. It is a spicy mixture of the modern and the old, where the present blends charmingly into the past, and where the modern visitor becomes for a moment a part of it.—From *Holiday*.

——:O:——

UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA IN NEW YORK

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

Mother of the Universe and the Saviour of men from seeker becomes one with the Godhead, there remains
the... of which... the... of... nothing... after... Constantly



itself through diversity. Greed and lust, suffering and delusion, fear and secretiveness, can be got rid of when a man sees himself in all and all in himself. This Unity experienced by Ramakrishna is the basis of the golden rule and also of freedom, human rights, and the other cherished ideals of our times.

The aberrations of the modern world Sri Ramakrishna emphasized, consist of greed and sensuality, the twin pillars of the materialistic life. Physical science and technology, with their accent on multiplicity, have brought into prominent relief a Godless, soulless, and loveless view of man and the universe. War and the fear of war are the direct result of secularism. Thoughtful people everywhere are apprehensive of a doom that is drawing to itself a helpless humanity with the inexorable precision of staggered traffic-lights. "How can a benign God permit such a dire ending for men, whom He created after His own image?"—asks the believer. Or is it a blind fate, inherent in the very nature of things, over which men have no control? Call it fate or an inscrutable cosmic force, it is not outside human control. The accumulated actions and thoughts of men in the past have released this power, against which the individual seems to be impotent. Again, the combined actions and thoughts of men will create a benign power which will be their guardian angel to help them in the realization of their highest, divine potentialities.

What we call good and evil in our daily practical life are only the reflections of the Highest Good in the relative world. The obscuration of the Highest

Good creates the apparitions of good and evil. Between these two, there is only a difference of degree and not of kind.

Sri Ramakrishna is the embodiment of the Highest Good. In him the ego was completely effaced. No evil ever touched his thought or action, not even in a dream. It was always what God did or spoke through him. The lower nature was under the control of the divine nature. Never did an unkind word pass his lips. Love alone flowed from his universal heart. He saw only God in man and woman, and treated them accordingly. Even the so-called sinner felt the impelling force of Divinity in his presence.

"It is," as Romain Rolland writes about Ramakrishna, "the same Man, the Eternal, Our Son, Our God, reborn. With each return He reveals Himself a little more fully, more enriched by the universe." The life and words of Ramakrishna are to be cherished not only by the Hindus; they are the hope and faith of millions of human beings. One may not easily understand all his rituals or modes of expression, as they belong to the peculiar Indian climate; but every seeker can share his yearning for Reality and his communion with the Godhead. The haunting presence of God underlying his words, is, indeed, the common ground on which the future temple of humanity will be built, uniting Hindus and non-Hindus in the common worship of the same Supreme Spirit.

—:O:—

LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By S. T.

LIBRARIES were not unknown in ancient India. Ancient Indian Universities like the Taxila, Pataliputra and Vikramshila maintained well-equipped libraries, a fact which is well borne out by the accounts of the Chinese travellers like Fa Hien, Hiuen-Tsang and It-sing.

The tradition of maintaining libraries was not snapped during the time of the Muslim rulers of the country who were lovers of scholarship and art. They prided in preserving their ancestral libraries and also opening new ones.

With the advent of the British in India, the libraries also, along with every other thing, underwent a change in complexion.

The library movement in the modern sense originated in the Punjab when in 1915 the University of Punjab invited A. D. Dickinson from U.S.A. to reorganise the University Library on modern scientific lines. Dickinson

introduced the Dewey Decimal classification system and the open access shelf system in the University library. He also started a library training class and founded the Punjab Library Association.

Almost simultaneously Baroda was experimenting successfully with another phase of the movement. Baroda is the first to start the public library movement. The then Maharaja Gaskwad of Baroda inaugurated in the State a system of free public libraries in towns and villages after his return from the U.S.A. As in Punjab, here also an American W.A. Borden was appointed State's first librarian. Borden also started a library class to coach men and women in library work. Besides developing a well-equipped central library of the State, Baroda also inaugurated its village libraries and travelling libraries—a field in which lay Baroda's main contribution to the development of the movement.

Baroda was followed by Andhra, Madras, Bengal and Bombay. In Andhra the movement arose as a purely people's call for libraries, and the first Andhra library came into being in 1893. The Andhra Library Association (1914) was perhaps the first to be founded in India.

Indian librarianship entered into another phase in Madras. Its contribution is mainly through the Madras Library Association which was founded in 1928. The Association through systematic publicity is responsible for creating a public taste for libraries. Yet its primary aim was the development of the technique of librarianship. The role of the Madras University in the furtherance of librarianship in the south is great. The University provided all facilities for the development of the movement.

In Bengal also the State's Library Association is responsible for popularising the movement. Here also, as in Andhra, the movement owes its growth to the people themselves who extended all co-operation to the Association in the propagation of its aims.

Bombay initiated its library movement by the report of a Government Committee appointed in December 1939 to consider and report on the question of the establishment of a central library for the State in Bombay city and three regional libraries each for Poona, Ahmedabad and Dharwar. The report which was published in 1941 chalked out a scheme of progressive development towards a network of libraries spreading to distant towns and villages. To-day the State has in a large measure accomplished what was set forth in the report.

The library movement thus having been planted well, spread its branches into other States, so that no part of the country remained uninitiated into the new ferment of librarianship. The libraries in the States' capitals and other major towns to-day have a vital place in the country's educational and cultural life.

The Indian Library Association was founded in 1933 and started working in close association with the Imperial Library (now the National Library of India) constituted at Calcutta under the Curzon Act I of 1920. The growth of the library movement in India is largely due to the useful and pioneering work done by the Indian Library Association in co-operation with the library Associations in some of the States.

Incidentally a reference may be made to the three contributions made by the Madras Library Association to library tools which have received international recognition. They relate to classification, cataloguing and bibliography. The colon classification system sponsored by the Association, the classified catalogue code and the bibliography of reference books and bibliographies—these have been amply praised for their usefulness in the library world.

In the field of legislation, there have been attempts made in the country in the past at drafting Library Bills and putting them up for enactment. The first of these drafts was prepared by the Library Service Section of the First All-Asia Educational Conference which met at Banaras in December 1930. A model Library Act with compulsory clauses was presented to the conference. Lately, a Library Bill suited to several States and a Union Library Bill have been drafted by the Indian Library Association. Madras is the only State so far to pass the Library Bill into an Act. This is the first Library Act in India.

Systematic training in Librarianship in India came almost simultaneously with the beginning of the library movement in the country. The lead in this field again was given by Punjab when the University of the State inaugurated in 1915 a library class to train Indians in the science and art of Librarianship. The example of Punjab was followed by the Madras Library Association which started in 1929 an annual course, taken over later by the Madras University and eventually constituted into a one-year Diploma course in 1938. The Imperial (now National) Library at Calcutta, the Bengal Library Association and the Andhra University (in 1934) also arranged for training in Librarianship. Andhra had to wind up the course after running it successfully for three years. Then came Bombay which was followed by the Universities of Banaras and Calcutta. All these Universities award Diplomas in Librarianship. The last name among Universities to provide for library training is that of Delhi which initiated for the first time a two-year Degree course in Library Science. The training course in Librarianship imparted by the Punjab University was dislocated due to the partition of the country. The Punjab University authorities are planning to restore it now at an early date.

Literature on library science produced in India since the inception of the movement in the country is mostly in the form of articles published in the various library and other journals. At present there are two journals that are particularly devoted to the development of library science in the country. They are the *Indian Librarian* published from Simla and the *ABGILA* (or *Annals, Bulletin and Granthalaya of the Indian Library Association*) published from Delhi.

The latest development in the library movement in India was the setting up of the joint project—the Pilot library—of the *Unesco* and the Government of India in Delhi. This was *Unesco's* first experiment with such a project.



MOSLEMS WIN IN INDIA'S ELECTIONS

By ARNOLD K. ISREELI

THE first Parliamentary election in India with her hundred and sixty million voters has been going on for several weeks, and it now is becoming apparent what has transpired there.

The world at large is concerned over developments in India, that old-new nation of four hundred million people in a part of the globe where great changes are taking place. It might be said that Asia may possibly determine the course of history in the coming years, judging by the uprising there against the colonial rule of the great powers and the influence of Europe and America in general.

After the partition of the country into Pakistan and Hindustan, when India became a republic, remaining for the time being within the British Commonwealth of Nations, Prime Minister Nehru carved out for himself a new part in international affairs. He first assumed a friendly attitude toward Communist China, defending it in the international arena. As luck would have it, he was not alone in this. The Labor Government of Britain, which had assisted India in getting her freedom and independence, shared the same attitude, recognizing the Red regime in spite of the American policy, and that of other countries, with respect to China. Nehru's position seemed liberal and acceptable to his party friends.

He was also inclined to favor Islam or rather the Pan-Islamic movement, aligning himself with the Arabs as close allies. He was moved thereto by two factors, one purely internal and one broadly Asian. The Moslems in India constituted a considerable percentage of his Congress Party. Even after the partition of the sub-continent there remained about forty million Moslems in India. Nehru had much in common with them. They shared his views on partitioning the country. He needed these Moslems to counterbalance the other parties, which opposed the split-up of the land. He took into his Cabinet two of the most important Moslem leaders and spiritual guides, assigning to one the post of Education and to the other the Ministry of Communications. The policies of the Cabinet thus came under the influence of Moslem interests, and there is nothing more vital for a Moslem than the political rebirth of Islam.

The other motivation of the Nehru policy was the destiny of Asia. Through a combination with China and the Moslems of the Middle East and South East Asia he hoped to create an Asian Alliance in which he would play a very important part and which would become a weighty factor in the concert of

nations. The Premier of India was far from enthusiastic over America and her "Point Four" program as well as over her policy to "lead from strength" by arming against Soviet aggression. Therein he shared the prevailing sentiment of his political friends in Asia. He was also prone to side with Soviet diplomacy in making it appear that America was leading towards a war, which must be guarded against.

The first Parliamentary elections were admittedly expected to effect certain changes in the national assembly and in the government. They were also expected to show the political composition of the huge population of India. Well, what has happened?

The Nehru Government has won, it seems at this date, only 45 per cent of the vote, though, because of constitutional peculiarities, it has secured 75 per cent of the seats in the Central Parliament. This represents an overwhelming majority, to be sure, but it has no corresponding hold on the minds of the people. The elections made it clear that Nehru's position is no longer very solid and that things could happen in the near future to alter the relative strength of the contending forces.

But what is more important still, Nehru is no longer his own master. He has been imprisoned by his Moslem following. He will be compelled to play ball with them. Out of the 35 per cent of the popular vote given to the Nehru coalition, fifteen per cent represent votes cast for Moslem candidates, who as a result will enjoy great power in Parliament and Government. Thus it has come about that the actual victors are, not the Congress Party, not the right Hindu Party, not the Communist Party, but the Moslems!

The latter played a very clever game in the elections. They did not take the field as a separate party, did not place any candidates of their own in the field. An independent ticket would have confined their total strength to their own adherents who do not form a majority in any of the states of the Indian Republic. It is possible that they could not have won a single deputy in Parliament. They acted more wisely. They decided to see to it that he nominate many Moslem candidates, not as such, but as members of the Congress Party. The Prime Minister felt like satisfying his Moslem friends and, besides, he could not have foreseen that his Party would come out so shorn of popular support or that he would find himself enthralled to Islam in such fashion.

Where the Moslem influence may lead the present

government, it is not easy to predict. The election campaign ran along two fronts—partition, which is still a hot issue in India, and the food situation. The Communists might be the second largest Party in Parliament after the Congress Party, while the Hindu Party will be the third. The rest of the factions, the Socialist Party, the Party of the Workers, Farmers and the People are splinter groups which may join up with one or the other major parties. The Communists came out on top in three states: Travancore-Cochin, Madras-Hyderabad and Tripura (Bengal), and they are already advocating a "united front" of all the opposition parties, similar to the Communist formula in pre-war Europe. The Congress Party lost out in many legislatures of the individual states. The sentiment in the country is against that Party. If the propaganda for a "united front" is successful, it is quite likely that India will go through the same development which characterized Germany after the First World War. There left and right joined hands against the Versailles Treaty. In India they might unite against "partition."

But the Hindu Party might wish to stay away from the Communists, in which case it might draw to itself many of the splinter groups and thus become the second major party in Parliament, with considerable sway throughout the country. The leader of this rightist party, Mookherji, was in the Nehru Cabinet but resigned because of differences in policy. Nehru's opponents of the right repose great hopes in this Hindu leader.

Should there be formed a large opposition to Nehru, he would, indeed, be forced to lean more heavily on the Moslems, and this might carry him too far.

In the matter of Kashmir, which Pakistan covets, how will the Moslems of India, Nehru's supporters in Parliament, behave? Under the leadership of the late Jinnah, they were the architects of partition, and they now envision a great Moslem State. Will they back the Pakistan government or side with Nehru? There is a division of opinion in Pakistan with regard to Kashmir. There is opposition to coercing Kashmir into unity with Pakistan, while in Kashmir, the ruler Sheik Abdullah stands for unity with India, which tends to complicate matters still more.

The results of the elections, it seems, have already had their sobering effect on Nehru's position in international politics. If the Communists attack him, if they preach a "united front" against him and are making ready to raise the issue of "partition" against him, an issue he had considered dead and buried, how can he at the same time play along with the Communists of China? Or with Communists in general?

On the other hand, without the Asian Communists there can be no united Asia and closer attention must be paid to the Western World. Nehru's new Amba-

sador to the United States, B. R. Sen, last month addressed the English Speaking Union in New York, and sang paens to the Western World.

"The present-day culture of India," he said, "is greatly indebted to its contact with the West which began two hundred years ago. India re-asserted the traditional values of her culture through intercourse with the humanism and illuminism of the Western World. This re-awakening is in a measure similar to the Renaissance of the Western World some five hundred years ago, when Europe revived and synthesized Greek and Roman knowledge."

The speaker paid his compliments to the United States, too. "In recent years," said he, "the example of American achievements was to us a source of inspiration . . . The 'founding fathers' of your republic sought, not alone to secure the freedom of the colonies, but also to free the mind of man from the restricting laws and regulations which oppressed it. Your Declaration of Independence and the writings of George Washington, Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson lent hope and encouragement to our leaders in their battle for freedom."

He concluded his remarks by telling of India's needs, praising America for the wheat she had sent to his people not long ago, and intimating that further aid would be highly appreciated.

The food situation, incidentally, which had its part in limiting Nehru's success in the elections, is one more factor which affects his attitude towards the West in general and America in particular. He needs the aid of the United States, whatever the Arabs, the Moslems, or the Communists might think of Uncle Sam and his policies.

"If the pressing needs of India and Asia," said Ambassador Sen at the Waldorf-Astoria, "are for the moment of a material nature, the generous impulse guiding America in rebuilding the economy of the ruined or backward countries, is the opposite of materialism. . . . To our good fortune, the areas of agreement between America and India are very great. We are, in truth, both devoted to the ideals of freedom. America has no territorial ambitions. In the words of President Truman, 'the sole gain America seeks is to win the human heart.'"

If, in the light of the warning the election results have given to Nehru and his friends, a new spirit should arise, there is hope that India will become a constructive rather than destructive force in Asia. In this, America can prove very helpful. Her diplomacy will have to be on the alert, guarding India against the adventures of the Moslems or others, and doing all she can to maintain peace in Asia. India will have to pay heed.*

* This is the translation of an article published in February 19, 1952 issue of one of the most influential Jewish papers, *Jewish Journal and Daily News* of New York.

* SRI AUROBINDO AS A PHILOSOPHER

By RISHABHCHAND

FIVE cardinal characteristics of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy mark him out as a world-philosopher of an unprecedented stature. The first is the fact that his philosophy is a comprehensive and coherent product of his integral spiritual experience of Reality and its manifold self-representation, and not of intellectual thought and speculation. The second is that it is an organic growth and extension of the most vital elements of the ancient and modern philosophical achievements, and a synthesis of their essential truths. The third is that it embodies the Time-Spirit of the modern age and is athrob with the highest aspirations and noblest dreams of the modern man. The fourth is that it is the first systematic and elaborate exposition of the evangel of Spiritual Realism, which makes short work of Nihilism and Illusionism, and exalts, completes and fulfils the fundamental modernist concepts of the philosophies of Alexander and Whitehead. The fifth is that it shoots a ray of revealing light upon the distant, developing contours of the future, towards which it gives a definite and dynamic lead out of the present crisis in human culture and civilisation. If philosophy is principally concerned with wisdom, if it is a study and knowledge of Reality and if its function is to enlighten and guide, not only the mind of man, which is not always in command of his whole nature, but also his heart and will and body towards an increasing light and harmony and happiness and an eventual fulfilment of the deepest urges of his manifold being,—and this was precisely the ancient ideal,—Sri Aurobindo's philosophy answers to this description and shines like a beacon before us, illuminating our path to divine perfection. In spite of Dialectical Materialism and Logical Positivism, man is turning from the surface facts to the deeper values of life and aching for a glimpse or a touch of the Truth which will give him a sense of permanence in the midst of this dizzy whirl, a perception of purposiveness in this chaotic drift, and a promise of freedom and perfection when all his ideals are crumbling to the dust and the chains of contingency are biting into his flesh. Man's destiny is to surpass himself and not to sink on the way-side, battered and broken by the blind forces of his ignorant nature.

Let us touch upon the five characteristics one by one in order to see if they justify our faith in the power of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy to reinstate the higher values in the life of humanity and lead it to a future of harmonious perfection.

Referring to the way in which he has formulated and propounded his philosophy, Sri Aurobindo says in words which remind one of St. Teresa and Blake:

"I have made no endeavour in writing. I have simply left the higher Power to work, and when it did not work, I made no effort at all."

He had practised early in his Yogic life to live in an inner atmosphere of absolute peace and silence, with the mind lulled into a tranquil and receptive repose, and let himself be moved by the divine Power. Describing this stage he writes in one of his letters to his disciples:

"When I wrote in the *Arya*, I was setting forth an overmind view of things to the mind and putting it in mental terms; that was why I had sometimes to use logic. For in such a work—mediating between the intellect and the supra-intellectual—logic has a place, though it cannot have the chief place it occupies in purely mental philosophies . . . To reach Nirvana was the first radical result of my own Yoga. It threw me suddenly into a condition above and without thought, unstained by any mental or vital movement; there was no ego, no real world—only when one looked through the immobile senses, something perceived or bore upon its sheer silence a world of empty forms, materialised shadows without true substance. There was no One or many even, only just absolutely That featureless, relationless, sheer, indescribable unthinkable, absolute, yet supremely real and solely real. This was no mental realisation nor something glimpsed somewhere above,—no abstraction,—it was positive, the only positive reality. . . I cannot say there was anything exhilarating or rapturous in the experience as it then came to me (the ineffable Ananda I had years afterwards), but what it brought was an inexpressible Peace, a stupendous silence, an infinity of release and freedom. I lived in that Nirvana day and night before it began to admit other things into itself or modify itself at all, and the inner heart of experience, a constant memory of it and its power to return remained, until in the end it began to disappear into a greater Superconsciousness from above. But meanwhile realisation added itself to realisation and fused itself with this original experience. At an early stage the aspect of an illusionary world gave place to one in which illusion is only a small surface phenomenon with an immense Divine Reality behind it and a supreme Divine Reality above it and an intense Divine Reality in the heart of everything that had seemed at first only a cinematic shape or shadow. And this was no re-imprisonment in the senses, no diminution or fall from supreme experience; it came rather as a constant heightening and widening of the Truth; it was the spirit that saw objects, not the senses, and the Peace, the Silence, the freedom in Infinity remained always, with the world or all worlds only as a continuous incident in the timeless eternity of the Divine."

Sri Aurobindo does not believe that the human mind, however developed it may be, can, by itself, discover the ultimate Truth, which is a truth of the infinite consciousness, or find the solutions of the problems of life, which derive from it.

"It is impossible," says he, "for the limited human reason to judge the way or purpose of the Divine,—which is the way of the Infinite dealing with the finite."²

There is an infinite Existence, self-conscious, self-luminous and blissfully self-expressive behind the fret and foam of our surface life, and there are faculties and powers in our being which, once awakened, can bridge the gulf between our life and that eternal Existence. These faculties, of which intuition, the means of knowledge by identity, is the most fruitfully important, are the agents of our self-transcendence; and the way to self-transcendence is the sure way to knowledge. It is only by a union and identification with the Infinite—the Infinite status upholding the infinite creative dynamism—that we can know the essential reality and the changing modalities of God and Nature and Man. True knowledge is always knowledge by identity, and so long as there is a chasm between the knower and the object of knowledge, true knowledge is impossible; what one can have is at best a more or less precise observation of appearances and an imaginative or conjectural reconstruction of reality on the shifting sands of that observation. It is only when we get behind the frontal aspects of things and enter into the deeper regions of consciousness and being, that we come to realise how misleading and falsifying, sometimes even how fantastic and fanciful, are the speculative structures we raise in honour of Truth in the strenuous egotism of our overweening reason. If there is any eternal Truth or substance behind the fleeting forms of life, it is the Truth or substance of the Infinite; and we must break beyond our finiteness, in order to realise it in its essence. There can be no true knowledge without an identification between the knower and the object of knowledge. And this identification is possible, because there is an essential identity in the heart of all things.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is the outcome of his self-identification with the omnipresent Reality. But this identification is not, as it has been with many a mystic, an overpowering hush and passivity in the entranced consciousness in which one or the other aspect of Reality reveals itself with an exclusive attraction and the rest is totally overlaid or eclipsed by it. From the very beginning of his spiritual self-discipline, Sri Aurobindo has been a tireless and uncompromising seeker of the integral Reality and his experiences have progressed from synthesis to a higher synthesis, embracing, harmonising and explaining in the light of the fundamental unity, the apparent anomalies and contradictions not only of the phenomenal Nature, but of the manifold aspects of Reality itself. Elucidating the ascensive, inclusive and integrating movement of his Yoga, he says:

"First, there must be a conversion inwards, a going within to find the inmost psychic being and bring it out to the front, disclosing at the same time the inner mind, inner vital, inner physical parts of the nature. Next, there must be an ascension, a series of conversions upwards and turning down to convert the lower parts. When one has made the inward conversion, one psychicises the whole nature so as to make it ready for the divine change. Going upwards, one passes beyond the human mind and at each stage of the ascent, there is a conversion into a new consciousness and an infusion of this new consciousness into the whole of the nature. Thus rising beyond intellect through illuminated higher mind to the intuitive consciousness, we begin to look at everything not from the intellect range or through intellect as an instrument, but from a greater intuitive height and through an intuitivised will, feeling, emotion, sensation and physical contact. So, proceeding from Intuition to a greater Overmind height, there is a new conversion and we look at and experience everything from the Overmind consciousness and through a mind, heart, vital and body surcharged with the Overmind thought, sight, will, feeling, sensation, play of force and contact. But the last conversion is the supramental, for once there,—once the nature is supramentalised, we are beyond the Ignorance and conversion of consciousness is no longer needed, though a further divine progression, even in infinite development is still possible."³

Sri Aurobindo is a monist, but his monism is different from that of Parmenides or Shankar on the one hand and Spinoza on the other. Unlike Parmenides and Shankar he regards the phenomenal world as real, in as much as it is a mobile self-representation of the Brahman, the sole transcendent and immanent Reality. All names and forms that rise and sink like waves upon the bosom of the sea of Universal Life, are the names and forms of the Nameless One who is the all-constituting and yet all-transcending Reality of all existence. Sri Aurobindo envisages three simultaneous aspects of Reality—the Transcendent, the Universal and the Individual, seven planes of consciousness—Existence, Consciousness-Force, Bliss, Supermind, Mind, Life and Matter, three essential modes of Nature, Spirit and Matter as two confronting poles of the one indivisible Existence and the multitudinous world as the self-expression of the Supreme Being. He, therefore, completes Parmenides, Shankar and Berkley by curing their philosophies of their unilateral bias and establishes not only the truth, but also the dignity and dynamic importance of the phenomenal world. In the light of his comprehensive philosophy human life assumes a deep, divine significance and appears fraught with incalculable teleological possibilities. But even while giving a death-blow to Illusionism or Acosmicism, his philosophy does not deny the partial truth of the illusionistic experience, which is an intense, transitional experience prone to negate Matter in its exaggerated emphasis on the Spirit. It reconciles Subjective Idealism

2. *Ibid.*

3. *The Riddle of This World* by Sri Aurobindo.

with Materialism in an integral, unifying vision. It lifts Spinoza's Substance and Hegel's Absolute out of Time and Space and links them to the Transcendent Existence, thus making the Omnipotent Reality the eternal ground of all things. To Plato's ideas it gives an honoured place in the hierarchy of its planes of consciousness or worlds of being, but does not confound them with God or the supreme Good. The basic concepts of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy are consonant with those of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita, except for the gospel of the Supermind to which he gives a distinctive and original elaboration and which he makes the pivot of his synthetic and dynamic Yoga of integral perfection. In the Supermind is the supreme magnet, the supreme harmonising Alchemy, the divine source and embrace of all fundamental principles as well as the secret of the colour and rhythm of all creation. It is, indeed, the Supermind which is at once the core and apex of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, even as the omnipresent Reality, the integral Divine, is its soul and sustenance. Taking his stand in the luminous vastness of the Supermind, the Home of all Harmonies, Sri Aurobindo assigns to each philosophy, each religion, each theory of knowledge its proper place and value; even scepticism and rank materialism are viewed and considered as indispensable, though transitional, phases of man's search for Reality, and the cardinal truths of all are woven into the composite texture of his comprehensive, dynamic spiritual philosophy.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is the only philosophy in the modern world which meets the manifold needs of the present age and promises, not only to solve all its confusing problems, but to fulfil its highest aims and deepest aspirations:

"Today we see a humanity satiated but not satisfied by victorious analysis of the externalities of Nature preparing to return to its primal longings. The earliest formula of Wisdom promises to be its last,—God, Light, Freedom, Immortality,"

The bankruptcy of modern Science and the philosophical thought of man to lead him to a harmonious and happy life of cultural progress, to a life of unity and developing divinity, of peace and purity and light and freedom, induces an inner urge to explore the veiled stretches of his being—limitless expanses radiant with unsuspected treasures—and strew the bleakness of his outer life with their untold riches. It is a return of the prodigal son to the eternal Father, to the Fount whose perennial flow alone can fill him and refresh. Sri Aurobindo stands as the leader of this collective return of mankind. It is he alone who, not in the loose, emotional words of the ecstatic, but in the compact, reasoned language of the philosopher, aflame with the vision and experience of a mystic and a poet, points us to the glories of the Spirit evolving

in Matter, and holds up the ideal of the divine Superman and the establishment of the Life Divine on earth. Unity, which is the master-idea of the modern age and yet ruthlessly opposed by the forces of division and discord, finds in his philosophy the secure base of the self-manifesting Spirit upon which, as on an immovable rock, it can deploy its inexhaustible diversity in human relations and cultural interchange. He represents, besides, in the words of Romain Rolland, "the most complete synthesis between the genius of the West and that of the East"—a synthesis which is one of the noblest aspirations of the modern cosmopolitan outlook.

"A spiritual religion of humanity is the hope of the future. By this is not meant what is ordinarily called a universal religion, a system, a thing of creed and intellectual belief and dogma and outward rite. Mankind has tried unity by that means; it has failed and deserved to fail, because there can be no universal religious system, one in mental creed and vital form. The inner spirit is indeed one, but, more than any other, the spiritual life insists on freedom and variation in its self-expression and means of development. A religion of humanity means the growing realisation that there is a secret Spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one: that humanity is its highest present vehicle on earth, that the human race and the human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here. It implies a growing attempt to live out this knowledge and bring about a kingdom of this divine Spirit upon earth. By its growth within us oneness with our fellow-men will become the leading principle of all our life, not merely a principle of co-operation, but a deeper brotherhood, a real and an inner sense of unity and equality and a common life. There must be the realisation by the individual that only in the life of his fellow-men is his own life complete. There must be the realisation by the race that only on the free and full life of the individual can its own perfection and permanent happiness be founded. There must be too a discipline and a way of salvation in accordance with this religion, that is to say, a means by which it can be developed by each man within himself so that it may be developed in the life of the race. . . . No doubt, if this is only an idea like the rest, it will go the way of all ideas. But if it is at all a truth of our being, then it must be the truth to which all is moving and in which must be found the means of a fundamental, an inner, a complete, a real human unity which would be the one secure base of a unification of human life. A spiritual oneness which would create a psychological oneness not dependent upon any intellectual or outward uniformity and compel a oneness of life not bound up with its mechanical means of unification, but ready always to enrich its secure unity by a free inner variation and a freely varied outer self-expression, this would be the basis for a higher type of human existence."¹⁵

The harmonious perfection and fulfilment of human life is another insistent aspiration in the heart

4. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo.

5. *The Ideal of Human Unity* by Sri Aurobindo.

of the modern man, weary of the chaotic drive of his fickle desires and oppressed by the burden of his frustrated hopes. The intellect upon which he leans for the realisation of his cherished dreams only drags him from superficialities to superficialities, away from the source and centre of his life, and condemns him to a futile pre-occupation with fugitive appearance. Unsatisfied and unfulfilled, but lashed by mental curiosity and vital lust, corroded by cares and drained of all spiritual sap and moral stamina, he yearns for a haven of peace and a ray of steady light to help him recover the deeper vision of his soul and the abiding, spiritual values of his existence. Sri Aurobindo's philosophy gives him not only an inspiring message, but a dynamic lead towards the highest perfection and fulfilment of his entire being.

"To know, possess and be the divine being in an animal and egoistic consciousness, to convert our twilight or obscure physical mentality into the plenary supermental illumination, to build peace and a self-existent bliss where there is only a stress of transitory satisfactions besieged by physical pain and emotional suffering, to establish an infinite freedom in a world which presents itself as a group of mechanical necessities, to discover and realise the immortal life in a body subjected to death and constant mutation,—this is offered to us as the manifestation of God in Matter and the goal of Nature in her terrestrial evolution . . . The greater the apparent disorder of the materials offered or the apparent disparateness, even to irreconcilable opposition, of the elements that have to be utilised, the stronger is the spur, and it drives towards a more subtle and puissant order than can normally be the result of a less difficult endeavour. The accordance of active Life with a material of form in which the condition of activity itself seems to be inertia, is one problem of opposites that Nature has solved and seeks always to solve better with greater complexities; for its perfect solution would be the material immortality of a fully organised mind-supporting animal body. The accordance of conscious mind and conscious will with a form and a life in themselves not overtly self-conscious and capable at best of a mechanical or subconscious will is another problem of opposites in which she has produced astonishing results and aims always at higher marvels; for there her ultimate miracle would be an animal consciousness no longer seeking but possessed of Truth and Light, with the practical omnipotence which would result from the possession of a direct and perfected knowledge. Not only, then, is the upward impulse of man towards the accordance of yet higher opposites rational in itself, but it is the only logical completion of a rule and an effort that seem to be a fundamental method of Nature and the very sense of her universal strivings."⁶

"The animal is a living laboratory in which Nature has, it is said, worked out man. Man himself may well be a thinking and living laboratory in whom and with whose conscious co-operation she wills to work out the superman, the god. Or shall we not say, rather, to manifest God? . . .

If it be true that Spirit is involved in Matter and apparent Nature is secret God, then the manifestation of the Divine in himself and the realisation of God within and without are the highest and most legitimate aim possible to man upon earth."

The fourth characteristic of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is that it is the first systematic, elaborate and rational exposition of the gospel of Spiritual Realism. This gospel has much in common with the synthetic teaching of the Gita, but whereas the Gita expounds its working on the enlightened mind-plane and ends only with a cryptic hint of its spiritual consummation, Sri Aurobindo founds its perfected stage on the Supermind, the Truth-Consciousness, and opens up an illimitable vista of infinite divine action through the transformed nature of the liberated individual and the illuminated collectivity. Here we may refer in passing—our present scope forbids a fuller treatment—that the Integral Yoga evolved by Sri Aurobindo aims at a radical and integral transformation of human nature and its eventual conversion into the divine Supernature. Sri Aurobindo accepts the whole of life with all its helpful activities and seeks to render it a manifesting channel of Light. But life must change, its hidden springs must undergo a thorough transmutation and its roots in the Sub-conscious and the In-conscious must be quickened and saturated with the Supramental Light. An ascent of the integrated human consciousness to the Supermind and a descent of the Supramental Light and Force into the whole of human nature can alone "lead inevitably towards an evolution in the knowledge, a self-finding and self-unfolding of the Spirit, a self-revelation of the Divinity in things in that true power of itself in Nature which is to us still a Supernature."⁸

As we have already seen, Sri Aurobindo does not allow himself to be blinded by the hurtling forces of darkness that torture and twist human life into ugly shapes. He has his eye fixed upon the rising sun, the emergent Truth struggling through the thick veil of ambient Falsehood. He sees the Supernature descending into the darkened and afflicted nature of man and declares that the crown and culmination of the evolutionary endeavour of Nature is the manifestation of God in man and the organisation of a collective human life based upon the unity, harmony and loving, rapturous mutuality of the self-revealing Spirit. This is the fifth characteristic of his philosophy:

"The descent of the Supermental is an inevitable necessity in the logic of things and is therefore sure. It is because people do not understand what the Supermind is or realise the significance of the emergence of consciousness in a world of inconscient Matter that they are unable

6. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo.

7. *The Life Divine*, Vol. I, by Sri Aurobindo

8. *The Life Divine*, Vol. II.

to realise this inevitability. I suppose a matter-of-fact observer, if there had been one at the time of the unrelieved reign of inanimate Matter in the earth's beginning, would have criticised any promise of the emergence of life in a world of dead earth and rock and mineral as an absurdity and a chimera; so too, afterwards he would have repeated this mistake and regarded the emergence of thought and reason in an animal world as an absurdity and a chimera. It is the same now with the appearance of Supermind in the stumbling mentality of this world of human consciousness and its reasoning ignorance.¹⁰

Through transcendence of the mind and the attainment of the Truth, the Right and the Vast of the Supermind lies the way to a New Heaven and a New Earth for travelling humanity. In these times of deepening gloom and collapsing values, Sri Aurobindo's spiritual philosophy and Integral Yoga are a veritable God-send.¹⁰

9. *Letters of Sri Aurobindo*, 1st Series.

10. For a fuller treatment of the subject refer to *The Life Divine* by Sri Aurobindo.

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"POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA"

By DR. SATKARI MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University

My attention has been drawn to an article entitled "Post-graduate Teaching in Sanskrit in the University of Calcutta" published in *The Modern Review* for January, 1952, over the signature of Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. It calls for a suitable reply. The article is long and gives elaborate expression to the contributor's views on a number of topics, some being highly controversial. Any suitable reply to his observations will be in the nature of things a long one and will occupy space in the journal. In view of this I am writing this article dealing with some of the points raised by the Mahamahopadhyaya as shortly as practicable.

For convenience of reply we may divide your contributor's remarks into four parts, though he has not observed any definite principle of dividing topics in his article.

In the first place I should refer to the opinion he expresses about the ability and learning of "most of the teachers" of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Calcutta. He says that they are not "in reality" familiar with the subjects they happen to teach. Nor have they made, he says, "any serious attempt" to be so familiar. They are "indifferent" as to whether they have necessary equipment for teaching M.A. classes or not. It should be borne in mind in this connection that many of the University teachers in Sanskrit were associated with this Department during the years that Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya was its Head. It is not necessary for me to take up cudgels on behalf of the reputation of the teachers of the Sanskrit Department. Such reputation is in fact too well-established to need any defence. But I should refer to the peculiar sense of courtesy of Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. He is not fettered by any code of honour in casting unmerited aspersions upon his former colleagues. Apart from questioning the equipment of the members of the

Sanskrit Department as scholars and teachers, the contributor also remarks that this Department has not since its inception produced one single page which "can be considered as essential or indispensable for learning Sanskrit." What, however, is essential or indispensable is in the last analysis a matter of individual appreciation and understanding. This ability to appreciate and understand the merit of other people's contributions to knowledge is a gift of nature and scholarship, not given to everybody. This ability may again be sometimes clouded and even undermined by personal likes and dislikes which we cannot and do not want to fight. I, however, resist the temptation of emulating the Mahamahopadhyaya's example and of returning the compliment which he has given us.

In the second place, your contributor has referred to the methods of teaching followed in the Department of Sanskrit. At first he commends the principle enunciated by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee that with the teaching of each subject in the Department at least two scholars should be associated, one being trained on old traditional lines and the other being acquainted with modern methods of study and research. But consistency is not a strong point in the arguments of the Mahamahopadhyaya. While at first he approves of the principle laid down above, he soon finds fault with it and observes that two classes of teachers "cannot work harmoniously." He even asserts that unless the teachers are acquainted with both methods and trained on both lines, they cannot do justice to their subjects. It is, of course, not exactly correct that all Post-graduate teachers in Sanskrit have acquaintance with only one method, either traditional or modern. In fact there are some teachers in the Department who have been trained both on traditional lines and in the University and combine in them the excellences of both kinds of approach. But it is necessary for us to point out all the same that Mm. Vidhushekhara

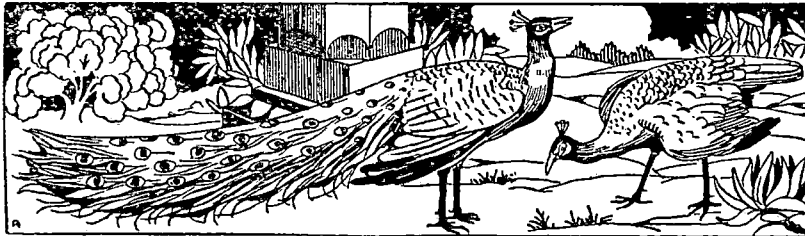
Bhattacharya has laid down an ideal which will be difficult, if not impossible, for any institution to reach. Scholars thoroughly acquainted with both methods are few and Universities competing for their recruitment are many. What is again true of the observations of the contributor in this regard is also true of his observations regarding the knowledge in German, French, Chinese and Tibetan which he expects teachers in Sanskrit to possess. It is not necessary for me to expatiate here on the question of learning more than one foreign language by our students in the Universities. But this much I should point out that it is only in exceptional cases that a teacher may, in addition to acquiring proficiency in the regional language, English and, of course, Sanskrit, acquire knowledge of two other European and two other Asian languages as well. The counsel of perfection which the Mahamahopadhyaya has offered has not, of course, been absent from the mind of lesser men like us. But it is one thing to offer this counsel and it is another thing to act up to it in practice. The ideal may not be always the actual. But we have always made efforts to attain the ideal.

In the third place the Mahamahopadhyaya has referred to the syllabus of studies adopted by the Department of Sanskrit and regards it as fundamentally defective. In this connection he first of all refers to the indispensability of Prakrit in any scheme of Sanskrit-teaching and points out that due weight has not been given to it in the syllabus. He forgets that his is only a point of view which need not necessarily be shared by other scholars and teachers. In the University of Calcutta Prakrit has been given a place in the syllabus which it should legitimately occupy. It not only constitutes a special group but it has been made compulsory for students of literature and epigraphy. Beyond this it was not thought wise to accommodate Prakrit in the syllabus in the framing of which, it may be pointed out in passing, scholars of a far longer standing in Post-graduate Teaching in Sanskrit played an important part.

In regard to the position assigned in the syllabus to the Avesta, Vedanta, Buddhist and Jain Logic, Sanskrit Grammar and Indian Politics also, the learned contributor has fault to find and advice to offer. But it should be emphasised that a syllabus of studies is

a matter for decision not by one scholar with hobbies and fads of his own. It is a matter to be decided on the basis of balancing the opinions and views of a number of members of a Board and a Faculty. At meetings of such Boards and Faculties mind reacts on mind and ultimately a more or less common view emerges as to which subjects are to be accommodated in a syllabus and that in which proportion. The Mahamahopadhyaya may not like this procedure of chalking out a syllabus of studies and possibly chafed under it while he was associated with the Department. But less prejudiced scholars all over the world will certainly think that only by this procedure over-emphasis on any topic may be avoided and due weight may be given to the different subjects which ought to be taught. So if the University of Calcutta has failed to oblige Mm. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya in regard to some of his pet points, he in his disappointment may run to the press and publish his views. But that should not take away either from the merits of the syllabus or from the excellence of work done by teachers of the Department.

Last charge of the Mahamahopadhyaya against the Post-graduate Department of Sanskrit is that students trained therein do not pronounce the Vedic hymns with proper accent. In this connection it should be pointed out that simply because a student cannot recite with proper accent the Vedic *mantras*, his scholarship need not be declared as valueless. Foreigners cannot pronounce English in the same way as Englishmen do. But that does not necessarily detract from their knowledge of English literature and language. Reputed European scholars in Sanskrit have not been necessarily able to pronounce the Vedic *mantras* with proper accent. But the Mahamahopadhyaya appears all the same to have profound respect for their high standing in the field of Sanskrit scholarship. It should also be emphasised in this connection that everything possible within the limited resources of the University is being done to promote Vedic studies on proper scientific lines. Every effort is also being made to acquaint students with the actual performance of Vedic ceremonies and *Yajnas*. It may be stated in passing that they were sent to South India in 1951 under the care and supervision of Mm. Chinnaaswami Sastri to witness these ceremonies and *Yajnas*.



THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT

By N. K. SETH, M.A.

WHEN the International Exhibition of surrealist paintings opened in London in June, 1936, its immediate reaction upon the public mind was to arouse widespread prejudice and hostility against an entirely original and unconventional art for which it was quite unprepared. Those who had been accustomed to the paintings of traditional schools of art only were profoundly shocked to behold in the art galleries fantastic and distorted pictures based on dream symbolism, and were inclined to regard this trend in painting with scepticism and even contempt. Art-critics fared no better than the generality of people in their capacity to appreciate new tendencies in art; they denounced the movement chiefly on grounds of its irrationality and immorality. Thus at the time of its introduction—at any rate in England—surrealist movement was highly unpopular. And one of the reasons for this was the comparative ignorance of people of surrealist theory which is so well-known today. It is no longer possible to brand surrealist movement as irrational and absurd as it used to be, for its theory is now found to be scientifically sound.

BEGINNINGS IN FRANCE

Although it came to England as a profoundly original experiment in the realm of art—at least so far as the general public was concerned—in France surrealism had been gaining ground as a movement much earlier. Its scope was wide enough from the very beginning to include both art and literature. Moreover in literature it was not so novel a thing as in art; it was, in fact only a discovery, for even in the older works, particularly the *romans noirs* or horror Gothic novels such as those of Walpole and Monk Lewis, the automatic process of creation as in surrealist works was found to be in operation. The influence of Gothic novelists upon Andre Breton who fathered surrealist movement cannot be exaggerated; to him we owe the symbolical interpretation of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, one of the best known Gothic novels. And Walpole himself admitted that the novel had been written without any conscious effort, thus foreshadowing the theory of automatism of surrealist poets. The purpose, scope and object of the surrealist movement, which may be broadly labelled as the cult of the subconscious, have been admirably summed up by M. Maurice Nadeau in *Histoire du Surrealisme* in the following lines:

"The movement was not envisaged by its founders as a new school of art, but as a means of charting insufficiently explored continents; the subconscious mind, the wonderland of dreams, dementia and the hallucinatory state: in fact, the other side of the logical backcloth."

SURREALISM AND DADAISM

In France, Andre Breton and Paul Eluard were the chief exponents of surrealist theory in the begin-

ning and were affiliated with the Dadaist group of poets under the leadership of Tristan Tzara. The Dadaist programme largely consisted of negation, of attack against established conventions in art and in other spheres. And, at last, when there came about a rupture between the Dadaists and the surrealists, the surrealists carried over this spirit of revolt against established order of things in art, literature and politics. They regarded Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Jarry, Nerval and Apollinaire as their literary ancestors. But it was more specially the influence of Marquis de Sade and Comte de Lautreamont which incited them to a revolt against literary traditions and conventional morality. Even in such poems as *Le Bateau Ivre* of Rimbaud with its profusion of fantastic imagery which has only the significance of dream symbolism, one can distinctly perceive the growing tendency among poets to give expression to their subconscious thoughts. The vogue of surrealist poetry lasted during the whole of inter-war period, and it is only now that it is showing some signs of abatement.

PAINTER POETS

Perhaps the surrealist movement is the only movement after the pre-Raphaelite which has seen painter poets—men who have equally distinguished themselves both as painters and as poets. Salvador Dali, Giorgio de Chirico, even Picasso, pre-eminently known as painters have written some of the finest surrealist poetry. However, the movement in poetry was finally consecrated in 1930 with the publication of *Immaculate Conception*—a collection of poems by Breton and Eluard—poems which give expression to the unconstrained flight of imagination. But the most distinctive feature of this poetry is the profusion of unusual symbolical images—sometimes beautiful, sometimes baffling due to their apparent absurdity but always endowed with a strange haunting quality:

Last night the wind blew so violently that I thought
It would break the rocks in cards.
All the time through the darkness the electric lights
Throbbled like hearts.

In the third sleep I woke near a lane

Where the waters of two rivers came to die

Around the table women were reading

And the monk was silent in darkness . . .

—GIORGIO DE CHIRICO in *La Revolution Surrealiste*, 1925.

It is difficult for any translation to convey the haunting music of Chirico's lines, yet one can form an idea about the bizarre and incoherent images which are employed in surrealist poetry. It is usual with the surrealist poets to express themselves in a series of images which lack coherence, in that they are not at all related to one another. The images apparently seem fantastic, and do not make any meaning to the reader unless symbolically interpreted,

THEORY OF SURREALISM

Reference to the fantastic and distorted images of surrealist poetry brings us to a discussion of its theory and the cult of the subconscious. The first thing to appreciate about surrealist movement is that in more ways than one it is a continuation of the romantic tradition in art and literature; it is an escapist movement in so far as it manifests a tendency to fall back upon the world of dreams and fantasy rather than the real or material world; it is a general revolt in so far as it denounces established conventions in art, literature and life in general. To sum up, as Read has said, "Surrealism in general is the romantic principle in art"; in fact in its insistence on the greater reality of the subconscious than the conscious it breeds a romantic attitude to life in general.

The surrealist theory is chiefly based upon the Freudian theory of dreams and the dialectical materialism of Marx. From Freud the surrealists have obtained a justification for seeking a symbolical meaning in dream imagery, however absurd and quaint it may be. As they regard the process of composition of poetry identical with that of the dream process, *i.e.*, an unconscious impulse creates the poem no less than the dream, naturally so they translate visual images of dreams into verbal images in poetry, or put them as such without change on the canvas in painting. It is true that when one merely transcribes his dreams into poetry or paintings without making any conscious effort to impose upon them an order, they must appear fantastic and absurd due to the characteristic quality of dream images. But these dreams are merely the expression into visual imagery of inward impulses and desires of an individual. And all the strangeness and fantasy of this imagery are due to a transformation which takes place while the unconscious thoughts are translated into visual imagery; they suffer a distortion and eventually take an unrecognisable shape. Thus the poetry or the painting which treats of dreams also appears rather puzzling, but the secret of it lies in the symbolical value of its images.

SYMBOLISM

It is difficult, however, to be certain of the exact symbolical significance of any images employed by the artist or the poet, for sometimes he uses arbitrary symbols which cannot be so readily interpreted as the conventional ones. Though sometimes Freud's interpretation of dream imagery may afford a clue to the significance of images, yet neither it is a safe nor a universally valid guide. Most of the paintings of Salvador Dali represent objects such as a lady's shoe, or flowing watches—objects which if interpreted according to Freud would be found to be sexual symbols. But it is difficult to say how far Dali or any other surrealist artist or poet deliberately uses Freudian symbolism, for the cardinal principle of surrealist creed is that the process of composition of poetry or

of creation of paintings is automatic, *i.e.*, the artist or the poet merely expresses through his proper medium images which come to him from the unconscious or in dream without any effort on his part to rationalise them.

REALISM

Though surrealism is pre-eminently the romantic principle in art and literature, yet some of the exponents of its theory deny that it is wholly so. They do not admit that the surrealist artist or poet merely lives in a world of fantasy or dreams; they believe in a compromise between the subjective and the objective worlds which is analogous to the synthesis in the dialectical philosophy of Marx. As Max Ernst has said:

"The aim of the surrealist is not to gain access to the unconscious and to paint its contents in a descriptive or realistic way, or even to create a world of fancy drawing upon the resources of the unconscious; their aim is rather to break down barriers, both physical and psychical, between the conscious and the unconscious, between the inner and the outer world, and to create a super-reality in which real and unreal, meditation and action, meet and mingle and dominate the whole of life."

Thus the world of the surrealist artist or poet is not merely a world of fantasy; it is a world of super-reality *i.e.*, one where the internal and external realities are harmonised.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE MOVEMENT

But in its essence, the surrealist movement represents a revolt against all traditions in art and literature. And it is significant that all those who can be regarded as its precursors—Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Leautreumont, Marquis de Sade, were agitators against established order of things and were rebels in almost every direction. The surrealists have resorted to the cult of the subconscious as it affords them an opportunity to rebel against the growing tendency towards realism in art and literature. It is a movement for the liberation of the individual, and the assertion of his personality against any external authority. For the surrealists 'classicism is the intellectual counterpart of political tyranny,' and naturally so they regard all attempts to smother native impulses and desires which lie buried in the subconscious with hostility.

No doubt, the theoretical explanation of surrealist vagaries is plausible, yet it is difficult to speak with confidence about the permanent value of this movement. For although the use of symbolism in art and literature is nothing new—mediaeval poets and artists like Dante and Bosch made use of it extensively—yet it has never had popular appeal, nor is it ever likely to have it. Even an average cultured person today finds it extremely difficult to appreciate modern surrealist paintings, and unless it be mere intellectual snobbery, he finds it utterly impossible to enjoy them. For the majority of people they do not possess any

aesthetic appeal, and as such are not rated highly by them. Moreover the employment of a system of symbolism so common in surrealist paintings and poems presents formidable difficulties to those who approach them for enjoyment and not for a literary or intellectual exercise. Very few people are really willing to take the trouble of deciphering arbitrary symbols which may have been used by the artist or the poet, when his work does not have an immediate appeal. But truly speaking immediate pleasure from a work of art cannot be considered as the sole criterion for assessing its merits; in fact, lasting and deep enjoyment of a real work of art comes only by long and close familiarity with it. This is true especially of works where there is an intellectual element in their composition, as for instance, the metaphysical or symbolist poetry or surrealist paintings. The true enjoyment of the surrealist works, I believe, can only be had after long acquaintance with them. And that too when one leaves making fuss about the meaning of paintings or poems, and simply enjoys them without being able to say why.

However, there is a tendency for this kind of art or literature to become esoteric (on account of its arbitrary and personal symbolism)—the key to whose secret is known only to a few and it grows unpopular with the masses. Such has been the fate of surrealist movement; the popular prejudice has never abated, for people find themselves unable to appreciate an art

which they begin by disliking for the lack of visual appeal. What will be the ultimate fate of this movement nobody knows; like other movements perhaps it will also die, for already there are symptoms of its progressive decline. Salvador Dali, one of the most important practitioners of surrealist paintings and poetry, has already taken to more traditional modes of paintings. Giorgio de Chirico also, himself a veteran painter and at one time one of the foremost surrealists, has recently restored to a perfectly understandable brand of neo-classicism (Ruggero frees Angelica) with all the sensuous beauty of Renaissance artists which is so conspicuously absent from most of the modern paintings. And not only this, but Chirico has pronounced the doom of modern art which, he thinks, is not remote:

"Because of my activities to create a renaissance in painting that will restore art to its true masterfulness and beauty . . . with great strides the day is coming when this horrible bestiality called modern art . . . will give up its soul to the devils."

This commentary on contemporary art seems to be too harsh, but nobody can deny that surrealism as a movement is slowly weakening and one of the chief reasons for this is its unpopularity with the general public. Yet I do not think that it can ever perish altogether; it is bound to leave some influence on all subsequent painters, although for the present a violent reaction against it is natural and inevitable.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN UNKNOWN INDIAN: By N. C. Chaudhuri. Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Price not mentioned.

The nineteenth century Russian intellectual Chaadayev once startled the world by declaring that Russia was incapable of producing a soul of her own and that she should link herself with the West for self-preservation. The depressing thought that Russia "as a distinctive moral force, had no past, present, or future; she had no contribution to make to the world" was voiced by one who was neither a Slavophile nor a Westerner. He was officially declared mad by Nicholas I, but he was, nevertheless, a Russian speaking for Russia.

Another intellectual, this time, an Indian,

nurtured in a highly cultured but a sectarian society has set out to prove in a book of five hundred and sixteen pages that Hindu civilization is dead and that without continuous absorption of outside culture from foreign invasions India is doomed to decadence. To Mr. Chaudhuri, the author, the re-establishment of foreign domination alone can save India from her impending doom.

Mr. Chaudhuri deplors the lack of moral awareness in India to-day but those high standards, the passing of which he deplors, must have, in fact, been very rare even in the heyday of the reforming movements in Bengal. Born of a father devoted to the idea that education is an absolute good and of a mother of independent mind and "fierce honesty," his family was hardly typical even of the anglicized Bengali middle class. He grew up in an atmosphere

pervaded by the moral and religious influences of Brahmoism and New Hinduism. He finds his fellow countrymen to-day lack the sense of high personal moral responsibility enjoined by these movements. The destruction of moral awareness is laid at the door of Hindu ethics but bribes, nepotism, factionism, rule by cliques and the other human failings, which Mr. Chaudhuri deplures, are not confined to India alone.

The author paints a gloomy picture of the progressive decline in the cultural worth of India and paradoxically enough considers that India will now become more imitative of the West in the cultural field. The premium put on the merely superficial assumption of English culture for the purpose of self-advancement under British rule or of Islamic culture under Mogul rule, has surely been a hindrance to cultural progress. It is true that in some cases, such as the author's, the understanding has been more than skin-deep but this is exceptional. Mr. Chaudhuri says that whereas in the years of British rule influences from the West were on a spiritual and intellectual level they are now on an economic level. He fails to take into account the fact that India is passing through a phase of rapid industrialization with a concomitant increase in the size of the urban proletariat. A decline in spirituality and intellectual discrimination is inevitable during such a period.

In his criticism of Gandhism as a "rebarbarizing influence," as a retrograde influence bolstering up the old irrational nationalism dominated by myths and hatred, he fails to take into consideration the illiteracy of the masses. He deprecates Gandhism for its lack of historical and political consciousness but in which literate Western democracy are the masses historically conscious? As to the lack of political consciousness he says that democracy was merely a useful slogan against the British but the recent elections show that there is no lack of political aptitude. He has legitimate suspicions of much of the fulsome flattery for India emanating from the West as the insincere product of self-interest and of a "canaille ecrivante et parlante." Could it be that much of this attitude is merely the manifestation of a new concern by the West for all under-developed countries? His fear, however, that independent India will decay in isolation is less easy to defend for to-day India is intellectually and economically less isolated from the world than under foreign rule. The mere presence of an alien ruling class does not prevent decay. Has Mr. Chaudhuri's highly developed "historical consciousness" made him over-susceptible to the "odour of decay" which he admits his studies of the fall of empires have given him the art of smelling out?

Mr. Chaudhuri like the Russian intellectuals of the nineteenth century is the product of an imported foreign culture. He is proud of his self-imposed intellectual isolation from his fellow-countrymen. He "looks within himself to see India" and no wonder his views lack perspective. His book is, nevertheless, an important autobiography and is from its own standpoint a valuable social document portraying the thoughts, customs, the intellectual background and the political movements of a liberal and reformist Bengali society. He belongs to a section of society which absorbed Western culture and gave India her political and intellectual leadership in the late nineteenth century, a society which is now no longer significant in shaping India's future. The descriptive part of the book combines a refreshing sincerity, sensitiveness and

power of observation with a deep scholarship. He gives a penetrating analysis of his fellow Bengalis and a vivid description of his childhood homes in Mymensingh and of his student days in Calcutta. His adoration of scholarship is genuine but the book would perhaps have been more palatable to his readers with less quotations. It is a remarkable achievement for a man who has never left his own country to have acquired such an intensive and extensive knowledge of European languages, history and the Western classics and to have devoted his life to the pursuit of historical truth however unpopular its conclusions. The virtual ending of the book in 1921, when the author having failed in his M.A. examination settled down to office work in a state of mental depression, is symptomatic of the fact that he and his circle are temporarily a misfit in a country which in the first flush of independence is ruled by men who are unreservedly optimistic and nationalistic.

MARGARET R. BASU

BASIC EDUCATION: By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. viii and 114. Price Re. 1-8.

Revolutionary changes have taken place in the West in regard to the theory as well as the practice of education in recent times. The growth of Activity Schools and an extended application of the Project Method have been some of its outstanding features. Gandhiji's educational experiments coincided, in some respects, with these newer trends, while in others, they showed an independent line of development. In keeping with the economic condition of our country, where population is moreover largely rural, Gandhiji tried to evolve a system of education through crafts which would enable the student to pay his own way through the school, while, it would also enable him later on to earn his living in the village by means of the craft which was used for educational purposes at school. Gandhiji thus tried to combine technical training along with education, in the ordinary sense of the word.

The Navajivan Publishing House has brought together in the present booklet Gandhiji's writings relating to this subject from 1937 onwards, when he first began to work upon the subject of Basic Education. It will prove a very useful book for educationists and social reformers alike.

GANDHISM FOR MILLIONS: By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Patna. 1949. Pp. xi and 37. Price Rs. 3.

Sri Krishnamurti is one of the enthusiasts who have been voluntarily trying to propagate Gandhiji's ideas in the country. He is earnestly of opinion that Gandhism alone offers a solution for the ills of the modern world. The language of the book is, however, often too ornate or involved for the common reader; although, in places, we do come across much that gives food for thought.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. VII, Pts. I-II, 1949-50: Edited by H. Goetz. Baroda. 1951. Pp. 109. Price not stated.

The present number of this well-known magazine maintains the high standard of previous issues. The place of honour is rightly given to a long and very

thoughtful paper by H. Goetz on the figural symbolism of European industrial art and its influence on modern India. A paper rich in references and valuable in its critical estimate is that of U. P. Shah entitled "A Sunga Terracotta from Mathura." A group of seven sculptures from Patan assignable to the late Gupta period forms the subject of a masterly study by H. Goetz.

A detailed examination of the Matrika images in the Baroda Museum with a good prefatory account of the origin and development of this cult is attempted by B. L. Mankasi. A few miniature paintings in the Baroda Museum comprising historical portraits as well as manuscript illustrations and belonging to the period from the 17th to the 19th centuries are studied with his usual thoroughness by H. Goetz. In another paper, R. N. Mehta gives a good description of Gujarati *patolas* (coloured silk fabrics) with reference to their antiquity and affinities, their process of manufacture and their various designs.

In the last paper H. Goetz describes under well-arranged heads the antiquities stored in the Chinese and Japanese galleries of the Baroda Museum, which claim to be the best of their kind at present available in India. The Bulletin concludes with a Report on the working of the Museum for the year under review, two Appendices and a number of valuable and well-executed illustrations.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THIS EUROPE: By Girija Mukherji. Published by Saraswati Library, C18-19 College Street Market, Calcutta 12. First impression, November, 1950. Pp. 215. Price not mentioned.

This book deals with the writer's experiences of life in France and Germany specially, when the latter had conquered France and imposed her National Socialism on the major part of Europe. He was caught at Paris, in June, 1940 when Germany had started her rule. The first impression of the victors was their anxiety to be correct in attitude towards the vanquished; they were able to maintain it till in France grew up the Resistance Movement.

This later phase the writer had no personal experience of as he was then in Germany helping Netaji to build up the Azad Hind Fauz and the Azad Hind Organization. This relation enables him to give us a pen-picture of Netaji that will be found of absorbing interest by all Indians. The 8th and 9th Chapters of the book are replete with vivid episodes that give a picture of Subhas Bose as a very human person, and the secret of his hold on people he came into contact with.

There was an element of "indefinable" power that made him the dynamic personality that transformed him and transformed millions of Indians, men and women, in their thoughts and activities, putting a little more iron into their habitual lassitude.

Dr. Girija Mukherji writes with quick perception of his environment. But we have a complaint against him. He was so much absorbed in his own reactions to a world-shaking event, that he appears to have had no space to draw for us the pictures of the "rebel patriots" who had gathered at Berlin. For instance, he came into rather intimate relation with the ex-Sheriff of Jerusalem, Al-Amin Hussein. There were others, Nimbarkar, Netaji's second in command, Rashid Ali Gilaini of Iraq and many others who flit through the pages. We are left unsatisfied. We are sure that Dr. Mukherji has a store-house of experiences

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S. C. DEB

EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS (1918-1939): By Sailendra Nath Dhar, M.A. Published by B. G. Paul and Co., Madras 8. Price Rs. 12-8.

The period dealt with in the volume under review is one of the most momentous epochs in the history of man. The learned author has based his narrative on the vast mass of available materials—documentary and otherwise—and has given an excellent volume to the reading public.

World War I ushered in a new chapter of human history. Bolshevism, Nazism and Fascism are all attempts by shell-shocked and disillusioned humanity to chalk out new paths for itself, while bolder spirits launched out on uncharted seas and began a new experiment in the field of social living, the more cautious and calculating kept nearer shore and sought to preserve the traditional socio-political order in pickles. They, in fact, offered the old wine in new bottles. The covenant of the League of Nations represents an endeavour to outlaw war for all time and to achieve international amity and co-operation. The principle of self-determination scored some notable victories. The re-birth of Poland is perhaps the most remarkable of these victories. The Mandate system sought to sugar-coat the bitter pill of alien domination. The high hopes raised by these experiments were not realized because the great ordeal of 1914-1918 had not purged nations and individuals of mutual jealousies, rivalries and animosities and Europe again drifted to war. The twenty-one years from 1918 to 1939 may therefore be justly regarded as constituting a tragic chapter of history.

Shri Dhar, a life-long student and teacher of history, gives a dispassionate account of the aspirations, achievements and failures of this criminal epoch. The performance, by itself, is no mean achievement. When one further takes into consideration that Shri Dhar is probably the first Indian to write a comprehensive work on European history, his success appears all the more creditable.

The volume is intended by its author for the B.A. and M.A. students of Indian Universities. They will undoubtedly find it extremely useful. What is more, it will be a *vade mecum* to all students of modern European history. "A difficult task honestly done" should be the verdict on Shri Sailendra Nath Dhar's *Europe Between Two World Wars*.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

HUNGER: By Knut Hamsun. New edition. 1949. Rupa and Co., Calcutta. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 5.

After its first publication in 1921 the English version of this world-famous novel by George Egerton has undergone several reprints, and it goes to the credit of Rupa & Co. that they have been able to bring out such a neat volume (printed of course in Great Britain). Hunger and starvation were never so terrible and acute on our earth as they are now. This vivid picture of the effect of hunger on a man's character and morals should hence be popular.

B.

1. SIVAGYAN'S LIFE OF SHIVANANDA: 1st p. 224. Price Rs. 5.

2. ALL ABOUT HINDUISM: By Swami Shivananda. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 4.

Published by Shivananda Publication League, Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Dehradun, U. P.

The first book is an elaborate biography of Swami Shivananda by one of his devoted disciples. Swami Shivananda, a Tamil monk, is the founder of Divine Life Society and author of a number of books on Hindu philosophy and religion. In one chapter he is hyperbolically acclaimed as a Jagatguru and in two others he is unduly compared with Ramana Maharshi and Jesus Christ. It is useless, if not injurious, to publish the biography of a monk who is still alive and vigorously active.

The second book is one of the numerous popular works of Swami Shivananda. It deals with Hindu scriptures, rituals, ethics, philosophy and sects. The six Darshans, four Yogas, Varnashrama Dharma, Sandhyopasana and many allied subjects are also briefly treated. From the census report of 1931 it is quoted at the end of the book under review that out of 352838000, the total population in India, 239195000 are Hindus apart from the Sikhs and Buddhists. The author, who is a prolific writer, gives in a chapter an idea how bonafide aspirants of spirituality are slowly being drawn to Hinduism from different countries of the globe. Thus Messrs. William Atkinson, Alexander and Nixon of England, Rev. Victor Sepelevenko of Bulgaria, Mr. Boris Sacharao of Russia and many other foreigners have embraced the Hindu Faith.

The book will certainly acquaint the reader with essential ideas of Hinduism and awaken in him a genuine hankering to know more about it. But like a spot in the moon there are in this book two striking defects, such as looseness of style and superficiality of treatment. If these defects are eliminated in the next edition its usefulness and readability will be much more enhanced. The title also is misleading, since the book does not contain all about Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

SUTRARTHAMRITALAHARI of Krishnavadhuta: Edited with English Introduction by Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma, M.A., Ph.D., L.T. Madras Government Oriental Series No. LXXVII. Pp. xxv + 82. Price Rs. 3-4.

This is possibly the shortest commentary on the Brahmasutras touching only the main points dealt with in each sutra according to the Madhva School. The classification of the sutras into *Nayas* and *Kakshyas* as well as the titles of some *adhikaranas* appear to be new. The manuscript material used was imperfect and the learned editor had to reconstruct readings in many cases. The Introduction and the 'Index-Glossary' will be found useful.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

PURBA-RANGA: By Amiyaratan Mukhopadhyay. Published by Sadhana Mandir, 55 Narayan Ray Road, Calcutta 8. Price Rs. 3.

This is the first published work of the author. It contains 53 lyrics on love, society and motherland. They bear the stamp of a poetic mind, distracted by odd surroundings. We would expect him to put forth his whole soul into his songs, so that we may carry the tunes in our hearts after we have closed the book.

RIPPLES (A work of translation of the author's Bengali poems): *By Madhusudan Chatterjee. Thacker Spink and Co. Ltd., 3 Esplanade East, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author has tried to catch the shadows of his fleeting thoughts. The thoughts, sought to be expressed, are not very significant; nor is the mode of expression extraordinary. One can just glance over the pages at leisure.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

GUJARATI

BHUVELNI TAPAS: *By Vimal Shah, M.A., and Mrs. Sarada Shah, B.Sc. Published by the Research Department of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 242. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Bhuvel is a small village in the Petland Taluka in Gujarat. Village uplift is not possible till every little detail of village life, domestic, social and economic, is known and you cannot know these details till you live in the village and share with its inhabitants its amenities and shortcomings. This is what this educated couple have done and have disclosed every phase of village life, marriage, sickness, funeral, song and play, faithfully and from first-hand knowledge. The inquiry was undertaken under the auspices and guidance of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, of which Sir Manilal Nanavati is the moving spirit. The book is a model one; statistics and suggestions, everything is there. It should inspire social workers to follow in the footsteps of the Shah couple.

K. M. J.

—O:—

RAGHUNATH DUTT

Raghunath Dutt, a renowned businessman and industrialist and philanthropist, died on March 4 last. Born in December, 1885, he carried on the traditions of his father Bholanath Dutt in the paper trade and the textile industry in Bengal. The loss suffered by his near and dear ones, as well as by his innumerable friends and admirers all over the country and abroad, is shared by us who are indebted to him in many ways in the starting of the Prabasi Press. A man of genius for organisation, keen business acumen, strong common sense, he was a friend to all good causes.

The late Sri Bholanath Dutt founded the famous firm of Messrs Bholanath Dutt & Sons Ltd. in 1866 with a small capital of Rs. 800 only. Raghunath joined his father's business in the year 1904 while he was reading in the top-most class of the General Assembly's Institution, now known as the Scottish Church Collegiate School. He received a sound practical training in business and his father who died in 1908, could leave a flourishing business in his young hands.

Messrs. Bholanath Dutt & Sons Ltd., grew from strength to strength until it came to be recognised as the largest dealer in paper in Bengal, if not in the whole of India.

He succeeded in establishing direct trade connections with paper-makers throughout the world, in the teeth of stiff opposition from foreign import houses in India. Even during the difficult times of the first and second World Wars he succeeded in importing paper from neutral countries to cater to the essential needs of the people of the country.

Apart from the paper trade and allied industries like stationery manufacturing, etc., he was actively associated with the cotton textile industry and, as an ex-President of the Bengal Millowners' Association, rendered valuable assistance to its development in Bengal. He was its Hony. Secretary, Vice-President and later its President in 1944. He was the founder

of the Shree Durga Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and was on the Board of Directors of the Bengal Fine Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and Shree Annapurna Cotton Mills Ltd.



Raghunath Dutt (Gujarati)

The National Movement always received his active support and he made it a point to attend the Congress sessions as a delegate. He was a staunch supporter of the Khadi Movement since its inception.

Social uplift work received his support at all times. He was associated with the Ramakrishna Mission and helped them actively in their publications. He was an ex-President and Trustee of the Daridra Bhandar. He was a life-member of the Visva-Bharati, and was a friend to Literary Societies.

Raghunath served his people, served his Creator, and his soul will find rest in His bosom.

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B.B.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



To New Ministers

The following is an extract from the speech by His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee at the Convocation of the Serampore College, January 19, 1952, as published in *The National Christian Council Review* :

My connection with Serampore College is one lasting for three generations. My grandfather, a descendent of the well-known founder of the system of Indian logic known as 'Nyaya,' was, I understand, the first Brahmin convert of the Serampore missionaries, which resulted in the forfeiture of all his claims to his vast ancestral property. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit was utilized in the literary work done by them at this place. After his death his widow, my grandmother, was given a small pension with the help of which she brought up my father.

Left motherless at an early age, my father commenced his studies at a free school run by the London Missionary Society at Berhampore whence he returned to Serampore when he was about 16 years old. Within two years, he finished what were then known as the Junior and the Senior courses, for he was not only a very hard-working but also a very brilliant young man. During this period, he was, as the son of my grandfather, given a stipend of Rs. 5 per month. After finishing his studies he came to Calcutta and retired in 1885 as the head of the department he had originally joined as a duffry or chaprasi. He told me more than once that though the missionaries were quite willing to continue his help till such time as he could find a suitable opening, he preferred to earn his living as a menial rather than be a burden on them.

While what I am today I owe first to the grace of God and to the prayers and blessings of my parents now in heaven, both of whom were God-fearing people, a fact I cannot forget for even one moment is that the 120 rupees given by way of charity to my father has also contributed towards it, and I do not know how I can ever repay this deep debt of gratitude.

My direct connection with Serampore College began when, as Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I visited this institution year after year for more than a decade and a half, and when I became an intimate friend and a great admirer of the then Principal, Dr. George Howells. I am referring to all these facts merely to account for my intense and abiding love for, and my personal interest in, this particular institution.

We cannot stand in this Hall today without acknowledging our deep sense of gratitude to William Carey and his associates who, at the beginning of the last century, laboured here and bequeathed to India and especially to Bengal the results of their many-sided activities in the matter of education, culture and religion. Today we are all well aware of the need for education and social service, but long before their importance was realized, the missionaries of Serampore

were addressing themselves with unflagging ardour and whole-hearted devotion to the great tasks involved in bringing primary education to the children of this district and in providing the opportunity of University education for the youth of our country. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, within a circle of twenty miles around Serampore town, they had established a network of free vernacular schools with not less than 8,000 children on their rolls. In this way they pioneered popular education in this State. To complete and consolidate their plans for Christian service, they built and founded Serampore College in 1818 and offered its facilities to all the sons of India, making the College, as they said, 'free as the air,' thus bringing higher education within the reach of all classes irrespective of caste or creed. The contribution made by the missionaries through their devoted labours, especially in the field of education, literature and social reform, has been recorded gratefully by the historians of the renaissance of Bengal in the nineteenth century.

Through the Charter granted to the College by the King of Denmark in 1827, ratified by Bengal Act No. IV of 1918, Serampore is a University, and is at the present time, exercising the functions of a University in the faculty of Theology. In addition, it is doing the teaching work of a University College in the three faculties of Art, Science and Theology. There is a very definite place in our University life for smaller institutions like Serampore, where students and staff come into intimate contact through residence on the same campus. Here attention can be concentrated on academic work under circumstances more congenial to such interests than those at present prevailing in some larger centres.

It is, however, the work of the College as University with its theological interests that is uppermost in our minds today, and I notice with gratification that this good work is being extended into many parts of India, so that, at this present time, no less than seventeen colleges throughout India are affiliated with Serampore and together with the College here are carrying forward the important work of Theological Education for the ministry of the Christian Church in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. I regard this as a real contribution to the well-being of our country. Serampore with its University Fellowship of Colleges, representative of the various communions of the Christian Church, is providing the Church with an educated ministry, and with trained, devoted and godly leadership—a valuable and greatly needed service to a community desirous of serving God and man and promoting the truest interest of the people.

It is worthy of remark that Serampore College, both in the days of its inception more than one hundred and thirty years ago and today when it is exercising its University functions widely, has strenuously endeavoured to combine a high standard of efficiency and attainment with a large-hearted spirit of comprehensiveness and co-operation. Evidence of the former today consists in the good standing accorded to the

degrees and diplomas of Serampore in the field of learning. Proof of the latter is found in the fact that, at this graduation ceremony, so many students from so many different parts of our motherland have earned their degrees on the successful termination of their studies in colleges representing many different Church traditions.

This, it seems to me, has a message for the students themselves. I urge upon them the necessity of these same qualities; the necessity for discipline of mind and life and devotion of effort that characterize the right pursuit of true learning, the abandonment of oneself to truth which, in scriptural language, 'shall make you free,' and the necessity further of that magnanimity that can welcome the co-operation of one's fellow workers in all spheres of life, including the theological, with an utter self-giving that is of the essence of the Christian spirit and the highest mark of the Christian minister.

The call to serve the Church came to me through my father immediately after I had finished my University career. I cannot honestly say that, in spite of the intense religious atmosphere of our home, this had any special appeal for me. I was ambitious, I had obtained a first class first and secured that much-coveted prize, the University gold medal. In addition, I had been offered a State scholarship which in those days meant that I could make an attempt to enter the Indian Civil Service. The examination for recruitment thereto held no dread for me on account of the confidence I had in myself. I was aware that, at the worst, I could get myself called to the English Bar, which would ultimately lead to wealth and position, for competition amongst Barristers-at-law in those days was not so fierce as it became later on. I refused the State scholarship from a sense of duty. I had lost my mother about this time and my father was feeling very lonely. But, then, I thought that by giving up this seemingly great opportunity of getting on in life, I had done enough. Why should I court poverty and, as I thought, insignificance, by becoming a Padre?

It was thus that I failed to carry out the dearest wish of my father, and I feel deeply grieved whenever I recall it. While it is true that I have, in a humble way, tried, I suppose with some measure of success, to serve my community and my country, I do not know whether it would not, on the whole, have been wiser for me to obey my father.

Abanindranath Tagore

The recent death of that great artist Abanindranath Tagore makes timely as well as poignant these reminiscences, as published in *The Aryan Path*, by a devoted French onetime pupil, Madame Andree Karpeles-Hogman :

Romain Rolland in one of his books alludes to those great men whose spirits, like lighthouses, illuminate different parts of the world, preventing our planet from being overwhelmed by darkness. Alas, when one of those lighthouses is extinguished, the world seems darker, the threats speak louder, our lives feel poorer. Abanindranath Tagore's death deprives us of one of those precious lighthouses; all those who have known him and admired him feel that loss deeply. As time goes on one will realize more and more what a great role he played in India's fight for Freedom, and what a forerunner he was, fighting in his own personal, original and silent way. Keeping aloof from politics, avoiding speeches and lectures, rarely absent from his beloved verandah in Jorasanko, retired, modest, completely free of pride or *arrrivism*, he has helped India to purify her soul, heart and mind of all harmful European influence.

Bengal, thanks to Abanindra, rediscovered her own inner self, her own art; began to appreciate her folklore and to understand that her rural life, her cottage industries, her popular traditions, were the most precious treasures of her national inheritance. Neither sectarian nor one-sided, his manifold genius had several ways to express itself; his refined, subtle hands had many tools; magician that he was, he could work miracles in his own careless, graceful, witty, aristocratic manner. There are likenesses between him and the masters of the Italian Renaissance; in fact, he is responsible for the Renaissance of Indian Art.

Long ago, in Paris, a little girl was looking at the English magazine, *The Studio*; she came across a reproduction of one of Abanindranath's pictures: an illustration for Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*; the long expression of the lonely figure the dark cloud above the melancholy landscape, the harmony prevailing throughout the whole picture, impressed her, in a way she could hardly explain, understand or express. The desire to meet one day the creator of that picture filled her heart with an unforgettable intensity. Years passed by. Unexpected coincidences brought the young girl (now a painter) to Jorasanko. A-ba-nin-dra-nath Tagore (the syllables had haunted the girl, like the lovely verse of some mysterious, far-away poem). He was there in front of her; he revealed India's soul to her; India's art; Bengal's heart. She soon called him her "Guru."

Rabindranath Tagore has described Jorasanko in his *Boyhood Days* but who will ever write the Saga of the whole Tagore family in that mansion filled with art, music, poems, drama, religious and social reforms? The young French painter enters, as into a temple, into that enchanted Castle. A curly pet lamb greets you in the courtyard; an imposing *darwan* leads you up the stairs . . . corridors . . . sunny terraces . . . shady *zenana* . . . graceful, mysterious silhouettes . . . at last: the verandah! An impressive Trimurti, three brothers are there: Samarendranath, with his long lotus-petal eyes, is meditating on philosophy; Gogon-

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endranath, with his gay smile and his profile of a Roman Emperor, is busy with some magic kaleidoscope which he has just invented; Abanindranath! High forehead, deep, warm, thoughtful eyes; extraordinary hands, with refined turned-up fingertips. An oasis in the midst of one of Calcutta's busiest quarters, a symbol of the best that India can offer; the heart of Bengal seems to throb on the peaceful verandah. A murmur as of a spring comes up from the *hookahs*; a fragrance of rose-water fills the atmosphere. The three brothers read, work, discuss; each differently gifted, all three closely united. Nothing of the vast world's culture or research seems foreign to them.

Squatting on a low armchair, Abanindra is painting; he dips his fine Japanese brush in an ancient bowl of burnished silver; a perfect pink lotus floats on the water beautiful and pure like the lines and colours flowing from the artist's brush. In short sentences, full of meaning, he sums up his ideas on Art; his teaching is rich and deep; the listener feels that none of Abanindra's words ought to be lost. He hands her a small sheet of paper, where he has hastily written a few sentences:

"The lotus of the mind (Manasa Padma) is blooming because the spirit is resting on that.... a work of art is the carrier of this perfume of the hidden Lotus, the unseen flowering of the mind.

"The keener the sight, the surer the hand; the stronger the bow, the swifter the arrow flies. Lines flow unchecked from a good brush, so the perfume of the mind comes out uninterrupted through the finger tips, quick and skilful.

"Manava (Mankind) is God's *Manasa Putra* (child of the mind); all our great works should be born of our Mind. So an artist from the very beginning must learn to express that which his mind sees and feels. This training of the mind should not be deferred till the artist has mastered the methods of drawing, etc. The bird must try to fly from the very beginning, otherwise it will never be able to use its wings.

"A perfect imagination and perfect mastery of the brush makes an artist."

* * *

Sounds as of an aviary come up to the peaceful verandah from a patio below; the singers are not birds but numerous children of different branches of the Tagore family; one hears echoes of religious performances, of family rituals. Abanindra listens to the lullabies; notes the nursery rhymes; writes down the old fairy-tales; collects all the ancient traditions handed down from generation to generation; questions the old nurses, the grandmothers; writes to village girls asking for the *Alpona* patterns, etc. It is fashionable, nowadays, to take an interest in folklore; to revive or to imitate it; museums are started, exhibitions arranged. But when Abanindra stooped tenderly over the wounded remains of mutilated traditions, he was the only one to do it.

What Hazelius did for Sweden by the founding of Skansen and of the Northern Museum; what Frederic Mistral did for Provence in reviving and preserving its traditions and founding the *Fetibridge*, Abanindranath did for Bengal; thanks to him, all the treasures, fast disappearing under heaps of tin boxes, harmoniums and cheap ready-made things, were saved and preserved and became sources of new inspiration.

Two delightful books were the result of Abanindra's researches: his book on *Nursery Rhymes* and his *Alpona and Ritual Decorations in Bengal*. In the

first, he accompanies the naive little songs with short descriptions of village life, of intimate family scenes: one follows the young bride, home-sick for her own family; the mother of the family anxious about the threat of famine. Abanindranath was not only a folklorist, in that book he proved to be a poet, a writer who painted with his pen. The French translation of it brought him admirers who thus understood India better than they could have through its beauty of philosophy; Abanindra taught them to ignore the differences that separate, and to learn about the similarities that unite. In all countries, mothers have used the same words to send their children to sleep, have promised them the same golden treasures of illusion, in order to hide the daily misery which is in store for most of them.

The booklet on *Alpona* has an introduction characteristic of Abanindra:

"Lines must suggest life and movement and they do it all the better if their fluctuations are not of a mathematical exactitude.... all those lines traced by our Bengalee girls are beautiful, whether they be straight or irregular; their hands, sometimes unskilled; are worth more than most of the hands well trained in art schools."

Abanindranath has not only helped us to penetrate into the rustic garden of folk art, he has opened for us the door of the Shrine where stands, in all its traditional beauty, the statue of Pure Art. His booklet, *Indian Artistic Anatomy*, explains the ancient laws of the *Silpa Shastras*, but warns us to remain free:

"Obedience to dogmas does not make a believer; a man does not become an artist in following blindly the code of his art."



"We must never forget that it is the artist with his creations that comes before the maker of laws and his codes on art."

Sadanga, or the Six Canons of Indian Painting, has spread abroad the understanding of Indian art. Says Abanindra at the end of his book:

"In mixing the colours of our soul with the black of our ink we can obtain the scale of all tints . . . It is not our eye, but our spirit which mixes the colours."

Abanindra excelled in what Victor Hugo called "the art of being a grandfather." Several of his books are meant for children: his adaptations of *Sakuntala*; his Indianized *Peter Pan*; his selections from James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and *Nalaka*, his story of Buddha. His masterpiece in that line is *Khirer Putul* (The Cheese Doll). He made of that old tale a brilliant psychological story, which delights old and young. His own original style lends a modern touch to the whole. "What a perfect film it would make!" exclaimed Madeleine Rolland, the sister of Romain Rolland, also a great lover of India. Selma Lagerlof was so charmed by it that she wrote a delightful introduction to the French translation, *Da Poupee de Framage*. "That is the Eighth Marvel of the World," said Abanindranath, "a preface by the author of *The Adventures of Nils* which I like so much!"

Abanindranath was grand as a story-teller, improvising, imitating and charming his young audience. During one of his stays at Santiniketan he chose a full-moon night when the liquid silvery light of *Chandra Mama* (Uncle Moon) transforms the arid desert into a fairyland. One could hear from far away the drums of the Santal dancers. He entered the boys' dormitory, enjoying the idea of doing something forbidden! The children surrounded him, hanging on his words, following his every movement, their minds flying, far away, into the land of ghosts and fairies that Abanindranath was creating for them. In spite of his success amongst the youngsters, in spite of all the students following him like disciples, in spite of all, Abanindranath declared: "I must go back to Jorasanko!"

"Don't you like being here, Abandada?"

"Yes, but my last grandson is over there; I can

imagine him crying. Nobody knows how to look after him as well as I do."

There was a huge living-room in Jorasanko; Abanindranath's perfect taste had made of it a most harmonious apartment; on the floor: Japanese matings of a subdued green; on the walls: ancient Moghul paintings. No ugly English furniture spoilt that room where everything, created and drawn by Abanindra, suited Indian customs and ways of living. The artist is sitting on the mattings surrounded by those long cushions called *takias*; near him a *pira*, a small low table; on it a *lota* in two different colours of brass, symbolizing the meeting of the Jumna and the Ganges; a portrait of the artist's mother, drawn by himself; and another picture illustrating a sentence he is fond of: "Life is unsure like the dewdrop on a lotus leaf." That picture has the subtle, refined charm of two of his other masterpieces: "A Girl Combing Her Hair," with a brass jewel-box beside her, and "Radha and a Gopi," gazing at an image of Krishna. Those pictures were exhibited in Paris shortly before the war of 1914 in an exhibition arranged by friends of the artist as well as pictures by all his pupils. The Parisian public spontaneously called the pictures the work of "the Calcutta school."

"No work of art is complete," explains the artist, "unless it unites three things: tradition, originality, nature. A picture which is only original has no solid basis and will not last; one which is only traditional, has no personality; one which simply reproduces nature has no soul."

Through the wide-open window entered suddenly a huge and beautiful parrot; his feathers were all white, except a little crown of yellow ones; he flew straight towards Abanindra and settled down near him.

"You know that parrot?"

"No, he has been sent to me from heaven as a reward for what I have said: Originality, tradition, nature." And Abanindranath smiled—such a gay, youthful smile which illuminated his unforgettable expressive features!

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The Lions of Sarnath

The following article is reproduced from *India and Israel* :

The Wheel in India's National Flag is a Wheel on the pattern of the one appearing on the abacus of the Lion Capital at the top of the pillar erected by Emperor Asoka at Sarnath, in the third century B. C. As the Wheel is part of this Asokan sculpture, this Wheel is called the Asoka-Wheel.

The four lions at the top of the pillar are standing back to back, facing the four quarters. All the four lions have their front legs firmly planted on the pedestal, and their mouths are open as if they were roaring.

Underneath this lion-group is the circular abacus, or base. Under the paws of each of the lions there is on this abacus a twenty-four spoke Wheel. Thus, the total number of wheels on the abacus is four. Between every two wheels there is the figure of an animal relief. The four animals that we observe on the abacus are, going clockwise, an Elephant, a Bull, a Horse and a Lion. Of the four, the Horse is represented as racing along, while the other three are shown standing in a dignified posture.

The lion is, in India, the mount for *Parvati*, consort of *Siva*. She is called *Simha-Vahani*—she who rides the lion.

The four animals are examples of great and conspicuous qualities. And in India, in particular, these animals are invested with sacred associations.

Indian languages are full of terms like *Purushasimha* (a lion among men), *Purusharshabha* (a bull among men), *Purusha-ajaneya* (a thorough-bred among men), *Mahanaga* (the great elephant), *Gajagamana* (she whose gait is as dignified as an elephant's), *Simha-madhyā* (she whose waist is as slender as that of a lion), *Vrshaskandha* (the bull-necked one and so on).

India's coat-of-arms, the Lions of Sarnath, bears the inscription *Satyameva Jayate* (Truth Alone Triumphs).

India's national flag has been evolved in seven stages largely through the emblems adopted by the Congress since 1906. Then an ensign of three horizontal stripes, deep green, deep yellow and deep red, was flown in Calcutta. This was altered to include a lotus and seven stars.

The 1916 Home Rule flag had five red and four green stripes with a miniature Union Jack of Great Britain in the top left corner but Mahatma Gandhi's *Charkha* (spinning wheel) was introduced on a 1921 flag composed of horizontal white, green and red stripes. This was disapproved of by a Congress ten years later and was substituted by a saffron flag with a small *Charkha* in the mast-head corner. Later in 1931 the All-India Congress chose saffron, white, and green stripes with the *Charkha* on the white middle.

The Constituent Assembly of 1947 adopted the same colours only replacing the *Charkha* with the *Dharm Chakra* of Emperor Asoka.

In considering the national anthem, the Assembly was faced with the choice of the time-honoured air *Vande Mataram* and Rabindranath Tagore's famous song *Janaganamana*. The first tune by Bankimchandra Chatterjee was given equal status.

Tagore's song was eventually chosen. Described by Gandhi as "not only a song but a devotional hymn" the song combines praise, hope and inspiration in its words and unity in its message.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

George Washington's Birth Anniversary, February 22

George Washington, whose 220th birthday anniversary will be observed throughout the United States on February 22, is fondly remembered by Americans as the "father of the nation." It was Washington who played perhaps the most important role of liberating the American colonies from British rule as well as in guiding the fledgeling nation through its early years as a democratic republic.

Born on February 22, 1732, George spent his youth on his father's large tobacco farm in what was then the British colony of Virginia. At the age of 16 he became a surveyor, and made maps of the wild frontier between the colony and French territory in the interior.

When war broke out between the British and French in 1753, 21-year-old Washington was made commander of the Virginia Militia guarding the colony. Because of his knowledge of the frontier, he was asked to assist an expedition of British troops deep into the wilderness.

The British army was ambushed and its general killed. Young Washington took command and saved the troops. His military fame spread through the colonies. When the French were defeated, he retired to his Virginia farm.

But unrest over British rule grew steadily. In protest against import taxes, colonists disguised as American Indians dumped a cargo of British tea into Boston harbour. Soon fighting broke out between colonial farmers and British troops. Thus in 1775 began the war for American independence.

Washington was called from his farm to command the colonial forces. It seemed a hopeless task to fight trained and well-equipped British regulars with poorly-armed volunteers, but Washington accepted. In a surprise night attack, General Washington captured a British force by moving his army across an icy river.

But his small, badly-supplied army met many defeats. Washington shared its hardships, and kept his men alive one bitter winter by begging food from farmers.

Finally, with French aid, Washington was able to defeat the main British force in 1781. The colonies were free and Washington could return to his beloved farm.

He was, however, soon called to head the new U.S. Government. In 1789, he was elected to the first of two terms as America's President. As the first President of the United States, he guided the new government in its infancy. He inspired confidence in the untried government and gave it dignity. An able administrator by any standard, he was superior in judgement to his brilliant assistants, among whom were Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury.

The first President personally directed his administration in a way which no modern successor

could hope to do. Besides Hamilton and Jefferson he had only one other department head, the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox. There were no cabinet meetings at first, and the three secretaries were supposed to be assistants to the President.

Jefferson has left an interesting description of the way in which official correspondence was handled by the first President and his three assistants. Every day each Secretary made up a package of letters received, with the drafts of his replies, and submitted it to Washington. The President kept his eye on everything, but he was not dictatorial. Generally he returned the letters without comment, thus signifying his approval; sometimes he attached comments and suggestions in little notes. Sometimes he held up matters until he could confer with a Secretary.

As an administrator, Washington was prompt, judicious but decisive, exceedingly exacting of his subordinates, and probably too exacting of himself.

He was scrupulously fair in his distribution of social favours and very conscientious in the performance of what he regarded as his social duties. Although he found such official occasions as senatorial dinners and formal receptions extremely boring, he thought them necessary and insisted that strict formality be observed.

George Washington's capacity for wrath was well-known. But ordinarily he vented his anger only in private and against men whom he considered disrespectful, unpatriotic or dishonest. He never gained fame as a recantour or a public speaker, though he occasionally told a story at official dinners. Those who knew the President, however, soon learned that he had a quiet humour and a vast amount of sympathetic understanding.

Jefferson, who later became the third President of the United States, looked back upon George Washington, the man who had been his leader and friend, and made this appraisal of him: "On the whole his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great."—*USIS*.

✓ Leon Jouhaux

Awarded Nobel Prize for Peace, 1951

Leon Jouhaux was born in Paris on the 1st of 1879. His father was a mere labourer in the Government Match Factory and his dream was that he would become an Engineer. But a strike, in which his father actively participated, broke out in the Factory in 1891 considerably reduced the resources of the family. Compelled to leave the school at the age of 12 Leon Jouhaux must work to help his folk. At the age of 16 he joins the Match Factory. During the four years which elapsed he has succeeded, while being an apprentice, to complete his education. He already takes a great interest in the life of the Union but being too young to be an Office Bearer he was

entrusted with the redaction of the proceedings. As soon as he becomes old enough he joins the Union and in 1906 he is delegated by the Bourse du Travail of the city of Angers as a representative to the C.G.T. (French T.U.C.). His restless work, the clarity of his views and his intelligence distinguished him from among his colleagues and in 1909 he succeeds Grifuelhes for the Secretary-General of the C.G.T. Thus reaching at the age of 30 a position which makes him the animator and the spokesman of the great French Labour Union.

After World War I, Leon Jouhaux is nominated as Labour Delegate for France to the Committee entrusted to the redaction of Part 13 of the Peace Treaty (International Labour Charter).

At this conference in Amsterdam in 1919 the International Union's Federation was founded and Leon Jouhaux elected Vice-President of that body. He was included in the International Labour Office, since its creation, as a member of the Labour Section in the Administrative Committee. He took an active part in the conference for disarmament (especially for private manufacture of weapons). Leon Jouhaux took resolutely the head of the protestation movement against the admission of totalitarian countries to the I.L.O. During the reforms which followed the victory of the Popular Front in France in 1936 he was appointed General Counsellor to the Bank of France.

In 1940 chased by the police he goes underground. In December, 1941, he was arrested and then deported to Germany. He came back to France in May, 1945.

In October 1945, when the Federation Syndicale Mondiale (F.S.M.) was constituted Leon Jouhaux was elected Vice-President, Sir Walter Citrine being the President. He was afterwards nominated as a delegate to the U.N.O. where he became the spokesman of workers. Leon Jouhaux came into conflict with the majority of the leaders of the C.G.T. to whom he reproaches to bind the interest of the C.G.T. and those of the Communist party.

On 19th December, 1947, his followers decided to constitute a new body which assumes the name of C.G.T. "Force Ouvriere" and Leon Jouhaux becomes its president. He is elected and re-elected President of the National Economic Council.

On 25th February, 1949, during the full session of the European Movement Congress, Leon Jouhaux was unanimously elected President of the International Council of the European Movement. Leon Jouhaux is an Officer of the Legion d'Honneur.

The high distinction which has been awarded to him lately by the Nobel Prize Commission certainly is the most valuable tribute which would be rendered to a man whose life has been entirely devoted to the progress of the working-world through peace.

Informed of the decision of the Commission said the Veteran Syndicalist: "It is not Leon Jouhaux who being honored; it is the working class which has always striven for peace."—*News from France*, December 1, 1951.

The Novel in America Today

H. B. Lerner has the following words to advocate for the cause of the American novel today :

Modern American prose literature has been called the most original and most intense of our time. Drawing its strongest accents from Nathaniel Hawthorne,

Elgar Allan Poe and Herman Melville, it has found its most vivid expression in Thomas Wolfe, Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Poetic force and a tightly-knit realism seem to be its outstanding characteristics.

Any attempt to find a common denominator for the work of America's novelists during recent years is, at best, a hazardous enterprise; but perhaps we can say one thing: The American writer of today is conscious of his task, which is to solve the inner secrets of life and of human relations. He is seeking new paths, in novelistic technique as well as in style. He has recognised the importance of America's special role in our world and therefore searches the history of his country for men and ideas which will possibly aid him and his fellow-men in arriving at an understanding of his task.

Whatever his theme and treatment, be it the family or the war, social or racial problems, the life of the pioneers or modern youth, be it humorous, bitter, satiric or in a tragic vein, naturalistic or impressionistic, he shows understanding for the moral values of the problem at hand, and he is free of nihilistic or existentialist tendencies toward treating life as meaningless, purposeless. Individuality finds his respect, and the existing society his recognition even as he points up some of its weaknesses.

The evil lives among us, says the post-war author, but it can be overcome, and many paths lead to salvation. He bends his efforts to the search for these paths. Religion plays a considerable role in the novel, as does psychology and even psychoanalysis. All this search for new substance stems, perhaps, from a feeling of loneliness the consciousness of being only a tiny individual in a gigantic world and of seeing so much all round that is lonely, too, and seems to be freezing to death in the chill of everyday life.

The new epic writer no longer studies Balzac, Zola, Flaubert, Samuel Butler, Tolstoy and Turgenev. as did his predecessors after World War I. His models rather are James Joyce, Proust, Virginia Woolf, Andre Gide, Mauriac and Dostoevsky, as well as Franz Kafka, Rilke, Thomas Mann and Henry James. Naturalism, in the word's original sense, seems to have been outlived. Its place has been taken by a neo-realism and a desire to progress beyond it into the realms of the unknown.

II

In the novel as well as in the drama of modern America a "magic realism" has frequently developed, a form of expression which sometimes even charac-

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sees the work of the country's outstanding novelist, William Faulkner. Katherine Ann Porter, Eudora Welty and Carson McCullers definitely write in this

Among the authors whose fame pre-dates the war, Faulkner shows evidence of a definite development. In his most recent book, *Requiem for a Nun*, he once again paints with icy-hot intensity a canvas of humanity in terror and terror in humanity, this time, however, with the consoling assurance that there is a salvation—through faith. The certainty with which Faulkner, once called a nihilist, made this pronouncement gave pause. But earlier, armed with his breathtaking mastery of minutely accurate portrayal, Faulkner had, in *Intruder in the Dust*, fought stronger than even before for Negro rights and pleaded for humanity as the ethic meaning of our life.

Sinclair Lewis, on the other hand, in the years preceding his death, wrote three novels which told little that was new about him. *Kingsblood Royal*, to be sure, dealt with the problem of a man who discovers that Negro blood flows in his veins and who takes up the fight against hostile surroundings in the American South. The *God-Seeker*, however, was merely an episode, half satiric, half romantic, from the life of the pioneers in the Middle West, and *World So Wide* restated, in a contemporary setting, the theme of *Dodsworth*.

John Dos Passos, once a social zealot, now finds himself in the camp of those who take an affirmative view of life. In *The Grand Design* he delivered an attorney's plea, which could hardly be called progressive, against the Washington bureaucracy under Roosevelt.

Upton Sinclair wrote one volume after the other in his Lanny Budd series—ten in all—a chronicle of world events since 1933 which draws Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Hitler, Goering and other contemporary figures into its plot. However exciting the adventures of the hero, the young son of a millionaire, were they scarcely were representative of the author of *The Jungle* and *Oil* until he surprisingly satirized the life of California's wealthy classes of today in *Another Pamela*.

Pearl Buck wrote three new China novels among which *Kinfolk* deserves to be singled out. Erskine Caldwell's and John O'Hara's new novels were hardly on the same high level as their former works. James T. Farrell in *The Road Between*, the story of a marriage, wrote another one of his sociological-naturalistic novels.

Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and Into the Trees*, too, was hardly anything new although it painted with all the pastel shades of Hemingway's emotional colour scheme the melancholia of a mortally ill Army officer who takes leave of Venice and love.

John Marquand, the American Galsworthy, looked through his artist's magnifying glass with a wise and ironic eye at a blue-blooded banker's family in *Point of No Return*. In *Melville Goodwin U.S.A.*, he then pictured the private life of a professional military officer with no less loving precision and cheerful irony.

John Steinbeck, in *The Wayward Bus*, presented, against the backdrop of a trip through California, some characters motivated by primitive impulses, and in *The Pearl* a poetically and dramatically alive allegory about the curse of possession. In *Burning Bright* he then dealt, no less poetically, with the delicate balance of the sterile man and his wife who is ready to conceive a child from a stranger as long as it makes her husband happy.

William Saroyan proved, above all in *The Human Comedy* and also later in his *Tracy's Wife*, that he has a dreamer's appreciation of the nonconformist and recluse. Thornton Wilder, finally, chose no less a figure than Julius Caesar for his protagonist in *The Ides of March*, selecting the form of a novel in letters in order to let Catullus, Cleopatra and Cicero speak to us, too.

III

The variations of technique and locales, reflected in the works of the more famous American writers, are an even stronger characteristic of the work of the younger generation.

If it is at all possible to make groupings here, one might say something about the war novel, the psychological and sociological novel, the regional novel with historic background, and the religious novel. There are further serious treatments of youth problems, the Negro question, anti-semitism, sexual aberrations, and, in a lesser degree, social problems.

War novels, with the anti-authoritarian and frequently anti-officer tendency which is so typical of America, have been appearing since 1945. Harry Brown's *A Walk in the Sun* was poetic and without pathos. Alfred Hayes' *All Thy Conquests*, Gore Vidal's *Williwaw*, Robert Lowry's *Casualty*, and John Horne Burns' *The Gallery* followed clearly in Hemingway's footsteps; they were unromantic, unheroic and uncompromising in their masterful rendering of the battle's bloody inferno.

Then came a first novel which brought striking success to a complete unknown: Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*, the story of conquest of a Japanese-held island in the Pacific, was brutal, naked and rebellious, and between the lines of its frequently obscene soldier's slang our social order stood accused as well as the war. Simultaneously, Irwin Shaw's *The Young Lions* appeared, hardly less stark, but frequently more lyrical, a vast panorama of war-torn Europe, of concentration camps and ruined cities, with a wealth of keenly observed types and problems.



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Martha Gellhorn's *The Wine of Astonishment*, the chronicle of a battalion of American infantrymen in Europe; Ira Welfert's *An Act of Love*, which was spiced with some bitter commentaries about a world which permitted such bloodshed; and Stefan Heym's *The Crusaders*, which told of the conquest of Germany—all these books also reflected the problem of today's man, the near-futility of escape from chaos, but their tenor was by no means pacifistic, like the war novels of 25 years ago, nor did they preach the gospel according to Karl Marx.

These war novels, and others which followed, are analytical. They accept war as something ~~unavoidable~~, however much they deplore it. The young writers are more concerned with probing men in their relationships with the hell of combat and with themselves than they are with writing against war itself.

This is especially applicable to those works in this group which unfold their plot in the rear areas, like James Gould Cozzan's *Guard of Honour*, with its penetrating portrayal of officers and men in a training camp in Florida, and *From Here to Eternity* by the young James Jones, after Norman Mailer perhaps the most gifted prose writer of the post-war generation. In this very broad canvas of officers and men of all social strata in Hawaii at the outbreak of the war one admires, in spite of the author's preoccupation with obscene language, the technical perfection and the dramatic breadth of this almost mature work by an unknown of yesterday. And one senses the author's main purpose: to lead us back to ourselves. If he chose the surgeon's scalpel, he did it not in order to slash about blindly, but to grope his way carefully toward a malignant tumour. The most recent of the war novels, *The Caine Mutiny*, by the young Herman Wouk, for many weeks best seller No. 1, pictures in vivid, realistic colours what happened aboard an American ship during a typhoon in Pacific waters during 1944.

The subconscious, dreams, supernatural and visionary events play a significant role in many of these works. The human factor and the human being always occupy the central position, not the events themselves.—*USIS*.

Four Indian Students Get Rotary Fellowships

Chicago, February 27: Four graduate students from India are among recipients of Rotary International fellowships for study abroad in 1952-53.

The one-year fellowship grants range from \$1,800 to \$3,400. They are awarded annually by the world-wide service club organisation as a contribution towards international understanding, goodwill and peace.

Recipients in India are: Manorama Hosali of Bangalore, Bipin E. Mullaji of Bombay, Manjusiri Dutt of Delhi, and Mrs. Avtar H. Singh of Meerut. The Bombay student will study in Britain, the others in North America.

Fellowship grants awarded to students throughout the world by Rotary International this year will total \$285,000. The fellowship programme was begun in



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1947. Since that time, 392 students have received awards. A total of 109 awards were made this year.—*USIS*.

Aldrin for Locust Control

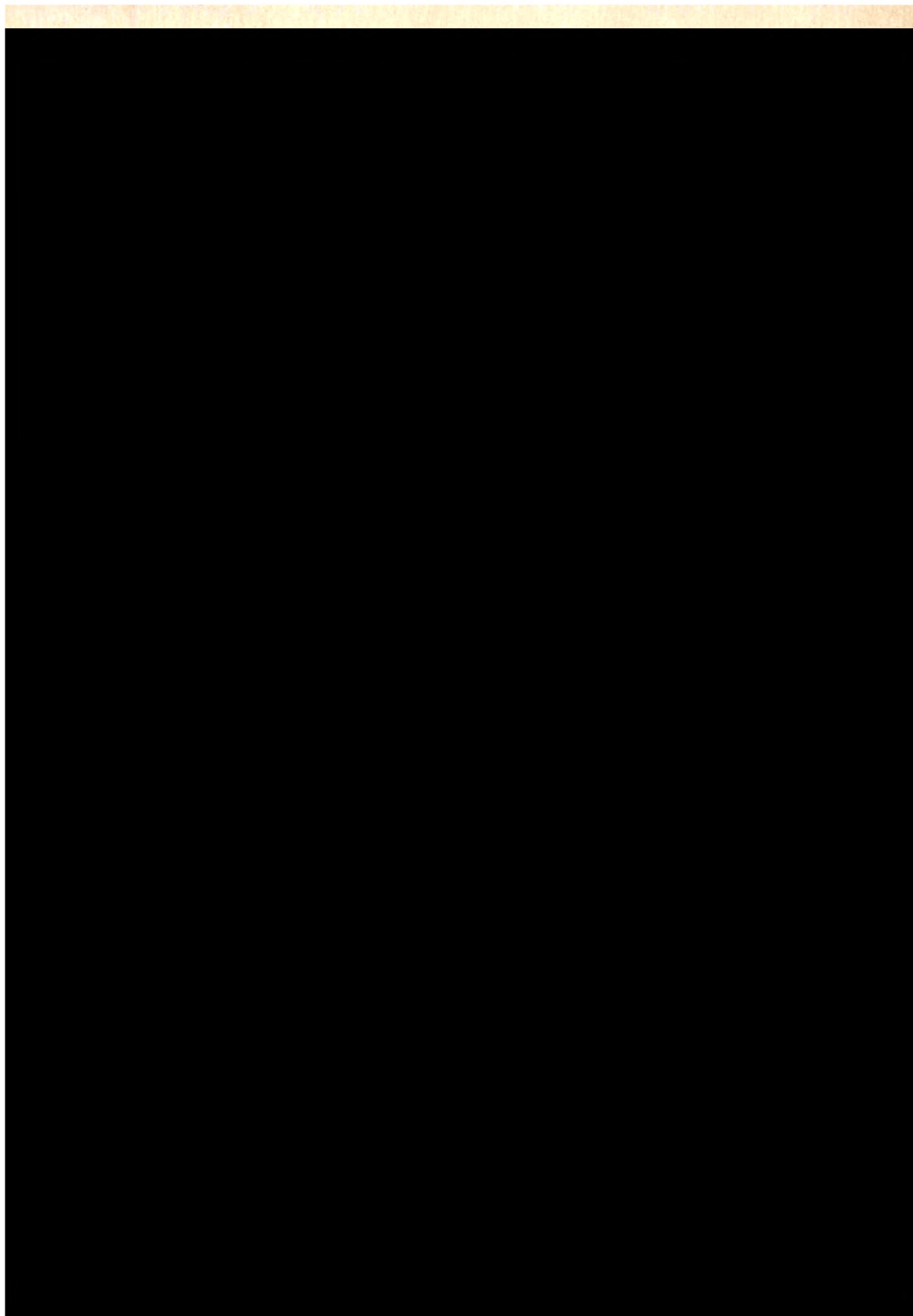
Washington, February 27: Eight more American-built planes will be provided this year to fight the locust menace in South Asia and the Middle East, the Technical Co-operation Administration (TCA) of the U.S. Department of State disclosed here.

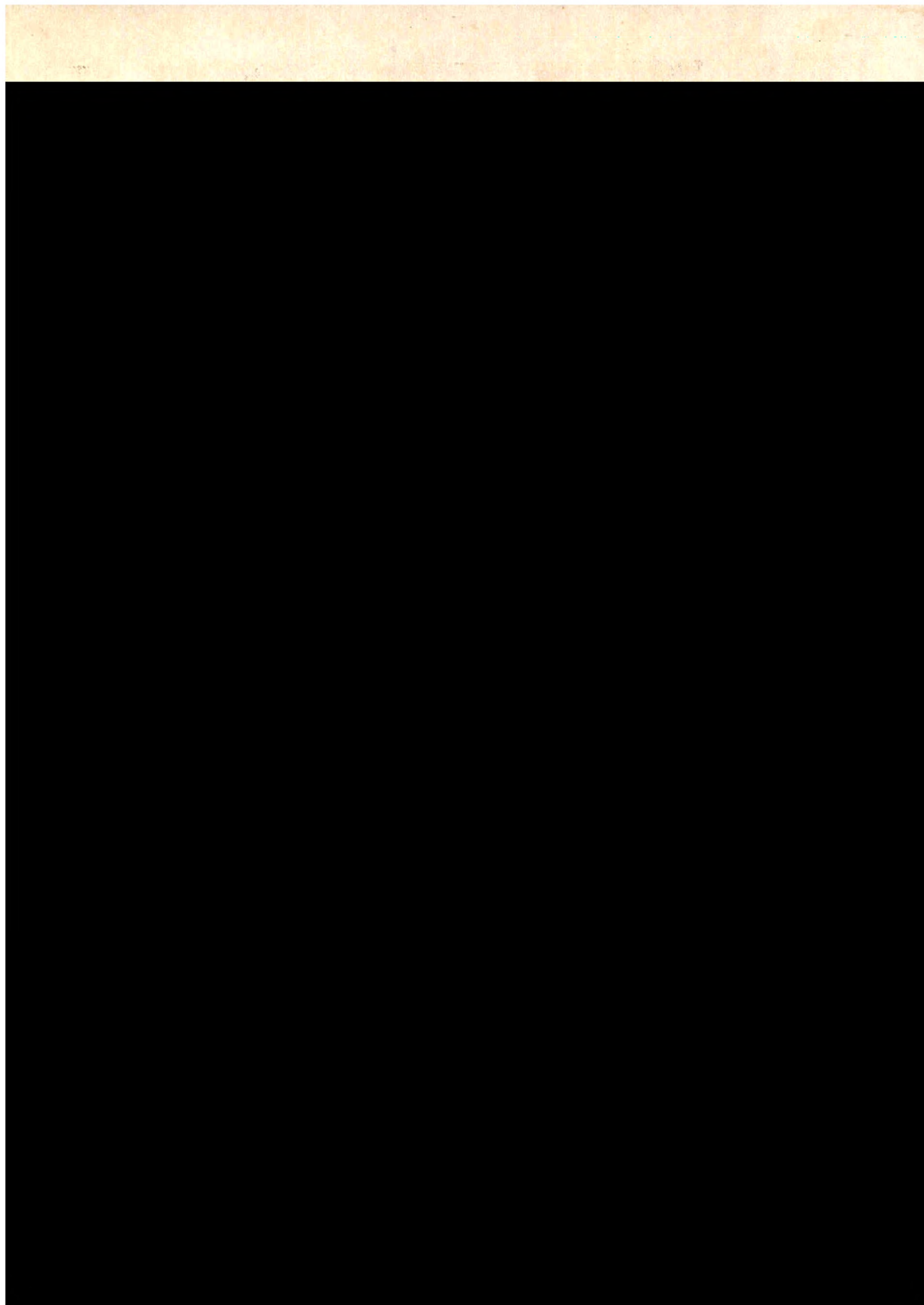
Two of the planes are now on their way overseas and the others will leave soon. No request for locust assistance this year has been received, but the planes are being sent as a precautionary measure, TCA said.

In addition, TCA officials have purchased 76 tons of aldrin, an insecticide proven extremely effective against locusts. One ounce of this poison will be an effective spray for one acre. The aldrin will be stockpiled at Beirut, Teheran and Karachi.

Last year American planes and pilots destroyed 75,000 acres of locusts by aerial spraying with aldrin in India, Iran and Pakistan.

Of the eight planes sent to Iran last year, six are still serviceable, one is salvageable and one wrecked beyond repair. U. S. technicians also trained local pilots in effective aldrin spraying.—*USIS*.



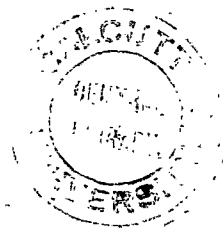


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NOTES

The Writing on the Wall

The *Newsweek* of New York in its April 7 issue carries a report of President Truman's speech at the Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner. Although this speech was intended by him to be his presidential swan-song, it is interpreted by some as being 'the opening broadside in the Democratic Party's campaign, which might even "carry Harry S. Truman into the White House for another term." Apart from his "Won't-run" bombshell it was a fighting speech in the true "give-'em-hell" tradition, as the following quotation from the report shows:

"H. S. T. Winds Up: In the gaily festooned hall, decorated with mammoth enlargements of his picture, the President lashed out at the Republican Party. It was made up of 'political fakers,' he said, who had brought the nation 'to the brink of ruin.' The GOP had tried to ape the New and Fair Deal line with no success. Now the 'dinosaurs' in the party were planning to 'go back to prehistoric times.' But this group would 'only get the dinosaur vote—and there are not very many of them left.'

"Mr. Truman struck out at GOP corruption during the Harding Administration, taunted the Republicans for twenty years of political defeat, and questioned the sincerity of their anti-Communism."

With a few alterations, for example, by reading "Congress Party" in the place of "Republican Party," this diatribe might well be levelled against Pandit Nehru's Party administration. And unless he carries out the reforms in the Congress, which he promised the nation time and again, as an election stunt, the fate of his party would be that of the pre-historic reptiles, as so elegantly put by President Truman, in the not-so-very distant future.

Look at the mess the "dinosaurs" in the Nehru Cabinet have made—and are still making—of the railways. There is no comfort for the ordinary man

and practically no security. As we go to press there is the following news-item in the morning papers (April 30):

"Sri N. V. Gadgil, Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply, was overpowered by two ruffians who entered his first class compartment on the Bombay-Madras Mail in the early hours of this morning and removed a few of his personal belongings. Sri Gadgil who offered resistance sustained only minor injuries. He continued his journey after medical aid at Kurudwadi.

"The Minister who is travelling to Hyderabad told pressmen at the station the intruders entered the compartment, somewhere between Bhivwan and Pomalwadi, about 200 miles out from Bombay, and pulling him out of the upper berth, where he was sleeping, demanded all his cash. On his refusal to oblige them the intruders thrust a handkerchief into his mouth and tied down his hands. They also threatened the Minister with a knife causing minor scratches on his elbow.

"As the train was slowing down for halt at Pomalwadi, the intruders jumped out of the compartment and escaped."

So it seems that even a gilded colleague of the puissant Nehru can be subjected to mayhem while travelling in a mail train!

We assure Sri Gadgil of our sincere sympathy but we cannot help thinking that the incident was just a line of writing on the wall.

Corruption is rife everywhere, and the life and property of the common national of the Indian Union is no longer secure in the railways. We ourselves have suffered and within our limited circle of intimate friends and relations there are four who have been robbed while travelling by train during the last three months.

Another dinosaur wrecked the Post and Telegraph

system, particularly the telephones. Who is there in this part of the world who can rely on the telephone in an emergency? We had an urgent occasion, at about midnight of the 29th, to get into communication with a relative who had a telephone. After frantic attempts had been made to induce the somnolent operator to put us through, we were silenced by being disconnected at the switch board! And our telephone remained dead and inoperative for the rest of the night. This was not our first experience of similar tactics, but this was the most troublesome experience. We are told we should have complained. But to whom, and to what purpose?

Then consider the wonderful *khichri* which our erstwhile M.P.s and legal luminaries have cooked up for a Constitution. Every possible loophole has been left for the law-breaker and the disruptionist while the suffering nationals cannot obtain even a modicum of justice in redress of the wrongs inflicted on them. The law is today more in favour of the subtle and slimy blood-suckers who are waxing fat at the cost of the hard-pressed law-abiding common man.

As an example of the bestial ruthlessness of those bloodsuckers, the following news-item which appeared in the *Statesman* for April 16, is illustrative. It seems that the common man can expect no compunction from those ghouls even though he be at death's door:

"A large quantity of drugs and medicines, suspected to be spurious, were seized in the Canning Street area, by the Enforcement Branch, Calcutta Police, in one of its biggest raids so far. About 30 drugstores were searched and penicillin, streptomycin, chloromycetin, 24,180 Cibazol tablets, 158 phials of Angier's Emulsion, 43 phials of Ferradol and some other medicines were seized. Twenty-five phials of tetanus anti-toxin were found in a pan shop in the area and three persons, including the owner of the shop, were arrested."

The gangsters who are in the above racket have an all-India organisation, as is well-known, with headquarters in Western and Northern India.

Turning to the security of the nation and the Union, it is known all over the country what intrigue in the Defence Services is leading to. And on top of that there is the perennial hot-air flow of *Ahimsa* when the budget estimates for Defence are discussed. We have a Navy we are told. But how does it stand? Here is part of the answer, out of the press interview at Madras on April 21:

"Vice-Admiral C. T. M. Pizey, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, told a Press Conference that it was difficult to say at present when India would be able to acquire her first aircraft carrier.

"They could buy a carrier next year if they had money but the technical personnel necessary to man her was a specialised part of the naval aviation and it would take at least ten years to train them.

"Meanwhile, Admiral Pizey stated, the Navy was

planning to establish as a first step in naval aviation, a naval air station at Cochin and form a fleet requirement unit early next year which would provide co-operation and anti-aircraft gunner training for their ships, also sea-reconnaissance and other duties. 'Our policy is to keep in step with modern trends and train our technical personnel accordingly, so that we will be able to man the latest type of aircraft and ships as and when we acquire them,' he added.

"Indian Navy's ultimate aim, he said, was to build up a balanced modern navy with an air component, and supporting shore organisations and training schools. Owing to the need for exercising the strictest economy over expenditure and also owing to the difficulties in obtaining new ships, they had not been able to acquire more ships."

Lastly, let us turn to the economic aspect, for ruin generally means financial collapse, although we ourselves consider moral bankruptcy to be even worse. We find the following special report, in the *Statesman* of April 22, originating from New Delhi:

"Resistance of American, British and other foreign buyers continues to affect India's export trade, seriously upsetting her balance of payments position.

"First noticeable in the last year's second quarter, the total value of her exports has continually been shrinking since then, and was down to Rs. 172 crores in the October-December period. This compares with Rs. 212 crores in the last year's first quarter, when the figure, helped by devaluation and post-Korean war developments, reached its peak.

"The decline in exports has been in sharp contrast with the rise in imports, explained especially by big food and cotton purchases. A widening gap between imports and exports was the result. The adverse balance of trade in last year's second quarter amounted to Rs. 15 crores, which rose to Rs. 55 crores and Rs. 62 crores in the following two quarters.

"Buyers' resistance shows no sign of softening. The high prices, caused largely, according to some quarters, by export duties and the unsteadiness of the existing level, are stated to account for relatively small demands from abroad.

"The Government seems worried about the unsatisfactory position; withdrawal or relaxation of export duties on some raw materials and manufactures, suspension of destination control on the export of jute goods and the increase in cloth export quotas are some of the recently announced official measures to stimulate outward trade.

"There has been a marked fall in the demand from abroad even for manganese ore and mica, which were very eagerly sought by Western countries before they had decided to slow down their defence programmes."

The Government "seems worried" we are told, but what can the Government do? It has neither a Horatio Hjalmer Schacht in charge of the Finance

portfolio nor does it possess the power or initiative to check economic trends. The Finance Minister has British blinkers on and the Commerce Minister does neither possess the experience nor the drive to counteract the mischief. As such we are wallowing in the trough of Britain's wake. To substantiate our statement we quote from the *Newsweek* of New York for March 24:

"Call it a trade slump. Call it deflation. Call it a recession. (But don't call it—unmentionable word—a d—n). Whatever the term, it was evident by last week to economic experts and just plain businessmen that an international economic disturbance was blowing up. Around the globe from Japan to France, the storm signals were flying—as they were in the United States.

"The disturbance might blow itself out as did the now almost forgotten 'American recession' of the spring of 1949. The experts, as skittish as weather forecasters, refuse to make predictions. But one thing was predictable: A storm couldn't come at a better time for the Russians. For on April 3 the Soviets open their much-advertised International Economic Conference in Moscow—a propaganda show devoted to extolling the now banned East-West trade.

"What did the storm signals indicate? While the West still talked of fighting inflation and while inflation still gripped many countries, a steady deflation was under way in others. Raw-materials prices skidded. Inventories overflowed. New orders fell off. Even shipping costs eased. Finally, inevitably, world trade shrank as governments imposed restrictions to meet the situation. The process fed on itself. To balance its accounts, power X restricted trade with power Y. To balance its accounts, power Y thereupon reduced imports from power Z.

"The storm center was Britain. The Conservative government had already cut imports by \$1,400,000,000. Last week the first Tory budget outlined further import cuts and other deflationary measures. And now the British feared the accelerating effect of a world trade crisis on their internal crisis. *Newsweek's* London bureau cabled:

"A chill wind is blowing through the so-called fully employed welfare state which the Churchill government inherited from Socialism. Deflation shows a personal side as people try to save instead of spend. London streets are clogged with empty cruising taxis; tailor shops are dark and empty; and higher bus and subway fares have brought out swarms of bicycles.

"It is now frankly recognized that there is a growing danger of a collapse of international trade, especially in the 'soft' sterling areas that have hitherto provided a basic market for Britain's consumer-goods exports.

"The situation was brought home with a resounding shock when Australia cut imports of British goods

by \$403,000,000. Actually, shrewd and perhaps pessimistic business analysis had seen earlier signs: the collapse of the Alexandria cotton market, panic in the Indian bullion market, repercussions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, idle plants and labor in Japan, and slackening of United States consumer demand.

"On February 11, the total British unemployment figure hit 393,500, the highest since 1947. Since the Australian cuts, there have been open predictions that the British jobless by the end of the year will reach and perhaps exceed 1,000,000."

The statement goes on to discuss possible repercussions and winds up with reports from all quarters of the globe. With regard to India and Pakistan the summary states:

"*India-Pakistan*: Recently stock and commodity prices broke by 30 to 50 per cent. This was a speculative shake-out. But it was also a consequence of the drop in the price of jute, which accounts for 40 per cent of India's foreign-exchange earnings. Pakistan grows the jute India processes and is thus also heavily hit by the price-drop, as well as by the fall in cotton prices. Nearby Ceylon, depending on faltering rubber exports, last week imposed stringent import restrictions."

Need we proceed further? The fall in our prestige has been proportionate, as exemplified by Pakistan's decision to impose a permit system on her Eastern Section, without even a warning to India. True, we are again plodding behind the caravan, as indicated in the following press release:

"The question arising out of Pakistan's decision to introduce a permit system between Eastern Pakistan and the Eastern States of the Indian Union is understood to have been examined at a conference held on April 21 at the Branch Secretariat of the External Affairs Ministry in Calcutta. Representatives of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Tripura, and India's Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca were present.

"Pakistan's decision to introduce the permit system has now been authoritatively confirmed here."

If any warnings were needed then the fall of the Pepsu Congress Cabinet would have sufficed. The new Cabinet is unique as the following news indicates:

"Pepsu's non-Congress Cabinet, first of its kind in India, will consist of three Ministers in the beginning. Eventually its number will rise to seven—two more than the outgoing Congress Ministry."

"We need a Cabinet of seven to ensure the stability of the Government," said Mr. Gian Singh Rarewala, leader of the United Front Party, now entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry.

"The trio, who will initially take over the Government according to present plans, will comprise the Chief Minister, Mr. Rarewala, Mr. Bhupindra Singh Mann (Akali) and Mr. Inder Singh, who has seceded

from the Congress. The remaining four names have not yet been decided. 'We were entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry only 24 hours ago,' explained Mr. Rarewala.

Another principle settled is that Sikhs and Hindus should have equal representation in offices of Ministerial rank. In the Congress Ministry Sikhs predominated.

The departure from precedent is apparently intended to impress on the public that communal considerations will not prevail when the United Front assumes office. The people's fears are thereby sought to be set at rest.

Thus in the new Cabinet of seven, there will be 3 Hindus, 3 Sikhs and 1 Harijan. The Speaker, also a United Front nominee, is a Hindu. His office is considered at par with Ministerial rank. To preserve the communal balance, the Deputy Speaker is intended to be a Sikh."

But of what significance are such warnings where dinosaurs are concerned. Like burlesque "Lilies of the Fields" they carry on, these dinosaurs of ours. And verily, like the dinosaurs of old, they repent not, nor yet do they heed the Writing on the Wall.

Sheikh Abdullah's Speech

The official organ of the Congress *The People* has the following remarks to make regarding the volte-face of Sheikh Abdullah:

"Judged from the point of view of statesmanship as well as expediency the speech delivered by Sheikh Abdullah on April 10, is most disappointing and deplorable. A great leader must essentially be a master psychologist, but Sheikh Abdullah a man of splendid impulses; at times uses unguarded language. For it is admitted on all hands that for very good reasons Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's main fire during the last elections was reserved for the communalists, because communalism is regress to medievalism and in the India of to-day, the distribution of civic, economic and political rights on religious basis is altogether unthinkable. In a way the greatest triumph of Shri Nehru has been the liquidation of communalism in India.

"It is strange that Sheikh Abdullah is still unconvinced of it. In a country of 35 crore souls, who have been guaranteed civil liberties, sledge hammer education is out of question and intellectual regimentation is neither possible nor desirable. No country is absolutely immune from fanatics or mischief-mongers. The atmosphere or the political climate of India at the moment is quite healthy and the dominant note is what it should be. In other words, the demon of communalism is dead and buried.

"Talking on a low plane, one is constrained to remark that any Indian Muslim who holds that 'the

communal spirit still exists in India' renders a distinct disservice to the four crore Muslims of this country. In case any Indian Muslim feels that certain things have been left undone, he should know that the nation is on the right track and that ere long there won't be any cause even for minor petty complaints. The glorious heritage of the spirit of large-hearted tolerance and accommodation, the present constitution of India, the teachings of the Mahatma and the long vision and the untiring efforts of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, constitute an effective guarantee against a resurgence of communalism.

"By making statements in an irate mood Sheikh Abdullah has unconsciously played into the hands of the enemies of Indian Muslims. To the Pakistan leaders and journalists he has given involuntarily material which they are sure to exploit till the crack of doom.

"Indeed, it is a great compliment to the robust commonsense and keen intelligence of India and is something to the eternal credit of all Indian political parties that they have all along treated the Kashmir question as an issue of paramount national importance.

"To imply that Kashmir under Sheikh Abdullah is the only oasis of verdant nationalism in the Indian desert of scorching communalism is to betray mental confusion."

There has been very considerable jubilation in Pakistan over this speech and much fiery denunciation by the press in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. But we ourselves are inclined to think that it was in the main just a spot of kite-flying by an ambitious politician, who considers Nehru to be a veritable Caesar, capable of forcing the Hindus of India to undergo untold sacrifices for the sole benefit of Kashmir in general and the Muslim Kashmiri in particular. But what else can one expect if Pandit Nehru, like Don Quixote, insists on tilting at Communalist wind-mills at every instigation from our Ministry of Muslim Intrigue?

Kashmir and the U.N.C.I.P.

Meanwhile the latest phase in the U.N.C.I.P. negotiations has been made public with the release of Dr. Frank Graham's report.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations Representative for Kashmir, reported that progress had been made in the question of demilitarising Kashmir, but that one issue still remained unresolved between India and Pakistan.

Dr. Graham reported that the chief remaining obstacle in the way of demilitarisation was the difference between the parties over the number and character of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation.

His recommendations were:

1. That, taking notice of the progress made in the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir through withdrawals of forces from both sides of the cease-fire line, the Governments of India and Pakistan refrain from taking any action which would augment the present military potential of the forces in the State.

2. That the Governments of India and Pakistan, taking into account their agreements under the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions and their acceptance under the 12 proposals, should

(a) Continue their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures and to follow faithfully their agreement to instruct their official spokesmen and to urge all their citizens not to make statements calculated to incite the people of either nation to make war against the other with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) Observe the cease-fire effective from January 1, 1949, and the Karachi agreement of July 2, 1950.

3. That the Governments of India and Pakistan, as a means of further implementing the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, should undertake by July 15, 1952, further to reduce the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

4. That the United Nations representative's negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan be continued with a view to:

(a) Resolving the remaining differences on the 12 proposals, with special reference to the quantum of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation, and

(b) The general implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1950.

Dr. Graham said, "The United Nations representative had been requested to give his understanding of the term 'State Armed Forces.'"

"In the U. N. C. I. P. resolution of August 13, 1948, no mention is made of 'State Armed Forces.' The term appears in paragraph 4(1a) of the U. N. C. I. P. resolution of January 5, 1949.

"The United Nations representative believes that the term 'State Armed Forces' is one which must be given careful consideration in preparation for the carrying out by the United Nations representative and the Plebiscite Administrator of their responsibilities under paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of the resolution of January 5, 1949.

"It was stated that on the date (July 15, 1952, the date on which he had proposed that demilitarisation should be completed) there would remain on each side of the cease-fire line the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the

number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

"After this suggestion was made the United Nations representative found such a wide difference of position still remaining between the two Governments on the issue of the quantum of forces that, without prejudice to further negotiations on this question, and as a practical matter, another approach to this problem should be explored.

"It was stated that the completion of the programme of demilitarisation would be without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations representative and the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the final disposal of forces as set forth in the January, 1949 resolution.

"The United Nations representative has been requested to give his understanding of the expression 'final disposal' of forces.

"Paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of the January 5, 1949 resolution confer upon the Plebiscite Administrator certain responsibilities with respect to their implementation. It would, therefore, be premature for the United Nations representative, without consulting the Plebiscite Administrator and without having further discussion with the two Governments, to give an opinion on this matter.

"During the negotiations a reference was made to the powers of the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the 'final disposal' of forces referred to in Paragraphs 4(a) and (b) of January 5, 1949 resolution. This is a matter that enters into the general question of the powers that the Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir and it has already been a subject of discussion between the U. N. C. I. P. and the Governments of India and Pakistan. The United Nations representative does not deem it appropriate at this moment to enter into discussions on this subject.

On the remaining points of difference between the two parties, Dr. Graham reported their positions to be as follows:—

(a) The Government of India maintains its position concerning the minimum number of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation, i.e., on the Indian side 21,000 regular Indian army forces, plus 6,000 State militia.

On the Pakistan side a force of 4,000 men consisting of persons normally resident in Azad Kashmir territory, half of whom should be followers of Azad Kashmir and the other half persons who are not followers of Azad Kashmir.

(b) The Government of India also stated that, should the situation be favourable it would be ready, at the end of the period of demilitarisation, to enter into consultations with the Plebiscite Administrator and with the United Nations Representative to con-

sider a further reduction of forces on the Indian side.

(c) Of the three other principal points of difference emerging from the second report of the United Nations Representative, the Government of India considers that two, namely, a definite period for demilitarisation and the date for the formal induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator - can be settled without difficulty, provided agreement is reached on the scope of demilitarisation and the quantum of forces that would remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation.

Regarding Pakistan's views he reported :

(a) Pakistan agrees that the demilitarisation programme envisaged by the United Nations Representative should be completed not later than July 11, 1952.

(b) Pakistan insists that the demilitarisation programme should embrace all the armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir without exception, namely, the Pakistan Army, the Azad Kashmir Forces, the Indian Army, the State Army and the State Militia.

(The tribesmen and Pakistan volunteers are stated to have already withdrawn from the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line).

(c) Pakistan agrees that at the end of the period of demilitarisation, there should remain on each side of the cease-fire line the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

(d) Pakistan agrees that the Plebiscite Administrator should be inducted into office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in (A) above.

Concerning withdrawals of troops from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India has agreed to withdraw unconditionally and without prejudice to the negotiations concerning proposals for demilitarisation submitted to the Governments of India and Pakistan, one division with supporting arms, from its side of the cease-fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which it estimates to be a force of approximately 18,000 men.

The Government of Pakistan had tended that the Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir were greatly augmented in the summer of 1951 and that even after the withdrawal of one Indian Army division, the strength of the Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir would be far in excess of the Pakistan forces in the State."

Dr. Graham also reported that the Government of India had recently issued orders for withdrawals to distances varying from 70 to 450 miles of those military formations of the Indian territory to within 30 miles of the Western Indo-Pakistan border. These withdrawals were in the process of being carried out.

The Government of Pakistan had indicated that most of the forces "which they had been compelled" to move to the Indo-Pakistan border during the summer of 1951 had been withdrawn to their "peacetime stations."

Outlining his own views on the general problem, Dr. Graham said that throughout his negotiations it had been evident that many of the questions dealing with the demilitarisation of the State were related to problems affecting the preparation of the plebiscite and with the responsibilities of the Plebiscite Administrator.

Among these responsibilities was the final disposal of the forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line; with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

"In short," Dr. Graham's report said, "the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir had now reached a stage in which further considerations will affect the prerequisites for plebiscite and therefore, are counter-related with the responsibilities which the Plebiscite Administrator will one day be called upon to exercise.

"It is my firm conviction that besides the questions of the final quantum of forces, there are other factors which have a bearing on demilitarisation, which need now to be taken into consideration.

"I am not at the present time in a position to give a considered statement on all these factors. I feel however that with further explorations into the relationships between the last stage of demilitarisation and the first stage of preparation for the plebiscite, I would perhaps be able to place the question of demilitarisation in a perspective which would favour its solution.

"Further reductions of troops on each side of the cease-fire line are directly related to the preparation of the plebiscite. In addition to having the advice of the civilian and military members of his staff, I deem it necessary that the Plebiscite Administrator designate (Admiral Chester W. Nimitz) be associated with me in studies and consideration of common problem."

The conclusions drawn by the report were:

"Progress has been made in the acceptance of an increasing number of the twelve proposals for agreement on demilitarisation. On October 15, 1951 in his first report the United Nations Representative reported to the Security Council that the two Governments had accepted four of the twelve proposals. On December 19, 1951, in his second report, he reported to the Security Council that four more of the 12 proposals, or a total of eight had been accepted by both Governments.

"He can now report acceptance, by Pakistan, of the remaining four proposals with certain qualifications regarding the character of forces to be demilitarised. India maintains that if agreement can be reached on the issues of the number and character of

forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line, the other two remaining differences (i.e., the period of demilitarisation and the induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator) can be solved without difficulty.

"The chief remaining obstacle is the difference over the number and character of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation."

And thus the U.N.C.I.P. negotiations have meandered along to another field.

Nothing Like Leather !

The *Hindusthan Standard* carries the following news item, in its April 21 issue, originating from New Delhi on April 19:

"The *Times* of London, generally considered a model newspaper, seems to have become a Pakistan propaganda organ.

This is the impression one gets from the issue of the journal dated April 5, 1952, which carried the following item:

"INFUX OF MUSLIMS INTO WEST PAKISTAN"

From Our Own Correspondent

"Karachi, April 3.—Riots which marked the recent Holi (Hindu festival which marks the advent of spring and at which coloured water is thrown) in the secular State of Bharat have caused a fresh influx of Muslims into West Pakistan. The number of those who crossed the border without entry permits last month was 5,147. According to an official spokesman, refugees tell harrowing tales of loot and arson by Hindu communalists, causing widespread alarm among the minorities. Some newspapers say that communal riots took place at several places in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other provinces."

The *Dawn* had on April 4, published the following report on the same subject:

"HOLI RIOTS IN BHARAT: FRESH MUSLIM EXODUS"

"The recent Holi riots in 'secular' Bharat have caused a fresh influx of Muslims into West Pakistan. Since then 5,147 Muslims crossed the border via Khokhropar alone.

The refugees have told harrowing tales of loot and arson by Hindu communalists. Their tales show widespread alarm among the minorities there who have been guaranteed protection under the Bharat Constitution."

A comparison of these two reports brings out the fact that the *Times* report is nothing more than a repetition of the *Dawn's* even to the use of sarcastic references to India. For instance, the Pakistani daily refers to "secular Bharat." The *Times* copies it by referring to the "secular State of Bharat." Incidentally, this is the first occasion when the *Times* has used the word "Bharat" for "India."

Further examination of the two reports brings out the fact that either the author of the two reports is

the same person or that the *Times* Karachi Correspondent's special assignment is to pick out false and fabricated accounts about India."

There can be no doubt that these faked reports have the same origin. Perhaps the same filthy news-hound has polluted both papers. But what is there to be aghast about in that? Do we not know who used to supply the *Times* of London, the *New York Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and other foreign papers with poisonous anti-Indian propaganda even in very recent times?

As for the *Times* being a "model newspaper," we suppose even Jezebel was admired, sometime in her career, as a polished courtesan. And we believe we shall not be very far out if we venture to guess that this Jezebel is trying to "stage a comeback" now that her old courtiers are back in power.

Stalin-Radhakrishnan Talks

There has been a great deal of speculation about the talks between Dr. Radhakrishnan and Marshal Stalin at the farewell interview. The official organ of the Congress *The People* of New Delhi has given an indirect report which is likely to be substantially correct. The report is as follows:

"Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, retiring Indian Ambassador to Moscow, who returned to India this week brought with him a message of goodwill and offers of economic aid from Marshal Stalin, I learn from reliable sources in New Delhi.

"Far from being a move towards East-West parleys for global peace so widely discussed in the world's Press, the recent Stalin-Radhakrishnan conversations in Moscow, it appears, actually centred on Indo-Russian relations with the emphasis on the divergence between the two governments on matters of policy.

"Well-informed circles state that the interview was more than a mere personal tribute to Dr. Radhakrishnan.

"It was a positive gesture of friendship towards India and a deliberate expression of the Russian desire to be friendly with India. In order to come to a sincere understanding Marshal Stalin, I gather, was frank to the point of being blunt with Dr. Radhakrishnan who, I understand, responded suitably.

"The highlight of the talks, it appears, centred firstly on India's attitude towards Communism and secondly India's attitude towards the offer of economic co-operation from Moscow.

"Speaking very cordially, M. Stalin is stated to have asked Dr. Radhakrishnan why the Government of India, consistently, curbed civil liberties by imprisoning members of the Communist Party and people who were directly or indirectly friendly towards them."

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is understood to have explained that Shri Nehru had repeatedly declared

that the Indian Government had nothing against the Communist Party as such but they had naturally to put down forces of violence which sought to disrupt law and order and the administration.

"The fairness of the Indian Government's attitude and policy towards the Communists, Dr. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said, was shown by the recent elections in which Communists had been returned in considerable numbers at the polls even in areas where Congress Governments were in power.

"Marshal Stalin is then reported to have asked why the Indian Government had not accepted the repeated Russian offers of economic aid.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan, it is understood, said that it was true that several Russian spokesmen both in India and Russia had spoken of the Russian readiness to help India in the economic field, but there had been no practical or concrete suggestion or proposal.

"Last year, when India's food difficulties were most acute, the U.S. Government gave India two million tons of wheat while little or no help came from Russia although the Indian Government looked forward to help from Russia as much as from U.S.A. and the Indian people had particularly looked forward to getting food from Russia more confidently than from U.S.A.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is said to have assured M. Stalin that India needed foreign aid and would gladly and eagerly accept economic aid coming from the U.S.A. or Soviet Union provided such aid came 'without strings.'

"Dr. Radhakrishnan is also reported to have asked whether it was consistent for Moscow Radio to carry on a tirade against the Government of India and India's national leaders while Russian spokesmen were promising economic aid to India. M. Stalin is reported to have promised to look into the matter.

"In spite of the thrusts and parries during the conversation, it would appear that the talk was most cordial and some concrete evidence of Russian desire to give economic help to India would become available in the next few days."

The last paragraph is, of course, pure speculation on the part of the special correspondent of *The People*. But if the report has any solid basis then there might be some interesting developments.

Railway Regrouping

In spite of bitter opposition, the original regrouping scheme of the Railways, finalised in 1950, has been very substantially altered in respect of three zones. The bitterest controversy has centered round the formation of the Eastern and North-Eastern zones. Provincial and other parochial considerations have

been allowed to take precedence over the interest of the railways and the nation. The conference of the railway workers and the public of West Bengal have made a very reasonable demand that in view of a drastic change in the original plan, an expert committee should be set up to examine the new scheme and pending examination by the committee the scheme should be held in abeyance. Following is the resolution:

"A resolution was adopted urging the Government of India either to implement the original proposals of the Ministry of Railways announced in January or to stay further steps in the implementation of the revised scheme and get the whole question examined by a 'committee of accredited experts and impartial administrators.'

"The conference called upon the West Bengal Government to 'support this demand in every possible way.' It viewed the issues involved from a national standpoint free from provincialism.

"A 20-man committee, with representatives of various political parties and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee as president, was appointed to take effective measures for 'resisting the imposition in haste of the unscientific and pernicious regrouping scheme.'

"The conference condemned the manner in which the scheme of the Railway Board, circulated in January for setting up the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern zones with two headquarters in Calcutta, and retaining the Allahabad division in the Eastern zone, had been substituted by the new proposals 'to serve certain parochial interests, as admitted by the Railway Minister himself.'

"According to the conference, the revised proposals were bound to adversely affect not only the 15,000 railway employees in Calcutta, but were calculated to bring about disastrous results on the commercial, economic and social spheres in the northern and western parts of the country. They would result in dislocation of traffic in coal, jute, tea and timber, and cripple Calcutta Port.

"These would also create difficulties in maintaining a smooth supply of wagons; hamper Calcutta's huge suburban passenger traffic; and cause hold-ups at river transshipment points across the Ganga. Proper control and operation of the strategic railways serving the States on the eastern border of India would be difficult, if not impossible."

The Railway Ministry of the Government of India have so far said nothing which would convince the public about the reasonability of the present change. All the chambers of commerce of importance in Calcutta and also all the important newspapers have strongly criticised this change. The Railway Ministry has completely failed to meet their arguments from the standpoint of the needs of the trade

and commerce and also from the point of view of future food and military strategy. The decision to shift the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway from Calcutta—contrary to the original plan and proposal in the Parliament by the Railway Minister himself while presenting the Railway Budget—to Gorakhpur has been strongly opposed. It has been argued very reasonably that movement-control of such a big railway from an up-country station would be difficult, and entail unnecessary heavy expenditure. Instead of meeting these arguments the Railway Ministry summoned a conference of the representatives of Provincial Governments of U. P., Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. This is probably the first time where provincial political interests have been placed over the interests of railways in a discussion of pure railway policy. The West Bengal Government had been vacillating from the very beginning and the irresponsible attitude of this Government is responsible for much of the unnecessary hardships that would follow the change in the original plan. We expected Pandit Nehru to rise in the occasion and take a stern attitude against the introduction of provincial considerations in a matter of national importance, which would have been consistent to his utterances on provincialism made as late as in March in the Calcutta session of the A. I. C. C.

The inclusion of the Allahabad Division in the Northern Railways against a clear recommendation of the Kunjru Committee indicates a very dangerous trend in our national life. In respect of the whole changed scheme the people on this side have demanded an expert committee to go into the question. But the fate of such committees can be imagined when we find such a glaring deviation from the clear and unambiguous recommendations of the Kunjru Committee. Such actions are likely to increase the lack of confidence in the Government's utterances and decisions and strengthen the hands of the disruptive forces.

The exclusion of the Sealdah Division from the North-Eastern Railway has been a half-hearted step towards placation.

The construction of the Ganges Bridge at Farakkabad would link up the railways on both sides of that river. The laying of a third line on the broad-gauge track on the Sealdah Section and the construction of the Ganges Bridge would make the through traffic of wagons from Dibrugarh to Calcutta possible. Amin-gaon has got a wagon ferry. With headquarters in Calcutta and these two adjustments the operational efficiency in the North-Eastern Railway would have increased and the interests of trade in Eastern India would have been better served. The modern practice of maintaining railway headquarters near a port has been completely disregarded by the Government of India.

The railway and the public in West Bengal have called a general strike for a day, on May 7 to register an active protest against the alteration of the original Regrouping plan. This is a protest of national interest against provincial pettiness. A constitutional question should be raised. The Parliament approved the Railway Minister's Budget speech which declared that the original regrouping plan would be implemented. The Government have changed this decision without consulting the Parliament. Can they do this? Does it not amount to a contempt of the Parliament?

The Regrouping plan itself has been done in a most slipshod fashion. As it stands, one centre will have to handle about 45 per cent of the total ton mileage of all the railways, the other five centres handling only 55 per cent between all of them. If we know anything about the crass muddle-headedness of the powers-that-be, then confusion will be worse confounded in the matter of allocation of staff, etc. But what more can be expected of Pandit Nehru's Ministry, now that the last sane influence has been removed by the passing of the Sirdar.

Indians in Ceylon

People in India have noticed with regret the reported discriminatory decision of the Ceylon Government regarding their nationals of Indian origin, which would mean disenfranchising one-tenth of that country's population. Ceylon, we apprehend, seems to be destined to figure as a second South Africa with bitter contempt for Indians. The course which Ceylon is pursuing will in the long run plunge the country into a critical situation, similar to that which confronts the Dominion of South Africa. (The political motive behind the Ceylonisation policy is to oust the Indians, who have contributed immensely to the progress and development of the islands from time immemorial.)

If this policy of Nationalisation is rigidly adhered to, only about one in 20 of citizens in Ceylon of Indian origin who exercised their vote in the last general elections would be able to participate in the coming elections. It virtually means disenfranchisement of the bulk of those people. This has naturally caused a general resentment in India where no one wishes to tolerate injustice to Indians overseas.

The standpoint of the Ceylon Government has been explained by Mr. C. C. Coomaraswamy, High Commissioner for Ceylon in India in an interview in Calcutta, as follows:

"He emphasized that there was no question of depriving Indian citizens of Ceylon of their just rights. There was absolutely no anti-Indian feeling in that country.

"He said there were about 800,000 Indians in Ceylon. Most of them were labourers in tea and rubber

estates. Before independence there was free movement of people between India and Ceylon, and Indian residents were enrolled as voters automatically.

"After independence however, Ceylon, being a small country, thought it proper that people from outside should not be allowed unrestricted entry. The Ceylon Citizenship Act was passed defining who should be regarded as citizens of Ceylon. A special concession was given to Indians and Pakistanis to enable them, under certain conditions, to register as citizens of Ceylon under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act. The concession was that Indian or Pakistani bachelors who had resided in Ceylon for ten years, and married people who had resided there for seven years and who had made Ceylon their home, could become citizens of that country by applying for registration.

"A period of two years was given to file applications for registration. This expired last year. Unfortunately, Indians completely boycotted the registration procedure for 14 months, after which there was a rush. As a result there was considerable delay. Altogether about 200,000 Indians applied for registration as citizens. There were not many Pakistanis in Ceylon.

"In the old voters' list there were nearly 200,000 Indians. From the rolls revised in 1950 the names of those who had not been registered as citizens had been removed. Only about 8,000 Indians had been enlisted as voters. During the last election seven Indians were returned to the Legislature because of the numerical superiority of Indians in several constituencies.

"The coming election had been hastened by the death of Mr. Don Senanayake. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, thought that since a new Ministry had been formed there should be no delay in holding a fresh election. But this could be done only on the basis of the 1950 revised rolls.

"In future, Mr. Coomaraswamy said, those Indians who had applied for registration as citizens within the stipulated period and had the requisite qualification, would be included in the electoral roll."

(The Ceylon Indian Congress, representing the Indians in Ceylon, as an explanation of their stand stated that their earlier decision to boycott the registration under the Indian-Pakistani Citizenship Act, was in protest against the humiliating and almost impractical conditions which had been laid down.) This boycott was from August 1949, when registration first began, to April, 1950, when it was lifted. From April, 1950, to August 5, 1951, the closing date for making such applications, nearly 250,000 applications, covering a total of 750,000 people were made. (Up till now only an infinitesimal fraction of applications have been disposed of. All prayers and

representations for the extension of the date of registration beyond August 5, were refused.)

(The request of the Ceylon Indian Congress to the Prime Minister to enable the disfranchised Indians to exercise their right of voting has been unceremoniously turned down. No better fate was met by the representation of the Indian envoy in Ceylon. Mr. Senanayake is reported to have held on to his ground that legally no other register except the last certified electoral register (1950) could be used for the coming general election and his government is powerless to annul the 1950 electoral register as Parliament is not in session now. Under such circumstances the Ceylon Indian Congress has finally been compelled to launch a *satyagraha* campaign to obtain voting rights for Indian settlers who have decided to become Ceylonese citizens, as they have no other course open to them to assert their rights.)

France and Indo-China

French colonialism is making a last ditch stand in Indo-China. Recently the tone of the militarists has changed and their utterances are more in tune with what we used to hear in the days prior to freedom.

The new French High Commissioner and first Resident Minister in Indo-China, M. Letourneau, said on his arrival in Saigon on April 21 that he would wield his full civil and military powers with "renovated methods."

He would "revise the French Services, taking into account the realities of war and the needs of command," and he would "help the structure of the administration find its true form."

"In an hour when France, though aided by generous help from the USA, has reached the limit of her means, austerity is the moral obligation for all individuals," he said. He would impose it by deeds rather than words.

There were, he said, two outstanding facts: (1) The independence of the Associated States within the French Union; and (2) the common war against a common enemy.

There was no doubt of this independence. It was not a question of winning it against France but of needing French help to defend it.

A French Army communique claimed that French Union forces had smashed their way into Indo-Chinese villages after hand-to-hand fighting with Viet Minh troops about 22 miles north-east of Hanoi. So fierce was the Viet Minh resistance that the French had to use artillery and air support.

The Viet Minh forces were elements of the 316th Division encircled last week in the two-day "Operation Polo" carried out by the French.

France has lost more officers each year in the Indo-China conflict than graduated from her Military

Academy according to M. Monnet, Chief Economic Planner of the French Government, now in New York.

"I cannot overemphasize the drain which this war imposes on France, a drain both in material goods and of even more precious human resources," M. Monnet told the 50th anniversary luncheon of the Federation of French Alliances in the United States and Canada.

Spain and Moroccan Independence

In contrast with France in Tunisia, Spain is pursuing a new line, more in keeping with what is known as democracy, be whatever the reason. We find the following statement in the *Worldover Press* bulletin of March 7:

"Further details are now available concerning Franco Spain's encouragement of Moroccan nationalists (first revealed by *Worldover Press* last November 30).

"According to two recent articles in *l'Observateur*, influential weekly of the French non-Communist left, the Madrid dictatorship has already made substantial concessions to nationalist feeling in the Spanish zone of Morocco and is hinting at autonomy. Naturally enough, the Arabs have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, but the difference between Franco's actions and those of "democratic" France is making a big impression.

"The story began last fall when. General Garcia Valino, new high commissioner, arrived in the Spanish zone promising reforms. Shortly afterward (December 13), a conference between Valino and General Guillaume, "resident general" of the French zone, crystallized the difference between the French and Spanish policies. Whereas Guillaume wanted better coordination between the two governments, Valino insisted that Spain felt force was "useless" against the nationalists.

"On January 10, Valino invited Abdel Khalak Torres, chief of Spanish Morocco's nationalists, to discuss the situation. Their cordial interview resulted in the abrogation of emergency measures decreed by the previous High Commissioner, the legalization of the reformist nationalist party, and authorization to publish nationalist newspapers and to hold meetings.

"Toward the end of the month, the Caliph of Tetouan, who represents the Sultan of Morocco in the Spanish zone, joined Franco on a hunting party in Andalusia. Others present included Valino; Spanish Foreign Minister Artajo and members of the nationalist parties. Franco confirmed the reforms which had already been initiated, but added coyly that Spain alone could not modify the status of the Arab state, and suggested that the nationalists address their demands to the French.

"No one, of course, imagines that Generalissimo Franco has moved toward this new collaboration out of sheer love for democratic principles, and this last action shows clearly that one of his main purposes is

to usher the French out of North Africa. (A highly placed Spanish government official had already admitted as much to a *Worldover Press* correspondent). Another, but less important, consideration is the heavy cost of the colonial administration—about one billion pesetas every year.

"(The important French farm paper, *Moniteur du Progres Agricole*, declares that Spain wants to kill French Morocco's markets for citrus fruits by under-selling in England and Germany. It cites figures to show that Germany is buying more from Spain and less from French Morocco.—Editors, *Worldover Press*.)

"For its part, *l'Observateur* suspects American pressure behind Spain's move. It points out that among those present at the hunting party was General Gonzales Gallarza, Franco's air minister, whose visit to Washington a year ago touched off the secret negotiations for bases. Some of these bases, particularly air bases, could well be located in Spanish Morocco, and if Franco granted some autonomy to the region, it could be helped with Point Four Funds as well, *l'Observateur* believes. Certain people, says the journal, are even thinking of setting up an American university at Tetouan similar to the one at Beirut."

The Indo-Pakistan Islam League

Newspapers have told us that the plans of Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zamman have miscarried. But there were other stalwarts in the field. One of these is Inayatulla Khan, better known as Allama Mashruqi, "wise man of the East," a combination of the scholar and the crescentador, a man determined to reconquer the earth for the Crescent. During the British regime, he had the *belcha* (the spade) for a symbol of labour which was quite frequently used as a weapon to strike the enemy down. The *Press Trust of India* sent out from Lahore on April 15 last the following news which we reproduce for certain interesting details of the Allama's plans:

"Allama Mashruqi, the former Khaksar leader, told the court here on 14th April that one of the objectives of the Indo-Pakistan Islam League—which he founded—was to secure for Pakistan lawfully and constitutionally such Indian territory as was culturally Muslim.

He made the statement in the course of the examination-in-chief in the High Court by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardi, when he was produced in connection with the hearing of his habeas corpus petition, before the Chief Justice Mr. Mohammed Munir.

In his affidavit, Allama Mashruqi alleged that he was arrested a short time before the general elections in Punjab (Pakistan) with a view to preventing him from contesting the elections against the Muslim League.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Was there any feature of the

Islam League to which the Pakistan Government took objection on the ground that it may be objected to by India?

Allama Mashruqi: I do not consider the protection of Indian Muslims which is one of the objects of the Islam League as an objectionable thing.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Were you ever asked by Government to desist from sending literature to Muslims in India about your plans to conquer Indian territory?

Allama Mashruqi: No such thing was asked by the Government. It is ridiculous to suppose that I had a plan to conquer India.

The Allama said that the Islam League was a constitutional organisation and not military or militant in nature.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Have you a private army?

Allama Mashruqi: No. I have been discouraging the idea. There is no need for a private army since there is an Islamic Government.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Have you ever disobeyed the orders of Government?

Allama Mashruqi: Absolutely not. I always respected Government orders.

Chief Justice: What was your plan to conquer more territory from India for Pakistan?

Allama Mashruqi: I wanted to achieve that by creating world opinion in favour of our demand. It could be done by telling them that Pakistan given to the Muslims was insufficient for their population.

Chief Justice: What was the cause of your arrest?

Allama Mashruqi: The cause of my arrest was that I was an obstacle in the way of their (Muslim League's) success in the elections.

Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan, Advocate-General, in the course of his cross-examination, produced a pamphlet issued by the Islam League in connection with the conference to be held at Karachi.

Advocate-General: Was it intended that a body of 10,000 Razakars armed with fire-arms, bows, arrows, sticks, axes and belchas should attend the conference to make it successful?

Allama Mashruqi: Yes. I know it was intended and the Islam League had made an announcement in this connection.

Advocate-General: Is the code of the Razakars and the Islam League the same as that of the Khaksars?

Allama Mashruqi: No.

Advocate-General: Did you intend to raise an army of your own?

Allama Mashruqi: If I had wished that, I would have continued the Khaksar organisation.

Advocate-General: Are you aware that during September 1950 there was a ban on carrying of arms and on military parades within the limits of the Lahore Corporation?

Allama Mashruqi: I am not aware of it.

Advocate-General: Is it a fact that the Islam League held public meetings during the months of October, November and December, 1950, when the Razakars defied the ban on carrying of arms?

Allama Mashruqi: No ban was defied. At least, not to my knowledge.

After the cross-examination of Allama Mashruqi, Mr. Ghiasuddin Ahmed, Home Secretary of the Pakistan Punjab Government, was examined as a witness.

In reply to a question from the Advocate-General, Mr. Ghiasuddin Ahmed said that the order extending the detention of Mashruqi was issued under the direction of the Pakistan Punjab Government.

He added that the order was issued to prevent him (Mashruqi) from resorting to activities in which he was engaged before his detention. Mr. Ahmed replied in the negative when the Chief Justice asked him whether the object of the Punjab Government order extending Mashruqi's detention was passed with a view to prevent him from fighting the elections in the Punjab.

Advocate-General: Was he arrested for his anti-Indian activities?

Ghiasuddin Ahmed: No. Nor was his arrest ordered because of his activities regarding Muslims in India."

It seems that in comparison to the Allama, Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman is a mere visionary.

Britain, Egypt and Sudan

"Almost completely forgetful of Sir Lee Stack, Britain has included in her demands the practical abolition of Condominium in Sudan and the British control of the Nile which is the jugular vein of Egypt. And yet it was Egyptian and not British gold that had been poured into Sudan ever since it had been conquered by Egypt under Mohamed Ali Pasha—two generations before the British occupied Egypt. It was then lost by British Commanders such as Hicks Pasha, Lupton Bey, General Baker, and Gordon himself, whose death was due to the vacillation of the British Government and the delay in her sending a relief expedition under Wolseley. Indeed, if the Egyptians had withdrawn from the Sudan their force, which numbered as many as 40,000 troops at the time that the Egyptian army of the Delta was dispersed at Tell-el-Kabir, and abandoning the Sudan to its fate, had rather fought the British with the help of that army, the British would in all probability have never secured a footing in Egypt, and the whole of its history would have been written differently. As it was, having lost the Sudan to the Mahdi after their victory at Tell-el-Kabir, it was up to the British to recover it with the exclusive help of their own men and entirely by the expenditure of their own money. But this is

never the British way. What we find throughout the early years of the British Occupation is that admittedly "the immense responsibilities involved were most imperfectly understood by the British Government." It is always: "We cannot lend English or Indian troops: if consulted, recommend abandonment of Sudan within certain limits" (Lord Granville to Sir B. Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer); or: "Her Majesty's Government can do nothing in the matter which would throw upon them the responsibilities for operations in the Sudan"; or, again: "Her Majesty's Government recommend to the Ministers of the Khedive to come to an early decision to abandon all territory south of Assuan, or, at least, Wadi Halfa." For a dozen years no impression was made on the Khalifa who ruled over the Sudan after the Mahdi. But when Lord Salisbury, encouraged by an improvement in the condition of Egyptian finances and of the Egyptian army, decided to make an attempt "to recover gradually the Sudan provinces abandoned by Egypt in 1885 on the advice of Mr. Gladstone's Government," it was almost entirely at the cost of Egypt, and mainly with the help of the Egyptian forces that Sirdar Kitchener conducted his operations. In the period from March 1895 to December 1898 the expenditure incurred on these operations amounted to a sum of two and a half million sterling. But towards this expense the British gave a grant-in-aid of £800,000 only. The balance of the expenditure was borne by the Egyptian treasury. And after that year the deficits of the Sudan budget were paid by Egypt alone until it finally resolved that the Sudan budget should balance itself. And yet the Sudan Government was a Condominium! After this can it be said that it is not in the fitness of things that in the Sudan Britain should act as "the predominant party in its control," when the Sudan was a paying concern, and with the Upper Nile dammed and controlled, it can equal, if not surpass, Egypt in the extent and quality of its cotton?

By all that is solemn and holy Egypt should never have been subjected to the indignity and injury of having the Army of Occupation billeted upon her. We quote below just a few of the pledges given by British Ministers to Egypt, and we defy any one to say that anything less than the demands of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul, embodied in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's despatch to 7th October last to Lord Allenby, is compatible with them.

"I, Admiral commanding the British Fleet, think it unfortunate to confirm without delay once more to Your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor injuring in any way the religion and liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people against

rebels." (Sir Beauchamp Seymour to Khedive Tewfik, Alexandria, July 26, 1882, published in the Official Journal of June 28).

"I can go so far as to answer the honourable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of His Majesty's Government and pledges they have given to Europe and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself." (The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons, August 10, 1882).

"You should intimate to the Egyptian Government that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to withdraw the troops from Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, that such withdrawal will probably be effected from time to time as the security of the country will allow it, and that His Majesty's Government hope that the time will be very short during which the full number of the present force will be maintained."—Lord Granville, December 29, 1882, Egypt, No. 2 (1883), p. 33.

"Had I been commissioned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian subject State, the outlook would have been different. The masterful hand of a Resident would have quickly bent everything to his will, and in the space of five years we should have greatly added to the material wealth and well-being of the country by the extension of its cultivated area and the consequent expansion of its revenue; by the partial if not, total abolition of the Corvée and slavery; the establishment of justice and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their independence. Moreover, H. M.'s Government have pronounced against such an alternative."—Lord Dufferin's despatch, February 6, 1883; Egypt No. 6 (1883) p. 83.

The above was reproduced in the *Comrade*, Maulana Mohammed Ali's paper, from either the London *Spectator* or the *Nation and New Statesman*. It gives away the story that it was British money and the British sword that had enabled "Sardar" Kitchener to reconquer the Sudan. In the present context, this 30-year old extract has a value of its own.

In an article (October-December, 1951) published in the *India Quarterly*, organ of the India Council of World Affairs, Dr. Rashid El-Barawy gives certain facts which should be known. The population of Sudan at present is 7,54,70,000, five millions of which are Arab-speaking and Islam-professing. They inhabit the central and northern parts of the country. "There are eight administrative units (provinces) in the whole country, three of which are in the southern part, viz: the provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr El-

Ghazal. The southerners are pagans and speak a variety of languages."

"In 1898, the new virtual masters (the British) of Egypt found it expedient to reconquer the Sudan. The campaign was successful and a convention was signed on 10th January, 1899 between the British and Egyptian Governments establishing the Condominium which has persisted ever since. The following are quotations from the afore-mentioned convention:

... whereas it is desired to give effect to the claims which have accrued to her Britannic Majesty's Government, by right of conquest, to share in the present administration and future working and development of the said system of administration and legislation

Art. II.—The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together (with the exception of the town of Suakin).

Art. III.—The supreme military and civil command in the Sudan shall be vested in one officer termed the 'Governor-General of the Sudan.' He shall be appointed by a Khedivial Decree on the recommendation of her Britannic Majesty's Government and shall be removed only by Khedivial Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

Art. IV.—Laws, as also Orders and Regulations with the full force of law, for the good government of the Sudan, . . . may from time to time be made, altered, or abrogated by Proclamation of the Governor-General.

Art. V.—No Egyptian Law, Decree, Ministerial Arrete, or other enactment hereafter to be made or promulgated shall apply to the Sudan, or any part thereof, save in so far as the same shall be applied by Proclamation of the Governor-General in the manner hereinbefore provided.

With the signing of the Convention of 1899 real authority was concentrated in the hands of the British Governor-General, provincial Governors, and other civil and military officers. The role of the Egyptians in the administration as well as in framing the policy to be adopted in the Sudan rapidly dwindled. In 1914, when the British Protectorate was proclaimed over Egypt, the Sudan, to all practical purposes, turned into a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, British colony.

Expert and efficient administrators, the British improved the standard of living of the Sudanese, established highly beneficial health centres and opened primary schools in the main towns.

The Egyptians, however, question the legal validity of the Convention of 1899, which established the Condominium. By the Ottoman *Firmans* the Khedives of Egypt were not to give away or share with any foreign Power any territory belonging to the Ottoman Empire. As the Sudan was a part of that Empire,

Khedive Tewfik acted illegally when he signed the Convention.

Again, critics of the document objected to the principles and wording too. The Sudan was not 'reconquered' but it was merely restored to the lawful authority which had been temporarily suspended by the Mahdist rebellion. Britain, too, has no right to a share in the administration. Whereas Egypt's military and civilian losses during the insurrection totalled 270,701 men, the campaigns of 1898-99 cost England only 1,400 men. Since that time the works of rehabilitation and reconstruction have cost Egypt the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty million pounds.*

These legal arguments apart, human nature in Egypt acted as did it in India. A "Graduates Congress" was held, and as a result of discussions with other parties, it presented a memorandum dated September, 1945, asking for:

"1. The establishment of a free democratic Sudanese Government in union with Egypt and, in alliance with Great Britain.

2. The appointment of a joint commission, half of its members representing the Condominium and the other half representing the enlightened class among the Sudanese and to be appointed by the Congress. The purpose of the commission was to draft a scheme whereby the management of affairs was to be transferred to the hands of the Sudanese in the shortest time possible.

3. The freedom of the press, public meetings and associations, travel and trading, within these public laws which conform to true democratic principles.

4. The amendment of those laws which restrict these freedoms."

The various parties in Sudan represent the right, centre and left of the people. They are:

The Unionist Party: At a general meeting in 1944, the Unionists' policy was formulated as aiming at the establishment of a free and democratic Sudanese Government. As regards the relationship with Egypt they approve of the dominion status in which 'different States enjoy equal rights and sovereignty.' They also aim at the termination of the Condominium by peaceful means. A free Sudanese Government can be free to enter into agreements or sign any treaties with any nation. The Unionists represent in the main the educated section of public opinion.

The Ashigga (Blood Brothers) Party: This is, by far, the most influential political organization in the country, and it claims the representation of about 88 per cent of the Sudanese population. The party demands the establishment of a democratic Sudanese Government in union with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown. The Sudanese would enjoy equal rights with

*Egypt-Sudan, Collection of Documents (Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cairo, 1947).

the Egyptians in Egypt and would incorporate their armed forces with those of Egypt.

The Unity of the Nile Valley Party: This party came into existence in 1946 and it stands for complete unity of the Nile Valley, i.e., the creation of a unified State in which Sudanese and Egyptians enjoy equal rights and obligations. This unity may be achieved by all means, peaceful or otherwise.

The Liberal Unionists: This appeared as an off-shot of the main Unionists' Party. It aims at the achievement of freedom of the Sudan within the unity with Egypt. Though pro-Egyptian and Unionists, their teachings, however, are somewhat vague.

The above-mentioned parties represent the policy of union (or unity in the case of the U.N.V.P.) with Egypt. They believe that such union derives from common racial, religious and linguistic ties, and it also satisfies the common interests of the Sudanese and Egyptians alike. As an estimate of the influence and strength of those parties standing for union with Egypt, the elections for the first Legislative Assembly provide ample proof. The parties appealed to the people to boycott the elections, and the campaign was successful."

Since then, the return of Winston Churchill to power as head of the Conservative Party, has not improved matters. This Party is at their old game, and do not appear to realize that the days of Britain as dictator and fashioner of conduct in politics are gone. But none so blind as those who would not see.

Indian Emigration to Borneo

Doctor Chandrasekhar, U. N. expert on Emigration and Immigration problem, has written an article on the above subject on the 23rd last in the *Madras Hindu* :

"The Government of India recently announced that the Government of British North Borneo has requested them to permit 10,000 Indians with their families, preferably from South India, to emigrate to British Borneo for permanent settlement. The Borneo Government is understood to have offered the immigrants attractive terms which will give them complete equality of status with all other British citizens in that colony. The Borneo Government also consented to provide land for the settlers to raise rice and other tropical and sub-tropical crops. In addition, other avenues of employment, such as Government service will be open to our settlers. . . .

Borneo presents excellent opportunities for Indian emigration. Including the North British territory it is the largest among the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago and the fifth largest island in the world. It occupies an area of 293,496 square miles and is comparable to the combined area of Madras, Bombay, Mysore and Orissa States or almost as big as England

and France put together. The island enjoys a warm and equable climate, the temperature ranging between 72 and 93 degrees—roughly comparable to Madras and Bangalore. With a torrential rainfall of an average of 160 inches per year and about forty well-watered rivers, Borneo has enough water for irrigation purposes. These rivers, particularly the Baritos and the Kapuas, not unlike the Cauvery, bring down a lot of silt which goes to make up the fertile coastal alluvial plains. . . .

No census has ever been taken of the population of Borneo but estimates put the figure at less than three millions, of whom 600,000 live in British controlled North Borneo. Apart from a handful of Europeans, there are small groups of Chinese, Arabs and Malaysians. The largest population group is composed of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Dyaks. There has long been a slight Indian element in the population—their number in 1948 was estimated at 1,300. Already a small nucleus of an Indian settlement is there which could be of some help to the new Indian immigrants.

The island is comparatively rich in mineral resources and yields bituminous coal, gold, copper, tin, nickel and oil. The exact yields of the minerals are not available, but it seems possible that they could support several large-scale industries. The population of two and a half millions in an area of some 290,000 square miles yields a crude density of about 8.5 persons per square mile. It is obvious that the area can support many times its present population if all the available tillable land is brought under the plough. The problem is one of inadequate agricultural labour—an agrarian Asian population that would settle down and work the land. As Lord Milverton pointed out recently: 'The great and final problem for all British Borneo is labour.' They need agricultural labour to help populate and develop the empty spaces of Borneo. Hence their present request for Indian settlers.

A century of experience of Indian emigration to various parts of the world has taught us valuable lessons. Indian settlers have, on the whole, fared well economically in California (U.S.A.), British Columbia (Canada), the Fiji Islands (Pacific), Trinidad (British West Indies) and British and Dutch Guianas in Latin America. There have been certain political and social disabilities but they have been largely overcome with the advent of our political freedom and a gradual understanding of our culture and living patterns on the part of the receiving countries. On the other hand, we have the distressing situation in South Africa, East Africa and other regions of Africa, where intense racism and economic discrimination have reduced the Indian settlers to a very sad plight. There are also countries nearer home, Ceylon and Burma, where newly won political freedom and extreme nationalism have led to discrimination against our countrymen.

A retrospective survey of Indians Overseas reveals that many painful mistakes were made by the sending

and receiving countries and by the settlers themselves largely out of ignorance. To-day, there is no need to repeat those mistakes. If our Government should insist on the fulfilment of certain basic conditions, such as the following, before they permit our nationals to emigrate to Borneo (or for that matter, to any other area in the world) Indian settlers will be able to build up happy communities and do a worthwhile job in the opening up of virgin territories in tropical and sub-tropical regions. In doing so, they will not only help to develop Borneo but will also better themselves economically, apart from contributing a little to the solution of our population problem."

We are in full accord with the views expressed in the last two paragraphs of the quotation.

Goa

The report on Goa published in the *Nagpur Hitavada*, repeats the same story of discrimination. The writer, Duston Rodrigues, with his Portuguese name, has an Indian heart throbbing in response to Indian sentiments and aspirations.

"The Portuguese 'empire' of 1312 square miles is a territorial pinpoint in the subcontinent of the Indian Union. Goa comprises a coastal strip of territory 63 miles in length and about 20 to 25 miles in depth.

What kind of economic resources could be located in this territory even assuming that it is rich in mineral wealth? The Portuguese impose heavy duties on Indian imports because that it is the only substantial source of revenue. But the Goan people are prevented from having the full benefit of Indian trade, production and other advantages of an integrated economy.

Goa has become a terminus of smuggling and black-marketing. Indian goods sent to Goa are traded with the Arabs, who transport them to the Middle Eastern countries. Gold is imported into Goa for smuggling into India. The Government has introduced a licensing system under which the smuggling operations bring large profits to the Portuguese. The Arabs' undeclared gold is sold illegally and cheaper. This too finds its way into India and the smugglers and their agents, flourish on this trade.

Recently the Governor-General of Goa issued import permits for 1,000 kilos of gold valued at Rs. 80 lakhs. This is brought to Goa by the Arab traders in their 'dhows' for two-way carrying and smuggling traffic. The Portuguese Government has permitted the import of bullion on the condition that the merchants should deposit the cost of the gold in the official monopoly bank, the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank), which issues currency without gold backing and keeps deposits without paying interest. These deposits must be made in dollars.

The cost of the gold in dollars works out at Rs. 160 lakhs. It must be remembered that good

dollars, earned by the mining industry, have been developed recently in Goa, mainly by Indian enterprise. The Government through its levy retains a percentage of the dollars earned by manganese exports to the dollar areas, including Japan. The Portuguese require foreign exchange to finance imports of essential commodities like cereals for feeding the population. The Portuguese evidently think nothing of gambling away their foreign exchange in profitable speculation, as the bullion operations for re-export are illegal under the Indian law.

The irony of the situation is that the Salazarist Press has been demanding the mining operations should be 'nationalised' and the Indians ousted. As a matter of fact, it is mainly Indian capital, technical skill and even labour to some extent that have brought prosperity to the owners of the mines.

A Japanese purchasing mission recently negotiated a contract with a Goan firm for exports of 500,000 tons of iron ore a year. But it is doubtful whether the deal can be put through successfully for the simple reason that transport facilities in Goa are far from satisfactory. There is also no grading of the ore, and the mining industry has not been organised to handle large orders.

Many nationalist Goans have expressed their concern over the uncontrolled draining of Goan resources through exports of this type. There are also strategic considerations from the Indian viewpoint. Naturally the Portuguese are not worried, they are concerned with grabbing quick profits in a desperate bid to maintain their foothold in Goa.

No comparison could be drawn between the Portuguese individual organisation and Indian. The former are not only primitive but are actually anarchistic. There are no mining laws and regulations or effective inspection. There are no regulations for safety of human life in what is universally regarded as hazardous work.

The Goan people remain dumb because of the Press censorship, police thought-control and terror and other acts of the foreign dictatorship. Our great country is marching towards progress, and Goans are being condemned to a life of stagnation and socio-economic backwardness while their white masters literally live off their sweat."

There are similar plague spots elsewhere under foreign domination. It is about time active measures were set on foot to sterilize them. Perhaps that will happen when we get a truly national government, that will give priority to the interests of the people and rant less about *ahimsa*.

South Africa

Sri Manilal Gandhi undertook a fast which he broke on March 28 last. It was inspired by the Govern-

ment policy of segregating all people who happen to have black, brown and yellow colour of their skin. The Supreme Court of South Africa had held this policy, given shape to in the Separate Representation of Voters Act, as invalid. And the Prime Minister, Dr. Daniel Malan, announced in Parliament on March 21, last that he would propose resolutions which would have the effect of depriving Courts of their right to test the validity of laws passed in the Parliament.

"The Government passed the Act through the two Houses of Parliament separately and by a simple majority. This ignored the provision of the 'Entrenched Clauses' of the South Africa Act (Constitution) that legislation disqualifying voters on grounds of race or colour must be passed by two-thirds majority vote of both Houses sitting together.

"The Government maintained the entrenched clauses could be ignored because the Statute of Westminster has made South African Parliament sovereign.

"It quoted in support of this argument a judgement of the Full Bench of the Appellate Division in 1937 presided over by the then Chief Justice Mr. James Strachan that the Parliament could adopt any procedure it thought fit and the 'procedure of Parliament like everything else is at the mercy of Parliament'."

Parliaments change their spirit and practice with the change of parties. So, a simple majority vote cannot permanently bind the citizens. This is their hope. But the White domination in South Africa, about 300 years old, has not changed, because the White "masters" pretend to believe that their scriptures are in favour of racial and colour discrimination.

India's Food Problem

The *Bombay Chronicle* in its April 18 issue had the following editorial:

"The news that the Central Food Research Institute at Mysore has perfected a process of making synthetic rice leaves us somewhat cold. We live in a synthetic age. Very recently scientists have been forecasting the possibility of building a synthetic moon and now there is a report about the possibility of making Man to order. In the context of these achievements, the mere processing of groundnuts and tapioca mixed in the right proportion into a new product which looks like rice and can be cooked like rice is nothing to shout about. Considering the question even more seriously as a contribution to our food problem it does not seem to us of any greater significance than the invention of a new dish. The basic problem in India is to increase our food resources. Tapioca, which is a food, is being now consumed in one form or another. Lots of delicious dishes are made out of it as it is. So too with groundnuts. No part of the ground-

nut crop now produced is being wasted. Therefore, the production of synthetic rice is not a process of producing wealth from waste, but of the mere conversion of food from one form into another. We need not necessarily object to this, even if it means nothing more than providing a better market for groundnuts and tapioca and useful employment for some people. But a note of caution should be sounded that none of these achievements should distract attention from the basic problem—the problem of increasing the total food output of the country."

On the same date appeared a news sent out from Kabul on April 16 that Afghanistan will be able to export wheat to India and other countries as a result of successful tapping of its water resources. One of the 115 American experts engaged in South-West Afghanistan gave this information to a P. T. I. correspondent.

"The projects are: The Arghandab Dam, the Kajakai Dam and the Boghra Irrigation Project.

The Arghandab Dam is in the final stage of completion and water is being stored behind the huge earth-filled structure which is about 50 metres high and has a storage capacity of nearly one and a half million acre feet of water. A power house is provided in the plan for generating 85,000 kilowatt of current.

Plans are under way to expand dairy farming and animal husbandry. Afghanistan, already self-sufficient in wheat (except in drought years), should so soon have a considerable surplus.

The Kajakai Dam on the Helmand River, about 100 miles west of Kandahar has been under construction for the past 18 months and is expected to be completed early in 1953. This giant earth-filled storage dam would be about 100 metres high and would have a reservoir capacity of three and a half million acre feet. This would provide enough water to irrigate five hundred thousand acres of land in the Helmand valley. It would develop a hydro-electric project capable of generating 120,000 kilowatt of energy for industries that might be established in that area.

The Boghra Irrigation Project, located near the town of Girishik, is a project comprising approximately 90,000 acres of arid land and 60,000 acres of previously irrigated lands."

Our innumerable major and minor projects in this line have shown results. But these do not keep pace with our ever-growing demands.

Famine

This dread word has begun to appear in the press, and in private talks. Madras, Uttar Pradesh areas, West Bengal's 24-Parganas are reported to be in its grip.

Famine is almost an endemic phenomenon in India, China and other Asian countries. The old arrangements for irrigation have broken down. But there are hopeful

signs of attaining a balance between food and population. The Indian Government's plans, and help from outside raise or revive these hopes. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation of the United States, the Nuffield Foundation of Great Britain have come forward to help. As the following news shows:

"The trustees of the Ford Foundation have approved a grant of 18,73,485 dollars to the Government of India to cover the current expenses of organising and operating 25 additional centres for training staff required for carrying on the work in the projected Indo-American community development programme, the Foundation announced:

"The Foundation grant will cover the entire recurring non-capital cost of these centres for the first two years, half the third year and one-third the third year and the fourth year. The Government of India will share in the cost of operating these training centres in the third and fourth years and will assume full financial responsibility for them from the fifth year. The capital cost required to establish these training facilities will be met from the Indo-American fund.

"This is the second major grant from the Ford Foundation to aid the Government of India in its 'grow more food' drive. The first 1,000,000 dollars to assist in organising 15 village development projects and setting up five training centres was announced in December 1951."

Indian Communism at Work

This variety of politico-economic theory has become synonymous with opportunism, and an eagerness to exploit conditions of scarcity for its own purposes. In their election manifesto, the Indian Communists put particular emphasis on the partition of India as a crime for which Congress leaders were sought to be held up to contempt. But public memory is not as short as that, and most of us remember the crusader's zeal with which our Communists had espoused the cause of Pakistan in the name of "self-determination." The same opportunism characterizes their food tactics. They are for State control of food crops as a basic policy of theirs; at the same time they excite peasants to resist such requisition as has been done at Telengana, Rayalseema, Diamond Harbour and Midnapore. In the 27th April issue of their Bengali-language daily—*Swadhinata*—they make a great feature of Dhaneshkhali heading towards the conditions at Rayalseema; it seemed that the writer gloated over the worsening food situation in the 24-Parganas District, the sub-metropolitan district of West Bengal. These tactics may mislead for a while some people, but most of us come to realize, sooner than anticipated, that these are demagogues who can only work for disruption.

Acharya Vinoba's discourse on "Equality and

Communism" as quoted in the *Harijan* of April 19, is very illuminating in the above context. He said:

"*Samya-yoga* (practice of equality) takes its stand on the inner unity of man. It recognizes the great principle that all Life is one. And on the foundation of that spiritual unity, it seeks to build an equitable order in which everything will have its right place. The creation of the Lord is full of the manifold splendour of diversity. In any order which we may create for the welfare of man, we cannot and need not destroy this diversity. *Samya-yoga* is opposed to inequalities; it is not opposed to right discrimination. A mother loves all her children equally; nevertheless, she feeds her weaker darling on milk, which she may not give to others. This is an instance of wise discrimination. The cow lives on fodder and man on grain. A *Samya-yogi* (practiser of equality) cannot ignore this difference, and will therefore discriminate between the two in feeding them. And because *Samya-yoga* makes use of the light of discrimination, it provides scope for development to every individual. *Samya-yoga* bases itself on inner unity and armed with discrimination it seeks to build on that secure foundation a justly balanced order. *Samya-vada* (communism) on the other hand, is blissfully ignorant of the Spirit, which it denies. And because Spirit alone can base the equality we want to create, communism is an institution with no base. It seeks to impose equality from without, an equality which is wholly artificial. It does not provide scope for the development of the personality of every individual. And because it aims at an artificial equality imposed from without, it is led to employ violent means. Thus the two orders, though both seek equality are as apart from each other, as heaven and earth."

Sarvodaya Sammelan

The three-day Sarvodaya Sammelan concluded its sittings on April 15 last. It held its session at Sevapuri, 20 miles distant from Banaras. And it is reported to have pledged itself to collect donations of 25 lakhs acres of land all over India within the next two years for Acharya Vinoba's "Bhoodan Yagna."

The conference was attended by over 2,000 constructive workers, including a large number of women. It devoted most of the time to discussing questions relating to the "Bhoodana Yagna" movement.

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Chief Minister of U. P., addressing the concluding session this evening, expressed his gratefulness to Acharya Vinoba Bhawe for creating a wave of moral consciousness among the people by launching his "Bhoodan Yagna" in this State.

Shree Hare Krushna Mahatab, Minister for Commerce and Industries, also addressed the conference saying that it was not possible for any Government

to carry out any social reform only by legislation, unless a proper atmosphere was created by popular opinion.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, General Secretary of the Congress, said that Shree Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President and himself were keenly interested in the success of "Bhoodan Yagna."

We expect the best of results from this movement. It revives the hopes that Gandhiji had roused. And it is Acharya Vinoba Bhave alone, who appears to represent the Gandhi technique in this unbelieving age when even Gandhiji's great followers have succumbed to temptation and departed from his teachings.

The Basis of Socialism

In connection with the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, the following remarks of Acharya Vinoba are extremely illuminating. They are taken from the *Harijan* of April 19:

"Dr. Lohia says that *Bhoodan-yajna* will take 300 years to achieve its object. I had calculated that at the present pace it will take 500 years, if I had to do it alone. When Dr. Lohia says that it will take 300 years, I take it that he is going to help me fully in my mission, and reduce the period by 200 years at least. We must have faith in human goodness. That is the basis of service.

"Socialism is based on the postulate that the society is essentially good. If you believe in the essential goodness of society, you must agree to what I say. It is like the *kalp-vriksha*, the heavenly tree which fulfils all desires.

"It has been alleged by the Socialists that I do not want legislation. The allegation is misconceived. I do want legislation but preparatory to that, I first want to create the right atmosphere without which legislation cannot bear fruit.

"I do not deny that one can serve his people even through the power of office. I have often said so, but I add that power, as a means of revolutionary service, is useless. I therefore want all of them, those who have won the elections as also those who have lost them, to take to service. Both of them accept the view that they cannot win power without service, and that they cannot serve without power. But the latter half of this belief is a dangerous delusion. They begin by saying: power for service, go on to—service for power, and eventually end by installing 'power' as the chief deity on the altar of worship, though they continue to pay lip homage to service. They have to do this because, unfortunately for them, without service they cannot ascend to power. Thus real disinterested service becomes impossible and parties tend to accuse one another of greed for power and cease to co-operate even for those things on which there is common agreement. I therefore appeal to you to take to service without any thought of power.

"The poor are looking expectantly to us for help. They are looking to all parties. I therefore invite you all to come and help me so that what I would be able to achieve in 500 years, if I had to work alone, and in 300 years with the co-operation of Dr. Lohia, and in 100 years with help of the Congress, may be accomplished in the short span of five years with joint efforts of us all."

This patient and dignified statement of Acharya Vinoba throws in full contrast the light-headed impatience of the much younger man. When will Dr. Lohia realize the terrible damage he is doing to his party through his indiscreet remarks?

Maktaba Jamia

On more than one occasion we had an opportunity to call attention to the great work being done by this institution. The Jamia Nagar neighbourhood is a centre of that composite culture that Akbar strove to build up. The head of the institution was till the other day Prof. Zakir Hussain, Gandhiji's fellow-worker in giving shape to Basic Education. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that we make room for the following. Shree Justin Mahendra Sharma writing on behalf of the Managing Director for the Book Club says:

"Maktaba Jamia Ltd. is the publication branch of the Jamia Millia Islamia which must be well-known to you as a national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi, M. Mohammad Ali, H. Ajmal Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; and nurtured by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

"The Maktaba has so far published about 800 books in Urdu and Hindi. During the upheaval of 1947 almost all our stocks were destroyed, and we had to start all over again.

"Now we have before us a scheme to translate some of the best novels, short-stories and plays from various foreign and Indian languages into Hindi and Urdu. This year we have so far selected the following books to be translated: 1. *Portrait of Marriage* (P. Buck); 2. *Fathers and Sons* (Turgenev); 3. *Moon is Down* (Steinbeck); 4. *The Moving Force* 5. *Time Plays* (Priestley); 6. *Rebecca* (du Maurier); 7. *Eternal Husband* (Dostoevsky). Besides these books we intend to select one Bengali, one Gujarati, one Malayali and one Tamil book also, and a story from each of these languages.

"To popularise our scheme we have started a Book Club, and for an annual subscription of Rs. 10/- a member is supplied books covering about 1500 pages and worth about Rs. 15/-.

"We should welcome any suggestions from you in this connection which in your opinion would help us in our undertaking."

The only suggestion that we can make is that this club should establish correspondent members in all the provinces, and that through them it should

attempt to publish, once or twice a year, a book of New Writings, taken from all the major languages.

Shree Brajendranath Banerji

By awarding the Rabindra Memorial Prize of Rs. 5,000 to Shree Brajendranath Banerji, the West Bengal Government has done the proper thing. The school of history developed by Acharya Jadunath Sarkar is in its third generation. Brajendranath belongs to the second; he has followed the master in his careful devotion to details in original sources, and has brought out evidences of Bengal's recent past. His *Sambad-patre Sekaler Katha* has opened a new vein in historical research.

Peary Lal Banerji

This Bengali lawyer of Allahabad was Advocate-General of Uttar Pradesh. He died on March 22nd last of heart failure. Popularly known as "P.L.," he upheld the traditions of inter-provincial and inter-cultural understanding that prominent Bengalis had built up in India. Their names are too numerous to be mentioned. Peary Lal was an upholder of that tradition. May his soul rest in peace.

Stafford Cripps

The following news from Zurich (Switzerland) dated April 21 announced the death of Stafford Cripps, one of the most consistent of the supporters of the "Welfare State." He was only 63 years:

"His death was announced in a statement issued by Lady Cripps, who was at her husband's bedside until the last. A few minutes after 23 hours, Stafford Cripps had passed away peacefully."

"For more than two years he had fought courageously for life against constant pain and suffering. The end was a triumph of death over a weak body and never over the great spirit which filled it."

"Sir Stafford Cripps will be remembered in India for the Cripps Mission to India in 1942 and as the Joint Author of the Cabinet Mission plan of 1946. Cripps landed in India in summer of 1942 while the Japanese were still knocking on the doors of India. But the hurried triangular conferences in New Delhi between Cripps and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow on one hand, the Congress leaders on the other and the Muslim League leaders on the third, broke down."

"The Cabinet Mission of 1946 of which Cripps was a prominent member came to India in a more propitious atmosphere. The mission's final plan was drawn up by Cripps, Lord Alexander and Lord Pethick-Lawrence and formed the basis of transfer of power."

"Born on April 24, 1889, Stafford Cripps was educated at Winchester, the famous English public school. He won a science scholarship to Oxford University but his papers were so exceptional that they were sent to Sir William Ramsay, the great chemist of London University, who called him to work as an experimentalist in the University's laboratory."

"This scientific training was to stand him in good

stead when he was appointed Assistant Superintendent in a Government explosives factory during the 1914-18 war. Soon he abandoned science for law and followed the footsteps of his father, Lord Parmoor. It was his father's transition from conservatism to a vague Christian socialism which started Sir Stafford's own political evolution.

"In 1930, he became Solicitor-General for Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour Government."

"The so-called 'revolutionary' stage of his career followed the fall of this Government in 1931 for, Stafford Cripps then became the champion and later the Chairman of the Socialist League."

"Sir Stafford was knighted in 1930, became the 'bad boy' of the Labour Party. His conflict with Labour Party leaders grew until, in 1939, he was expelled for his continued agitation for a 'popular front' including Communists. He was not readmitted to the Labour Party until 1945."

"When the second World War came, Sir Stafford retired from the bar and put his services at the Government's disposal. His most important job of that period came in April 1940, when Mr. Winston Churchill sent him as special Ambassador to Moscow while the Nazi-Soviet Pact was still strongly in force."

"Afterwards Cripps was successively Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the War Cabinet and Minister of Aircraft Production. In 1945, Prime Minister Clement Attlee appointed him President of the Board of Trade."

"In 1947, he was made Minister for Economic Affairs with the task of co-ordinating Britain's efforts for recovery and finally became Chancellor of Exchequer on the resignation of Mr. Hugh Dalton. The weight of his burden began to tell upon his health."

"In 1949 and 1950, he went several times to Switzerland for treatment and had to take complete rest. Finally in October 1950 his resignation from Chancellorship was announced and in November Cripps returned to the Zurich clinic where he was put in plaster to rest his back. In January, 1951, he was transferred to Leysin clinic."

"In May, 1951, he retired to the Bircher Benner Clinic where he improved. In September, his doctors stated he was completely cured and the following month he returned to England with Lady Cripps after a year's absence. Cripps went on resting at his country home at Stroud, Gloucestershire, until it was announced early this year that he had flown to Switzerland in an ambulance for a check-up."

"Early this month (April) Lady Cripps said no more bulletins would be issued for some time since in the circumstances they would serve no useful purpose."

His career had been brilliant as Board of Trade President, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His "austerity" measures have stood the test of time, not even Churchill being able to change or modify these.

HOW CAN WE DEFEND FREE CULTURE?

By DR. F. S. C. NORTHROP,

Sterling Professor of Philosophy and Law, Yale Law School

IN considering this question, it is necessary first to determine what other people think about it. Our nearness to Europe and the historical derivation of so much of our culture from Europe leaves us reasonably well acquainted with the European attitude. But what is the attitude of Asia?

Under the term Asia we shall include not merely the Far East, but also Islam. There are, to be sure, differences between nations in this vast area. For our present purposes a consideration of the identities will be sufficient.

Most Asian nations are recovering from rule by Western powers. The resentment of the West which this has engendered still persists. Asians feel that not merely their European rulers but also the United States have used Asian economic resources to feed the industrial machines of the West without regard for the best interests of Asia. They believe also that in this process Western values, ways and institutions quite foreign often to those of their own indigenous culture were imposed upon them. Western codified law, missionary and educational institutions and the necessity of mastering Western languages are examples.

Moreover, Westerners justified their presence on Asian soil usually in two ways. Either they were protecting Asians from worse rulers or aggressors or they were bringing to Asia a superior culture and "know how." To Asians, these explanations merely added insult to injury; they amounted to the assertion that the native people were inferior both physically and culturally.

This background must be kept in mind if we are to understand our recent failures to win Asian co-operation for the defence of the free world and if we are to learn how to avoid these failures. The failures show in two ways. First, there is the neutral and even negative official reaction of India and many other Asian peoples to the presence of American troops in Korea even when their presence there is an officially ordered police action of the United Nations. Second, there is the same neutrality and even criticism of American efforts exhibited unofficially by Asian scholars at the Pacific Relations Conference at Lucknow in 1950 and at the Conference for Cultural Freedom at Bombay in 1951.

These negative reactions become in part at least understandable when one notes that both the U. N. police action and the scholars' conferences had two emphases. One emphasis was upon the imperialistic,

dictatorial nature of Communism and the necessity of a policy of military containment including the securing of American air force bases throughout Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Asia in order to protect Asians and ourselves against this Communist threat. The other emphasis was upon the superiority of the American way of life and the contribution of American "know-how," as implemented by what some Senators have termed "a hard-hitting Voice of America and Information Service." The anti-Communist approach of the military police action and the professors' conference tend to impress Asians as illustrating what they term American hysteria with respect to Communism and another instance of the traditional Westerners' practice of having reasons convincing to himself for stationing Western troops on Asian soil. The cultural and economic program with its stress on the American way of life and "know-how" tends similarly to strike Asians as another instance of the Westerners' assumption of cultural superiority.

The crucial question now arises: Can anything be done to correct this situation? If our previous methods of enlisting others in the joint enterprise of protecting the free world have backfired in this manner, what other methods can we pursue which have a chance of succeeding?

It has become popular recently to suggest increased economic aid as the sole answer. That this aid is necessary, the annual famines of India and many other countries make evident. That it is wise to give it, if Communism with its claims of economic well-being is to be countered with something constructive, is obvious. But what guarantee is there that this increased economic aid will not be taken as but another instance of Western economic imperialism and of the Westerners' sense of superiority to be used as an entering wedge for imposing an economic and political imperialism?

If nothing else but the economic aid is provided, there is no such guarantee. In fact, the chances are likely that even if our economic program succeeds, we will accomplish little more than turn over to the Communists a more economically efficient Asia rather than the present, famine-ridden, more poverty-stricken one.

Why such a pessimistic conclusion concerning the effectiveness of intensified economic aid alone? The answer to this question becomes evident if one asks another question: Have the Russian Communists, who

won China and the five per cent of the Indian population who voted Communist in the recent Indian election, been taxing the Russian people in order to pour economic aid into China or India? It is hardly necessary to add that the answer is No. The Russians have drawn man-power and food from China, instead of giving aid. The best that Moscow and Peking have done in India is to promise an occasional 50,000 bushels of wheat or rice which have never arrived. The Communists have achieved their present success in China and South Asia partly by picturing an Asian economic utopia, but mainly by winning the minds and deeds of young Chinese, Indian and other Asians to the Marxist-Communist ideology. Instead of spending countless sums of money to send in military equipment, armies or economic aid and thereby running the risk of suggesting to Asians, as other Westerners have done, that they are imperialists, the Russian Communists have exported ideas. By winning local native Asian leaders to the Communist political and economic philosophy, the Soviet Union has placed itself in the enviable position of sitting comfortably and peacefully at home, not guilty of dispatching its army even under the United Nations into Asian territory, while the native Asian leaders do the Communist fighting for them, always in the name of throwing out the American and other Western "imperialists" now so patently on Asian soil. With the native Asian leaders thus converted to Communism, the Communist Asians finance Asia's program of economic reconstruction themselves. Russian military and economic aid comes in only very sparingly afterward as in North Korea if at all. These considerations make it clear that it will do little good to introduce even prodigious economic aid into non-Communist Asia in the quantity necessary to lift the Asian masses out of their present poverty if, during this process, we allow the Communists to continue their present program of capturing the leadership of the Asian masses with the Marxist-Stalin-Mao ideology.

Consider also the Asians themselves. Are they likely to use the increased economic aid with the care necessary to make it effective if the aforementioned suspicion of our motives continues? The introduction of Western aid, advice and ways into an Asian culture is difficult under the best of circumstances. Our aid to Chiang Kai-shek's regime, which ended up all too often in the hands of the Communists with huge private profits in the pockets of the Generalissimo's friends, is a powerful reminder. How much greater will the likelihood of failure be if the present masses of Asians do not regard us as trustworthy fellow free men?

The crucial question, therefore, must be faced: What is necessary to create the sense of mutual trust without which no joint United Nations' action to deter, or police, aggression and no program of economic aid can be effective? To answer this question it is

necessary to shift our attention from what the Asians think about us to what they think about themselves.

It has been the fashion recently to describe Asians as intensely nationalistic. The spirit of nationalism has set India and the rest of the non-European world aflame, we are told. So far as the Westernized leaders and the many Asian students with a superficial smattering of Western learning are concerned, this is true, or at least this is the way in which most of them like to think of themselves. It is also an effective argument for them to use with Westerners.

But how far down into the Asian masses does this spirit of nationalism descend? Merely to ask this question is to realize that it cannot go very deep. For nationalism, as we understand it, is the creation of the Protestant Reformation and the liberal political thought of the modern West. Above all this the masses of Asians know next to nothing.

In a recent article in the magazine section of *The New York Times*, Philip Toynbee, writing from Iran in the midst of the oil dispute, noted that one completely misunderstands what is happening there if one regards it as the rise of nationalism in the Westerners' meaning of this word. Instead, he noted, one must look to the indigenous Islamic culture for an understanding of what current events mean to the masses. They are aware of the departure or decline of Western imperialism. To them this means not the arrival of modern Western liberal democratic nationalism, but the departure of barbarism and the resurgence of Islamic civilization.

Let us shift the scene from Teheran to Peking. The occasion is the arrival of President Mao's Communist armies as they take over North China. A British anthropologist who was present informs me that the marching Communist troops were watched by fascinated crowds of tens upon tens of thousands of Chinese. Their fascination arose from the fact that the Communist troops were singing old Chinese folk-songs. Thereby, the Communists were giving the Chinese the feeling that in rejecting Chiang Kai-shek, with his American political associations and forms, they were throwing off something that was foreign and artificial and returning to their own selves and the vital rebirth of their own indigenous cultural traditions. In similar fashion throughout the Islamic world from North Africa, through the Middle East, Pakistan, Indonesia to the Philippines and throughout the Buddhist, Hindu and Confucian world of Indo-China, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, and India, the Communists have kept alive the native Asians' image of America, Britain, France and Holland as imperialists and through native leaders have identified themselves with the resurgence of the indigenous cultural traditions. Only a few days ago *The New York Times* carried a dispatch from Karachi, Pakistan, dated March 20, 1952, reporting that Burmese Buddhists on the border of East Pakistan "have turned Communist"

and attacked Burmese Muslims driving them over the border into East Pakistan. So great is the appeal of the native culture, even when allied with Communism, upon the rank and file, that when the Burmese government sent its army to put down the disturbance, "instead of fighting the Buddhists the army troops sold their guns to them and walked off back home." Truly, it is not nationalism but the resurgence of indigenous culturalism that is sweeping the world.

The secret of the Communists' success is that the Russians are aware of this development and have allied themselves with it everywhere. The key to our aforementioned failure is that we are still operating within, and from, the standpoint of the provincialism of a Westerners' world. The Communists have been winning leaders in Asia and influencing the masses in the Islamic world every day because they have given them the impression that Communism is on the side of the revival of the indigenous culture. We, conversely, have been losing all too often because our approach has been that merely of attacking Communism or of suggesting that co-operation with us entails recognizing the superiority of our particular way of life. These approaches have little appeal in Asia since the masses of Asians know neither what Communism is nor what our way of life means. But an appeal to their folk-songs, symbols, sagas, values and century-old ways of life, these things, the masses of Asians do understand. Moreover, as Gandhi demonstrated for India and Iqbal and Jinnah showed for Pakistan, to such an appeal they respond by the hundreds upon hundreds of millions.

We know, to be sure, that the final aim of the Communists is the complete antithesis of the preservation of the native culture. No Western ideology or way of life is so completely antithetical to Asian values, traditions and habits as is Communism. This makes their approach all the more significant for our problem.

Suppose that we identified ourselves with this resurgence of Islam and of Confucian, Taoist, Hindu and Buddhist Asia, not hypocritically and merely in the initial stage of contact as do the Communists, but sincerely and always as a matter of permanent principle. Suppose that we not merely urge the Asians to preserve their particular cultural values and traditions for mankind but emphasize in addition that we value and prize them. Suppose also that we point out the danger to them of copying our ways or those of any one else. And let no one make any mistake on this point. The danger of importing ways from the Western world, whether they be American or Russian, is real. The danger is that the Asians become alienated from their own culture, thereby ceasing to be themselves while at the same time not becoming thoroughly grounded in the scientific, philosophical, religious and other cultural roots of the West necessary to under-

stand it and apply it effectively. The result then is a falling between two stools. The people become so superficially Eastern and so superficially Western that they are nothing.

To put the matter even more concretely, suppose that there came from the official statesmen of the United States' official pronouncements backing the revival of Islam, of Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian Asia coupled with the affirmation of the wisdom of the Asian peoples building their political institutions in the light of their own revitalized cultural traditions and values.

Consider what would happen were this done. Instantly the Asians' image of us as a people continuously suggesting the inferiority of his particular culture would be broken. Broken also would be their conception of us as a people putting forward reasons convincing from our cultural standpoint for placing our troops on Asian soil. In short, would we not have the solution of our problem? Is not the key to the protecting of the free world the revival of Asian, Continental European, African and Latin American values, not the attack upon Communism or the high-pressure selling of our own values?

Such a resurgence can do more than set the masses of Asians aflame. Were the Chinese today to recall their own great Confucian culture, they would become acutely aware of its basic doctrine of filial piety. The incompatibility of this with Communism, which replaces not merely family loyalty but every phase of one's personal life with a 19th Century made-in-Germany Marxist loyalty to the nation dictated by Mao and spelled out by Lenin and Stalin, would be too patent to need anyone else's commentary. Similarly the more the other Asian people return to their own Hindu, Buddhist or Islamic roots, the more they become aware of the inescapably religious core of their life and institutions. Once this occurs they themselves will know and decide what to do with materialistic, atheistic Communism.

Consider also the likely change in the Asians' attitude toward us. Initially this policy upon our part will give us little advantage relative to the Communists since we will be doing later what they initiated. But very soon the merely short-term character of the Communists' identification with native values will become evident as their longer term aim of completely replacing Asian ways with Marxist Western ones begins to take its toll of one thing after another that the Confucian, the Taoist, the Buddhist, the Hindu and the Muslim cherishes. Then our permanent policy of backing indigenous values as a matter of principle and practice will begin to tell.

At this point may not our Asian good neighbors respond as follows:

"A free America which is big enough to respect my civilization and its values in this way is worthy of my hearty respect. For the protection of this

way of looking at freedom we can be comrades. From such a United States I can accept temporarily economic aid and some of the Western technological, political and philosophical ways and beliefs necessary to make it effective, while at the same time preserving my self-respect. And should we both find it together to be necessary I can even permit the presence of his troops beside mine off our sacred Asian soil without any fear of the loss of our cherished spiritual and cultural values or of my political freedom at his hands. Certainly an America which stands on the permanent principle of encouraging any people to be themselves, to build their institutions in the light of their own native traditions and values and to draw from outside only as they choose after the native plant is vibrant and thriving—such a free people I can trust."

Is not such an Asian image of us the true United

States of America? Is not this our way to the preservation of the free world?

One final caution remains. Pronouncements of principle alone will not suffice. Words must also be matched with deeds. This will present problems to be ironed out with our European colleagues with their lingering imperialistic yearnings. Any other principle of procedure is not likely, however, in the long run to have the support even of the European people. For, imperialism is a defunct policy not merely for Asia and America but also the nature behind the politicians in Europe.*

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LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

ONE of the most tedious of winters has ended unexpectedly in an electrifying atmosphere. Less than a week ago people were going about with stagnant and resigned faces, sick to death of austerity and rising prices and the dreary sameness of the outlook. Now, as a result of the Budget, the whole scene is transformed. Austerity is in the dustbin and progress in the air. Instead of the drastic operation we expected to undergo we have been given a tonic. The steep increase in Income Tax, which seemed inevitable, has not been imposed. Indeed it was difficult to see how it could be increased—rising as it does to 19/6 in the £. On the contrary two million people are exempted altogether and everyone else's taxes are to go down. While those who work over-time will find it taxed at a lower rate. This is typical of the whole Budget which departs from precedent in several directions. Everything is set in a different light, or approached from a new angle, and the general effect is a welcome loosening up.

Did the Chancellor know that his Budget would meet some need in the public mood? It has certainly done so. Indeed I think its chiefest gain will prove to have been psychological. People are intensely interested in it. They feel pleased even when they find it hard to say why. Naturally they are relieved about Income Tax. But they are surprised too at their indifference to the reduction in the food subsidies and the ending of the clothing utility scheme. Of course, it is a help, especially in wartime, to have subsidised food and controlled clothing. But to carry over such aids into peace time, when men and women should be able to

pay their way, is to treat people like poor relations and induce poor relation lethargy.

In former days I have sat through many Budget speeches, bludgeoned with figures and wishing that Chancellors would not take themselves so seriously. Only Mr. Winston Churchill, I think, managed to distill any humour out of the business. But how I wish I had been there to hear Mr. Butler expound this strange and near-romantic Budget and, for a diversion, to watch its reception on either side of the House. Reading the accounts in the newspapers I was reminded of one of the Fool's songs in *King Lear*. 'Then they for sudden joy did weep and I for sorrow sung. . . . For the Opposition—and the Government benches—found they were being treated to a non-Party Budget. Nothing was there for party propaganda. Propaganda, in fact, somersaulted from one side to the other. (On the principle that the only ultimately worthwhile propaganda is that which is concerned with the truth as one sees it?). As a result, no one knew quite what to think or what expression to wear. The Opposition, at first, were full of indignant joy as they heard of the £160 million cut in the food subsidies and anticipated the hardships that would follow (and the resultant votes that would come to them). But clouds appeared as the Chancellor proceeded and it was revealed that the cut would be off-set by increased family allowances and pensions. As the *Spectator* points out:

"There is no avoiding the fact that it is more than balanced by an increase of income tax reliefs amounting to £228 million in a full year, higher

family allowances amounting to £37 million, and considerable increases in pensions. Pensioners and wage- and salary-earners as a class obviously gain more than they are likely to lose, even though the balance of gain and loss as between upper and lower wage-earners is not as equitable as it should be."

To pause for a moment on this last reflection. The Budget has still to be discussed and perhaps these lower wage-earners can still fare better. To achieve this is not only a matter of justice: it is urgent political wisdom. This is the only flaw, so far, that the Opposition can find to settle on and they intend to make the most of it. Indeed, what hopes the Opposition had set on the Budget! It was to be their salvation. Like the Kings of old, who went to war abroad when they could not settle domestic strife at home, Messrs. Attlee, Gaitskell and Morrison were looking to vociferous indignation over the Budget to divert the electorate from the spectacle of Mr. Bevan's successful revolt against their leadership. But Mr. Attlee's reaction to the Budget speech was one of transparent dismay. One was reminded forcibly of Shylock's collapse at the trial in the *Merchant of Venice*. For Mr. Butler's proposal to tax profits, that darling ruse of the Labour Party, was perhaps the unkindest cut of all. As Shylock wanted to go home, so Mr. Attlee wanted to go and get at his slide-rule. . . .

I must leave the Budget now but I feel a great temptation to digress on the Chancellor. It would be an interesting task to sort out the sheep and the goats in his Budget. And then, as regards the goats, to decide whether he in fact saw them for what they are but, like the steward in the parable, concluded that a little opportunism would do him some service. The increased housing subsidies, the petrol tax, the tax on profits—surely these are all goats. As regards housing, when food subsidies are on their way out what logic is there in this increase? It is the opinion of the *Economist* that the housing subsidies are 'even less defensible distortions and even less necessary expenditure.' (My own view is that the increased subsidy is a smoke-screen. The Conservatives, before the General Election, committed themselves to a huge housing programme. But they cannot carry it out because, amongst other things, of the shortage of currency. The housing programme needs timber and there is no money to buy timber abroad). Hardest of all to understand is the petrol tax. This is, in intention, a disinflationary Budget. Yet the price of petrol, which affects everybody and everything that must be moved, is to go up by 7½d a gallon. An inflationary tax if ever there was one! Moreover, it will spread a lot of bitterness. The public feel mulcted already by the recent rise in bus fares. What hope is there now of these fares being reduced? And it is most unfair to the taxi-drivers. Their charges have increased less than any-

body's, but they have risen quite recently. As a result we have been growing accustomed to the sight of the cruising taxi, driving slowly through the streets in search and in hope of a fare. The new tax will be the *coup-de-grace* for many of them. But above all what are we to make of the tax on profits? Here there is a real principle at stake. A tax on profits is the little brother of the capital levy.

Mr. Butler is, on this head, an enigma. The *Spectator*, without enlarging on this intriguing reflection, informs us that 'Mr. Butler always reserves his stoniest stare for profit-earners . . .' (It is a pity that Party loyalty will probably dissuade any successful industrialist from taking on the Chancellor, over the radio, in a debate on this theme). I cannot for the life of me see anything but robbery in a tax on profits merely *qua* profits. Profits should not be taxed, taxes are a matter for human beings. Tax them by all means. But to tax profits—a merely more grandiose way of helping oneself to the till—cannot be a good thing for business. Or for employment . . .

What is behind this stony stare of the Chancellor? Is it, as the *Economist* seems to think, just pandering to the Opposition? They see this tax on profits as merely 'a disingenuous attempt to steal the clothes of the Opposition.'

But the Opposition is no longer interested in mere clothes. It is falling apart into equal halves and the question is: which half will come out on top? On one side there is the old parliamentary guard—Messrs. Attlee, Gaitskell and Morrison—and on the other there is Mr. Bevan and his followers. Last week the two sides engaged in battle for control of Labour policy and Mr. Bevan all but snatched the victory. In a debate on Defence he and about sixty of his followers twice disregarded the Party whip. And in the ensuing inquest, when Mr. Attlee wished to move a censure motion, the Party leadership was again set at naught. Instead of his censure motion a watered down compromise resolution was moved and carried. Even for this resolution the voting was tepid. One hundred and sixty-two votes were cast for it and seventy-three against. (Had the sixty rebels of the Defence debate gained another thirteen sympathisers?)

Perhaps the growing influence of Mr. Bevan is of more import to the country than the Budget or anything else. It certainly looks as if he were prepared to stake everything on a bid for leadership.

"I shall try to convince my colleagues," he said, "that they should take a vigorous part in the struggle against Toryism, so that we can go on together. But if we cannot go on together we shall go on alone."

No sign of a wish to meet his colleagues there. Only a wish to convince them! Several powerful trade union leaders, it is credibly stated, are disgusted with Mr. Bevan's lawlessness and are determined to rid the

movement of him. In particular the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, Mr. Arthur Deakin, has said:

"The trade unions view with considerable alarm the action of those people who are not prepared to abide loyally by the decisions of the party."

But Mr. Bevan is not so easily disposed of. Alas and alack he is in appearance and tactics very much like the race of dictators to which we have become accustomed in this century. And he appeals to the same latent arrogance and caesarism that is very near the surface in all badly adjusted individuals. A most interesting article on this subject appears in the current issue of *Time and Tide*.

"The important thing here," it says, "is that Mr. Bevan's political line more nearly expresses the 'unconscious' of the Party's rank and file than does the line of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison. The Socialist rank and file is blind to economic reality and so regards any attempt by the Government to get the country to live within its means as a malicious and reactionary attack on the Welfare State. The Socialist rank and file has never taken a national view about foreign affairs . . . In the months which have elapsed since the election it is Mr. Bevan who, from the rank-and-file point of view, has been 'delivering the goods.' He is the man who has been 'bashing the—Tories!' and the rank and file want them bashed."

Bevan the basher, in fact, is the rising political portent.

The Trade Union leaders who support Mr. Attlee are the most conservative of men. After years of patient effort in building up their wage negotiating machinery, and their political strength through the Parliamentary Labour Party, they feel nothing but contempt for the policy of bash. To them there is little to choose between Bevanism and Communism. Just as Communists take the law into their own hands and advocate strike action against the Butler cuts, so Bevanites take the law into their own hands and try to by-pass the Parliamentary leadership. But the Trade Union leaders are up against the eternal problem in politics: how can common sense be made to appear uncommonly attractive. (Common sense itself, as someone has remarked, is itself curiously uncommon . . .)

Mr. Bevan, evidently, is out to ramp and rage and roar. In these circumstances it seems that the duty of the Parliamentary Labour Party is plain: they should direct all their energies to defeating this Jolly Roger. The country's interest, their own interests, all point that way. Never mind the Budget. Budgets can be left to their fate. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and before the year is out the electorate will have discovered whether the Budget was good or bad. But before the year is out, if the Labour Party does not keep its head, its leadership may have passed to a man who cares nothing for our European commitments and who lives only to promote and embitter the class war.

The morning after the Bevan revolt the Labour newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, treated him to a lecture in two columns. It opined that 'the Labour Movement as a whole is becoming tired of this minority's egotism.' Mr. Bevan called this a smear campaign. (He is always resentful of the Press—another of the characteristics he shares with Dictators). But is the *Daily Herald* so very certain that 'this minority' is a proper description to give to his party?

Trade Union leaders seem alive to the dangers in the situation. But the Parliamentary leadership is hopelessly at sea. They seem to think that their attacks on the Budget will plaster their wounds. As if the public cared what they think on the subject, compared with their curiosity as to what is being done about Bevanism. The Budget, in any event, is such a mixed grill that it cannot be analysed on Party lines.

On the night following the Budget Mr. Gaitskell was put up to broadcast the Labour view. It was an astonishing performance. I have asked several people what they thought of it and more than one has murmured 'Uriah Heep.' To begin with, it was conceived in that least convincing of all strains, the more in sorrow than in anger strain. And to end with, it very much regretted that the Budget was bound to lead to higher prices and so inevitably to strike action. We all went to bed with that one thought carefully planted in our minds, the thought that we were expected to strike. . . .

Thinking over that speech, and wondering how an ex-Chancellor could ever have made it when he must know as well as anybody just now near a matter of life and death is our present economic plight, I started to review the whole idea of a parliamentary opposition. We have heard so often that it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose. But a rider to that surely is that it is also the duty of an Opposition to be guided by a sense of responsibility. Especially should that be true of the English Parliament in which the Opposition has official recognition and whose leader is paid £2,000 a year.

Nineteen fifty-two, perhaps, will be remembered in England as the year in which we saved the pound. Or the year in which Mr. Bevan split the Labour Party. Or perhaps, in the long run, neither of these things will seem so important. Some people, at any rate, will remember it as the year of the Leonardo Quincentenary Exhibition. Of all the painters in history there is none to equal Leonardo. Not only his work but his life—he would not have admitted any distinction between them—has a perennial fascination. He is acclaimed the most gifted of all human beings. And with reason! As an adjunct to the present Exhibition several lectures are being given in London, each dealing with a different aspect of his genius. The titles include his Treatise on Painting, his research on the Heart and the Blood, on the Structure and Action of

the Human Body, on Architecture, Engineering and Aeronautics. Leonardo took all knowledge to be his province. He is the only man, says the official catalogue, who has attained the first eminence in science and art alike.

This last is a most deeply moving reflection. How fortunate was Leonardo who set out to understand the world he lived in and yet never lost his vision of heavenly beauty. Scientists in our own day tend to be terribly devoid of faith. It is this lack of any hope in their lives which is said to be the reason why so many of them feel drawn to the material elysium of Communism. But Leonardo never ceased to be fascinated by what he could see. And what he saw he re-created.

The Exhibition, which is being held in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy, consists mainly of a number of drawings lent by the Queen from the royal collections at Windsor. There are also several scientific models, made to scale from Leonardo's drawings. And a few paintings, not by Leonardo but based on his designs. (Two of Leonardo's paintings can be seen at the National Gallery. One, *The Virgin of the Rocks*, is always there. Another, a *Portrait of a Woman from the Liechtenstein Collection*, is temporarily on loan).

Some people have expressed disappointment in the Exhibition. The drawings are so small—being studies or preliminary sketches—and in consequence so difficult to see properly in the midst of a great press of people. The ideal thing of course would be to have the galleries limited to about twenty people at a time. (And they are pouring in at the rate of a thousand a day). Still even a cursory look round leaves some unforgettable impressions. I shall always remember a drawing of horses in battle. They seem not merely to fly through the air but to be shouting aloud as they fly. And there is a whole series of studies for the heads of the various Apostles who were to appear in *'The Last Supper'*, Leonardo's most famous painting of all—now alas, according to the experts, a re-painted ruin.

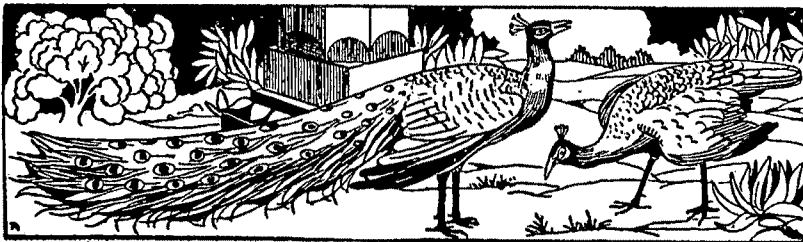
But when the visitor gives up temporarily in despair, tired of elbowing and being elbowed, he can find

much in the catalogue to give him fresh courage to return to the struggle. Leonardo was fascinated by water. He planned to write a book on its nature and movement. And amongst the present drawings is one of an old man and of water and on it is a note—in Leonardo's left-handed mirror writing—in which he comments: 'Observe the movement of the surface of the water, which resembles that of hair . . .' I recalled this note when I went to the National Gallery to look at the portrait which is on loan. The hair round the face has the ripples of water but at the side and towards the back of the head it is as still as a deep pond. (How much 'movement', by the way, is modern hair allowed?)

That note of Leonardo's makes one wish to possess his note-books. No doubt in those pages—there are more than five thousand of them—one would learn to look at the world with something of his vision. (I remember reading somewhere that in another of his notes he points out that the best way to view architecture is to look at it in the rain).

Leonardo is a theme on which the last word will never be said. It is amazing to think that this nonpareil of painters has left only eighteen paintings behind and even of these some are unfinished and some have fallen into decay. Another strange thing is, as some friends and I agreed when we were discussing him the other day, one never thinks of him in terms of colour. With him the concept is everything. Leonardo indeed was an inspired creator. It is said that he was himself bemused by his own compositions. No one has ever painted eyelids as he has done. They are more eloquent than eyes. And, as we stand in front of this portrait in the National Gallery, we may recall that he himself is said to have stood for hours in front of it too—trying to read the meaning of those famous eyelids. . . . 'Why think we of fathers,' cried Rosalind, 'when there is such a man as Orlando in the world'—and why think we of Bevan and Budgets when there is the immortal Leonardo, equally great as scientist or artist, to reassure us that the world is good.

Westminster, London, 16th March, 1952.



NEW RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

WITH the brilliant success of the Congress at the recent general elections in most of the States, a very heavy responsibility has devolved on all Congressmen. Extensive tour of the rural areas during the elections has convinced me that the Indian villager is full of robust commonsense and possesses a keen sense of discipline and patriotism. He is now wide-awake and can no longer be fooled by politicians. He is essentially non-communal and broad-minded and has in him all those basic qualities that make for stable democracy. He has voted for the Congress because he wanted to give another fair chance to the oldest political party with Pandit Nehru as its head. But this is also the last chance that he has liberally conceded. If the Congress does not fulfil his legitimate expectations during the next five years, he will not hesitate to vote against the Congress as decisively as he has voted for it this time.

If the Congress is to do any substantial work for the good of the people during this new phase of life, the first essential consideration is unity and co-operation among various Congress groups in the States. Without such unity no solid constructive work could ever be possible. Fortunately, it has been possible to achieve unity among rival Congress groups in Madhya Pradesh and some other States. It is our earnest hope that this unity would survive all attempts of fostering disunity and misunderstanding. Any attempt to engender fresh conflict among Congressmen would be the greatest sin against Motherland.

But unity is only a means and not the end. The main objective is the establishment of real Swaraj among the masses. Substantial good must be done to the common man without further delay. Time is of the essence. They have waited patiently long enough: to expect them to wait quietly for a longer period would indicate lack of political vision and wisdom. I am sure the new Ministries are fully conscious of this urgency and realise the dangers that lurk ahead. With the menace of Communism starting us in the face, no ministry can afford to be self-complacent and easy-going. Five years is a long period. In fact, we should be able to achieve substantial results within twelve months. And this is quite possible if there is the requisite will to do good to the people quickly.

Before any solid constructive work is at all possible, we have to root out mercilessly all factors that lead to nepotism, favouritism and corruption. My visit to

more than a dozen countries of the world two years ago fully convinced me that people can tolerate many kinds of inevitable hardships that befall a nation, but they cannot and should not tolerate favouritism and corruption in the Government. The fall of Chiang Kai-shek is a stern warning to all of us. Our Ministers and Government servants should not only be honest but should have the reputation of being so; like Caesar's wife they must be above suspicion. If anybody fails to achieve such reputation, he should be weeded out without any leniency.

After setting their own house in order, the Ministries should give very high priority to the reform of the civil service machinery which has become proverbial for inefficiency and corruption. These defects, instead of decreasing have considerably increased with the advent of independence. Even the best of schemes prepared by the new Governments could be easily sabotaged by such a Civil Service. It is, therefore, imperative to overhaul the administrative machinery with a strong hand. In China, the new Republican Government has been able to achieve rapid reforms by "shooting" corrupt officials. In India, we should have no hesitation in summarily prosecuting corrupt Government servants and sending them to jail for life. Shri A. D. Gorwala's report on Public Administration should be carefully studied by the new Congress Governments and the Civil Service and Police administrative machinery must be radically reformed without loss of time.

A popular and democratic Government is ultimately responsible to the people. It is, therefore, essential that the public should be constantly kept in touch with the plans of the Government. It is necessary to evolve a suitable machinery for maintaining living contact with the people so that they may understand the difficulties of the Ministries. If the public is taken into confidence from time to time, the Governments could remain popular even if they are not able to introduce certain reforms for obvious difficulties. Oftentimes the solutions of intricate problems facing the Government could come not from the Secretariat but from the common man.

The basic problem in India is the poverty of the masses. Without improving the economic condition of the people it is impossible to cut much ice in other spheres of national life. The problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment must be faced boldly and realistically. Elementary arithmetic would easily prove that under-employment in the rural

areas cannot be liquidated without a wide-spread scheme of cottage and village industries. The age-old village industries like spinning and weaving, oil pressing, dairy farming, gur-making, carpentry, leather-work and black-smithy should be revived at all costs. This would inevitably mean a blow to the large-scale urban industries; but without administering such a blow it will be impossible to brave the rising tide of Communism.

In order to ameliorate the economic condition of the people in any substantial measure it is necessary to revolutionize public finance. At present our tax structure works in such a manner that the finance raised from the rural areas is spent mostly on the urban areas. This must stop now. In fact, the flow of money should be turned the other way. The villages have suffered long enough; finance should now flow from the cities to the rural population. While framing the next Budget, care should be taken to see to it that taxes raised in the villages are mostly spent for the welfare of the village folk. In Madhya Pradesh and several other States there are thousands of village panchayats already. But they are not in a position to do much constructive work owing to paucity of funds. I suggest that a decent portion of land revenue raised from each village should be handed over to the village panchayat for the improvement of roads, wells and public buildings. Instead of erecting huge Hospitals and Medical Colleges in cities it is desirable to spread a net-work of small medical centres in the countryside. Instead of tarring the city roads it is better to construct semi-metalled roads in the rural areas. During my recent election tours I was very much impressed by the poignant hunger for roads among the village folk. This hunger is legitimate and must be satisfied as early as possible. In short, let the new Ministry avoid doing 'big' things in cities and concentrate on 'small' programmes for the villages.

With the abolition of Zamindari and Malguzari in the States, fresh problems have cropped up in the villages. The powers of the patwari are being misused and the difficulty of fuel and pastures is being keenly experienced by agriculturists. These difficulties should be solved speedily with vision and sympathy. Moreover, there is a natural hunger for land among the landless labour in the countryside. The new Governments should strain every nerve to distribute adequate land to the unemployed as quickly as possible. What has happened in Telangana may happen at any time in other States. It is, therefore, wise to forestall the Communists by trying to redistribute land as evenly as feasible. Acharya Vinoba's mission of Bhoomidan could also be popularized by the new Ministries and a Law to facilitate land transfers should be passed by the Legislatures.

The "Grow More Food" campaign has not so far been a success for obvious reasons. The Department

of Agriculture must be "whipped" into fruitful activity; today it is, unfortunately, the most inactive and, perhaps, inefficient of all the Government departments. Thousands of acres of cultivable waste land is still lying idle; it could be reclaimed without much effort if the State announces that land if not cultivated by the owner within a specified time would be taken over by the Government. Civil servants who send endless circulars about growing more food do not care to grow a single sheaf of corn in their own big compounds that lie barren all the year round. This is, certainly, a mockery of democratic Government. Schemes of compost manuring, bunding village nallas and digging wells for irrigation should be encouraged in place of high-sounding plans for river-valley projects and giant dams. The prices of food crops and other commercial crops like cotton should be fixed in such a way that the cultivators are automatically encouraged to grow more food. Instead of paying low procurement prices to the cultivators it is wiser to sell subsidised ration at the "fair-price" shops in cities. Taccavi loans instead of being paid in cash should be distributed, as far as possible, in kind to avoid the possibility of misuse and dishonesty. Special care should also be taken to grant such loans only to the really needy villagers. The Agriculture Department must be very active and vigilant if all these plans are to be successfully implemented.

Above all, the educational structure that obtains even after the attainment of political freedom has to be radically re-oriented. The system of Basic education placed before the nation by Mahatma Gandhi many years ago must be allowed to become the very foundation of our educational organisation from the primary to the University stage. It is not enough to open a few Basic schools in the States as experimental centres. It is high time the Gandhian scheme is given a fair trial on a mass scale. The Five-Year Plan has also recommended Basic education for adoption by State Governments. So far as our villages are concerned, it is now beyond dispute that the system of Basic education is the best in many respects. For the cities, new basic crafts may be tried by the Education Department. The existing educational institutions are too academic; they are not correlated to the realities of national life. There is hardly any emphasis on character, moral values and discipline. If we desire to change the whole tone of national life on a lasting basis, we have to begin by making primary and secondary education an ideal training ground for citizenship. Colleges, instead of remaining centres of mere "liberal" education, should be evolved into national centres of training for specific "careers." There should be harmonious combination of technical, liberal and scientific education at all stages. Professional education in Medical, Engineering, Law and Commerce Colleges should be properly planned to

suit the actual requirements of respective professions. Social or Adult education is good but only upto a point. Moreover, it should never be forgotten that mere literacy is not social education.

The Indian villages have become proverbially notorious for dirt, filth and squalor. This state of affairs must be remedied in a free India. A countrywide movement for sanitation and cleanliness ought to be launched. This work has already been started in Wardha city and the surrounding villages under the direct guidance of Acharya Vinoba. It is not so much the question of finance as of the will to be clean. The Congress Seva Dal and other Youth Movements could participate in this national endeavour.

As regards health, the allopathic system of medicine is, undoubtedly, too expensive for our villages. The State Governments should try to open small health centres in villages by patronising indigenous systems of medicine. Biochemic and homeopathic medicines could also be tried with profit. Knowledge of the elementary principles of nature cure should also be spread among the village folk.

These are only some suggestions; they are illustrative and not exhaustive. If the new Ministries so desire each point could be elaborated into practical details. The people look to the new Governments with high hopes and expectations and I am confident that the Ministries would not disappoint them.

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STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART A Question and a Suggestion

By MIRA

A question continually haunts me. I have long hesitated to ask it, yet without asking it I can get no peace. It is this:

"How many people in India, even amongst the Gandhian group, really believe in the whole of Bapu's ideals for a free, self-sufficient, happy nation?"

Of course, a counter-question immediately arises — "What do I consider these ideals to be?"

Let me enumerate them according to my belief. I put down in the form of the first basic steps which should be taken if we sincerely want to get on to the True Path.

In the first place the Constitution has to be scrapped, and we have to begin on an entirely new basis as follows:

(1) The whole Government administrative machine to be ruthlessly simplified and reduced.

(2) A new form of elections to be planned culminating in small governing bodies both at the Centre and in re-adjusted States.

(3) Candidates for election to pass through stiff non-party training and tests before being eligible.

(4) Kishans and Mazdoors to be associated with Government in high places.

(5) The Law to be simplified and decentralized in a manner harmonious with the spirit of India.

(6) The Army and Navy to be disbanded and simply a strong Police force to be kept for maintenance of internal order, the officers and men of which to be trained up to a very high standard of morals and honour.

(7) Air Services to be done away with.

(8) Control and reduction of motor traffic, tractors, etc.

(9) Localized (regional) self-sufficiency to be developed to the full, both economically and administratively, and the whole strength of the Nation to be concentrated on agriculture, animal-husbandry, forestry and village industries, which must be fully protected from foreign and internal competition.

(10) Balanced distribution of land and labour.

(11) All Vanaspati, Biscuit and other fancy-food factories to be closed down, and all cloth, sugar, oil, rice and flour-mills to be progressively done away with, a short time being allowed for setting up the village production of these articles. Likewise manufacture of all luxury goods to be strictly curtailed.

(12) All grand buildings connected with Government and Government representatives to be given up, and everyone to live in humble style befitting representatives of India's masses.

(13) Foreign Embassies and Legations to be reduced to a minimum and such as may remain to be run on the simplest possible lines.

(14) All big development projects such as hydro-electric, irrigation, artificial manure and other schemes to be held in abeyance until they have been thoroughly investigated, the opinion of the Kisans of the districts affected being taken fully into account. Where there is not strong opinion in favour of these projects, they should be closed down forthwith, and all efforts should be concentrated on small localized

schemes which can be controlled by the Kisans themselves and which can give immediate results:

(15) All foreign loans to be refunded as soon as possible and future dependence on foreign countries to be avoided.

(16) The present Education System to be scrapped and Basic Education of the Sevagram type to be introduced throughout India. Details regarding higher education can be worked out in due course, but the present Colleges and Schools to be closed down forthwith and students for the time being to be put on to useful development work.

(17) Control of Cinema, Radio, literature and advertising especially with regard to luxury, vice and crime.

(18) Encouragement of healthy art and literature, which will, in fact, grow spontaneously out of the atmosphere created by the above.

This is merely an outline, and as I have said above, of the first fundamentals only. Far away in these vast mountains I have no one to consult but the Himalayan forests and eternal snows (for fundamentals indeed the best advisers), and naturally the points adumbrated here will undergo additions and embellishments when discussed and worked out in consultations with others.

Now for the suggestion—it is this:

Those of us, be we many or ever so few, who have full faith of this kind, should join hands and act—how? By getting into direct contact with the masses, particularly the peasantry, and acquainting them with the whole of this programme. They are really nearer to Bapu than the intellectuals and politicians, and yet what have we done up to now to enlighten them on many of these matters? Take for instance, the question of disbandment of the Army. Have we done anything to educate the mass mind in this direction? Yet this is the very foundation-stone on which any Gandhian Nation has to be built, and it is just because all Gandhian schemes, put forward in these days, side-track this issue, that they have no bottom to them.

I know it is sometimes argued saying, because after the attainment of Independence Congress took to the use of all the orthodox methods of State for dealing with riots, wars and other problems, that Bapu approved of it all. There could be no more cruelly unjust interpretation. Whenever Bapu saw that people had no faith in a particular kind of action, he never tried to force them. During those last tragic days of his life Bapu watched the dropping of his ideals one after another. Not only the Army, but all the paraphernalia of Imperial State were taken over by Congress as if to the manner born. I was with Bapu in Delhi until the latter half of December 1947

and silently witnessed the suffering of his soul. Time and again Bapu used sadly to say: "My word carries no weight in these days." In a silence-note he gave me on some Monday, in answer to a question he wrote:

"These are not the old days. Now there are wheels within wheels. You can do no useful service by seeing these military men except as friendly faces who will give you a warm welcome but nothing more. That is my reaction. The thing is beyond me except in my own way which has no vogue to-day."

We must also remember that, because Bapu did not carry the message of disarmament to the masses, it is no reason for us to hold it back at this hour. We know full well that Bapu never developed theories until they became a possible proposition. Academic questions he never put before the masses. So long as India was under foreign rule disbandment of the Army was not a live question at all, and Bapu concentrated the whole force of the country on the attainment of Independence, leaving these freedom questions to follow in their natural sequence. That being so, does it not amount to a betrayal of Bapu's cause to go on side-tracking this fundamental question any longer? Now is the very moment, both in Indian and World History, when those of us who believe should concentrate with all our strength on the work of enlightening the masses regarding the full-fledged Gandhian ideal, based on disarmament and the rest. If they respond to the idea the Leaders will ultimately bend to the popular demand. Our word has no influence on the Ministers and Government officials to-day, because we are out of touch with the masses on these vital points. The people have been left to the mercy of the professional politicians with their Manifestos, Plans and Programmes, and have been completely confused and misguided by the continual use of Bapu's name for boosting all sorts of different theories. Meanwhile we sit by wringing our hands, because the people at the tops won't listen to us. We must go to the people at the bottom and tell them of the real Bapu, then the people of the tops will begin to prick up their ears.

All this has nothing to do with the General Elections as such. They will go their own way, which certainly won't be Bapu's way. Obviously preparation of the public mind, on such lines as set forth above, cannot be achieved in weeks or months. How long it will take is in God's hands, but He will surely bless our efforts if we whole-heartedly throw ourselves into this sacred task, and the time required may not, after all, be so very great.

If faith can move mountains, how much more can it move the masses.*

* We have received this communication from Srimati Mira Ben, Gopal Ashram, Pilkhi, Tehri Garhwal.—Ed., M.R.

THE STUDY OF THE INDIAN CLASSICS

By JOHN BROUGH, M.A., D.Litt.

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London

It may appear somewhat hazardous at the present day, when the study of the Greek and Latin classics is already in decline, to suggest that there might be a value for the English student in the study of a classical literature even more remote from our own civilization. I shall, in fact, take it as axiomatic that the study of a classical literature and civilization is a worth-while pursuit; and if this is granted, my task is then simply to show that the Sanskrit classics of India need not fear comparison with the established masterpieces of Greece and Rome.

It is now more than 150 years since the West discovered the existence of India's classical language and literature, and since that time Western scholars have assiduously studied them in all their aspects. In India itself, of course, the tradition has throughout remained unbroken. But in Europe hardly anything of this literature has become known outside the very narrow circle of specialists. Many reasons can be suggested for this neglect. Not the least important is a certain exuberance in the Indian imagination which many find distasteful and certain aspects of Indian religion can readily produce a feeling of repugnance in the Western mind. The curious development of theosophy has undoubtedly caused much harm to the reputation of Indian literature and thought. Another important factor has been the infamous minute of Lord Macaulay advising the Government of India that the whole range of Sanskrit literature consisted of puerilities and fairy-tales. It is unnecessary to comment that Macaulay's opinion was not founded upon an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit. It must be admitted that it would not be difficult to collect a large Sanskrit library which would justify Macaulay's strictures; but after all every literature contains dross. There is the further misfortune that Sanskrit has been very badly served by translations into English. With some notable exceptions, the majority of English renderings of the great poets are so outrageous that in comparison the traditional school "cribs" of Latin and Greek authors are elegant and graceful. In addition to these considerations, the chief obstacle in the way of a wider appreciation of Sanskrit literature is the difficulty of the language itself. This is especially so in the case of the great poets, and the unfortunate result is that many who have started the study of Sanskrit, reading perhaps simpler works such as the fables of the *Hitopadesa* or the story of Nala, have stopped there, and not realized that any more valuable literature existed in Sanskrit. Whatever the cause, it is unquestionably a widely held opinion that India has little of value to offer us in literature or philosophy, or at least, nothing remotely comparable to the

contributions in these fields of classical Greece and Rome. Thus, a general History of Philosophy (quoted by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in the Introduction to his *History of Indian Philosophy*) dismisses India from consideration with the contemptuous remark that Indian theories "consist, in the main, of mythological and ethical doctrines, and are not thoroughgoing systems of thought." The only possible comment is that the author of this remark must have been reading Indian mythological and ethical writings in mistake for philosophy. This was written in 1914, but it is to be feared that even at the present day, Europe is little better informed about India.

The study of Classical India in the widest sense would include history, archaeology, art, the history of science and religion; and in all these fields there remains a great deal of new research work waiting to be done. But "from fear of running on endlessly," as the Sanskrit commentators say, I shall confine myself to a few aspects of Indian thought and literature.

One of the most notable intellectual achievements of India was the early development of linguistic study. In the phonetic and morphological analysis of their language the Indians had achieved by the 4th century B.C. results far in advance of anything known in Europe until modern times. It is well known that the Sanskrit grammar of Panini was to a large extent the stimulus which brought into being modern comparative linguistic studies at the beginning of the 19th century. In addition to purely formal analysis of language, the problems of general linguistics and the theory of meaning were discussed with a penetration and insight which still command our admiration. The majority of important problems in these fields were already familiar in the early centuries of the Christian era, and were summed up in masterly fashion in the 7th century A.D. by Bhartrihari in his *Vakyapadiya*. This work, surprisingly modern in its general intellectual outlook, is composed in verse, like the majority of Indian technical treatises; but unlike most of these works, the *Vakyapadiya* is a striking piece of writing, and at times attains the status of memorable poetry, reminding us of the high seriousness of Lucretius. The philosophic maturity of Bhartrihari, however, places his work on a very different level from that of the Roman poet, who is no longer worth reading for his philosophy. It is of interest to find in the *Vakyapadiya* a mention of the famous paradox of the liar—though this of course can hardly be taken as evidence of Greek influence. It is stated and answered in a single couplet: "The proposition 'Everything I say is false' cannot apply to itself, for otherwise the intended meaning is not conveyed." This is virtually the same

answer as the modern statement that a propositional function cannot be its own argument.

Closely related to the theory of meaning is the theory of knowledge and of inference; and here also the Indians made considerable progress in the early centuries of the Christian era. The well-known criticism of J. S. Mill of the Aristotelian syllogism—namely, that the consequence cannot be deduced from the major premise, since the major premise itself cannot be known to be true unless the consequence is already known to be true—would not be applicable to the Indian syllogism. This was normally propounded in five propositions, the major premise being explicitly derived by induction from experience. The development of logic is in fact a good example of the independence of Indian thought. Such an eminent authority as Burnet went so far as to say that of all the peoples in the world, only the Greeks and the Indians seem to have produced philosophies, and that in the case of the Indian there were grounds for believing that their philosophy was ultimately due to Greek influence. It seems to me very doubtful whether such an influence can be legitimately claimed. Such common ground as exists—for example, a theory of classes which with some distortion might be compared with the Platonic theory of ideas, or a conception of substance and form (*dravya* and *akriti*) not unlike the Aristotelian terms seems to have resulted merely from the nature of the material investigated. There is at first sight a curious coincidence in the general term for philosophy in Greek, and *darsana* (literally “seeing”) in Sanskrit. But this is probably illusory. The Greek term primarily denotes investigation, whereas the Sanskrit is derived from the conception of the direct insight of the saint, and is thus perhaps better translated as “doctrine.” This translation must not, of course, be taken to support the common opinion that Indian philosophy consists almost entirely of mysticism and theology. These elements admittedly exist, but it is not by them that India’s achievement in the field of philosophy should be judged. As an instance of the important place which India merits in the history of human thought, I should like merely to draw attention to the fact that as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. a Buddhist school had developed theory of subjective idealism, some sixteen centuries before Bishop Berkeley.

I have already mentioned the theory of meaning in connection with linguistic studies. This theory was later developed and expanded by writers on aesthetics to include poetic meaning. The outstanding work here was the *Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana, in the 9th century A.D. The study of poetics in India is of course very much older than this. But most of the earlier works on the subject are formal studies of rhetoric, minutely analyzing and classifying the figures of sound and sense. Alongside this formal treatment

there developed the theory of *rasa* or poetic emotion, which was in the first place propounded in connection with the aesthetic appreciation of the drama. Anandavardhana saw the essence of poetic meaning in the suggested or implied sense rather than in the literal meaning of the words of the poem. The most important kind of poetic meaning, he maintained, was the suggestion of the poetic emotion, *rasa*, which is clearly something quite different from the actual experience of the corresponding emotion in everyday life. This doctrine of suggestion was severely criticized in succeeding centuries. Kuntaka, for example, denied the existence of the implied sense, and, reviving an older theory, maintained that the essence of poetry was the striking and effective use of unusual, non-everyday language (*valrokti*). In the end the theory of suggestion prevailed, and together with the classification of poetic emotions formed the keystone of almost all the important works on poetics after the 12th century. As I have already said, a fair proportion of the vast literature on poetic theory in Sanskrit is somewhat arid rhetoric. But even when this is discounted, there remains much interesting literary criticism and aesthetic theory at least as well worth reading as Aristotle’s *Poetics* or Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, and in many ways much more sensitive in its approach to poetry than either of these works.

I propose now to give some indication of the scope and general characteristics of the literature of Sanskrit which is worth reading for its own sake. This restriction will, of course, exclude the bulk of the works of the Vedic period, whose interest lies almost entirely in the field of the history of religion—though they also provide invaluable material for the history of the Sanskrit language, and consequently for the comparative study of the Indo-European languages. An exception, however, must be made in the case of the oldest of the Vedic works, the *Rigveda*. In this vast liturgical collection of sacrificial hymns there are many pieces of inspired poetry, intermingled however with much that is derivative and tediously sacerdotal, and also, it must be confessed, much whose meaning is still obscure. Among the more striking hymns are vivid accounts of the battle of the god Indra with the demon Vritra, a myth which has been interpreted by some modern writers as a portrayal of the thunderstorm defeating the drought and releasing the rains. Most attractive, too, are many of the hymns to the goddess of Dawn, *Ushas*, who drives the beasts to pasture and impels all living creatures to action. Greeted by the kindling of the sacrificial fire, she returns day after day, wearing away the life of mortals. The poets picture her with a wealth of imagery as a young maiden clothed in bright garments like a dancing girl, unveiling herself before her lover. Of a more strongly moral character are the hymns to the high god *Varuna*, and some of the best of these are

strongly reminiscent of the penitential Hebrew psalms:

"And I said in my heart: when shall I appear before the presence of God? How shall he leave his anger and delight in my sacrifice? When shall I in gladness behold the merciful God?"

"What was the sin, O Varuna, that I have greatly sinned, that thou so afflictest thy servant who sings thy praises? For thou art blessed and are not deceived. O tell me, that I may in innocence swiftly come before thee in adoration" (R.V. vii. 86).

After the Rigveda there is very little of poetic value until the classical period. Some of the Upanishads, it is true, contain memorable passages, both in prose and in verse; but this is for the most part of the poetry of mysticism, and its literary appeal is thus limited.

The great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which provide the mythological and heroic backcloth for much of the classical literature, are re-acted in the post-Vedic classical language, and it is probable that they did not attain their final shape before about the second century B.C. But there is no reason to doubt that much of their material is considerably older. It is impossible to make any literary judgment on the Mahabharata as a whole, being as it is the work of generations of poets. It contains nevertheless not only vast quantities of tedious didactic material, but also much poetry that can still be read, with pleasure, most notably in some of the inserted episodes such as the well-known stories of Nala and Savitri. The Ramayana, on the other hand, is in the main, except for the first and last books the work of a single poet; and not being overloaded with didactic material, it is more readily accepted as an epic by European taste. In later times the author, Valmiki, was accorded the title of "First of Poets." This judgment is in fact largely justified, for in the Ramayana we find a definite attempt at conscious poetic embellishment; and in the use of similes and other figures of poetry most of the chief characteristics of the later classical poetry are foreshadowed. To quote but a single example of a striking simile, taken from a brilliant description of winter:

"The moon's beauty is usurped by the sun, and she shines but feebly, shrouded in mist, like a mirror blind with breath."

After the epics we have unfortunately very little evidence for the development of Sanskrit poetry until we meet it in a form already fully matured in the works of Asvaghosa in the 2nd century A.D. It is true that some evidence can be gleaned from inscriptions; and Patanjali's great commentary on Panini's grammar has preserved for us a number of tantalizing fragments. Some of the verses of the Pali canon, in particular the Songs of the Elders, can also be adduced as evidence of the type of development, which Indian poetry was undergoing between the end of the Vedic

age and the earliest classical poems. But in spite of all these one cannot help feeling that there is a gap in the tradition, and much has undoubtedly been lost.

In this classical Sanskrit poetry, India shows a marked contrast to Greece. In the latter case most of the great literature was already written before the spread of Hellenistic civilization. In India, on the other hand, the greatest flowering of Sanskrit poetry comes at a time when the language was no longer living and developing as a popular speech. This is a surprising state of affairs, and it is almost as if mediæval Latin or Byzantine Greek had produced poets to outshine Virgil and Homer. None the less, Sanskrit had remained so vigorously alive as the language of all educated men that the situation is perhaps not so paradoxical as at first sight it may appear.

In some of its less admirable characteristics, classical Sanskrit does indeed show tendencies similar to those of Alexandrian Greek literature. Thus, both indulged in trivialities such as the composition of stanzas which could be written in the shape of an axe or an altar. And in one direction Sanskrit was able to go far beyond the artificiality of Alexandria, namely, in paronomasia. The Sanskrit language has a most alarming capacity for punning; and in later times the art of equivocate was developed to such a degree that we find poets who compose whole epics with a double meaning in every stanza, so that a single work may be read in one way as the story of the Mahabharata, and in another way as that of the Ramayana. Even triple punning on this epic scale is not unknown. To be fair to the authors of these works, it must be admitted that the unravelling of their meanings involves an intellectual exercise at least comparable to chess, and rather superior to the modern crossword puzzle. And, of course, there are occasions when a double meaning can be used with pleasing effect. Thus for example, in Bhavabhuti's drama *Malati-madhava* the heroine's maidservant brings a message to the hero who is engaged in weaving a garland of flowers; and with the modesty which the situation demands she speaks to him apparently only about the flowers:

"Sir, the even spacing of the flowers on the thread makes your plaiting most attractive, and my mistress is curious about it. Such skilful floral work is quite new to her. She would like very much to have this fresh garland to wear round her neck."

But by the punning force of some of the words, her speech can also be taken to mean:

"Sir, the excellent qualities of both of you, being mutually compatible, would make the union of such noble persons desirable, and my mistress is eager for it. The working of the god of love is new and strange to her. May you fall in love with her, and come to clasp her in an embrace."

Tricks of this sort however are merely embellishments of poetry, and in a great poet like Kalidasa they appear hardly at all. They are indicative

nevertheless of a general characteristic of classical Sanskrit poetry, namely, that it is a highly intellectual literature. I use this term here in preference to "learned," which in this context might be misunderstood to imply a scholarly aridity which, though admittedly present in much second-rate work, is not predominant in the great poets. Alexandrian writings have occasionally been described as "literature of the study," a term of disparagement which is not so easily applied to Sanskrit. It is easily understandable; however, that many modern critics should make free use of the description "artificial," and the term *mahākāvya* is frequently rendered as "artificial epic." But the implications of the epithet are no more justified than they would be if applied to the *Æneid* or *Paradise Lost*. If by artificial we mean simply that it is not folk-poetry, then the *Raghuvamśa* can be classified alongside the *Argonautica*; but Kalidasa is none the less a much greater poet than Apollonius. The artificiality of the great Sanskrit poets, has a much closer analogy in the artificiality of Pindar or Æschylus. Nothing, after all, could be further removed from Wordsworthian simplicity than a Pindaric ode or a chorus of the Agamemnon. And if we stigmatize an occasional lapse from our own canons of taste on the part of a Sanskrit poet, we can balance it against Æschylus' "ox upon the tongue." But it would be generally admitted that it was worth-while to labour at Greek in order to come at length to read Pindar and Æschylus. And for Sanskrit, my former teacher, Professor A. B. Keith, who found ample occasion to criticize the literary taste of Sanskrit poets in matters of detail, wrote in the Preface to his *History of Sanskrit Literature*:

"The neglect of Sanskrit Kāvya is doubtless natural. The great poets of India wrote for audience of experts; they were masters of the learning of their day, long trained in the use of language, and they aim to please by subtlety, not simplicity of effect. They had at their disposal a singularly beautiful speech, and they commanded elaborate and most effective metres. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that their works should be difficult, but of those who on that score pass them by it may fairly be said '*ardua dum metunt amittunt vera via*.' The Kāvya literature contains some of the great poetry of the world."

The range of this literature is very considerable. At the summit stand the great epics, *Mahākāvyas*, most of which take their themes from the old epics or the legends of the Puranas. Here we have the famous names of Asvaghosa, Kalidasa, Bharavi, Bhatti, Magha, and a whole host of lesser writers. Here we have no reason to dissent from the judgment of Anandavardhana given in the 9th century: "Out of the constant succession of competent poets which the passing years bring before us, only a mere handful—Kalidasa and a few others—rank as great poets." In the shorter kāvya poem (*khanda-kāvya*) Kalidasa is

equally pre-eminent; and his masterpiece in this field, the "Cloud Messenger" (*Meghadūta*), inspired such a multitude of imitations that "messenger poems," both in Sanskrit and the later Indo-Aryan languages, form by themselves a distinct literary type.

In the drama, India has nothing directly comparable to the great tragedies of Greece, and tragedy as such is definitely excluded by the dramatic theory. There are nevertheless in some of the great dramas moments of pathos handled with great tenderness and imagination; and although Aristotle's pity and terror tend not to come together in Sanskrit, both are recognized among the emotions (*rasa*) proper to drama. A wide range is covered by the extant plays, from the romantic legends of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and *Vikramorvasīya* to the political intrigue of Visakhadatta's *Mudrarākṣhaśa*, from short one-act comedies such as "The Saint and the Lady" (*Bhagavadajjukiya*) to the ten-act *Bālarāmāyana* of Rajasekhara. Sanskrit drama is not likely to attract the Western reader for its dramatic qualities. It is in general weak in characterization, and with few exceptions uninventive in plot. On the other hand, in its best examples it contains much excellent poetry, and is worth reading for this alone. We are, of course, not in a position to judge the full artistic impact of an ancient Sanskrit play, which in its presentation on the stage made full use of the arts of music and dancing.

The great prose romances, which also rank as *kāvya*, are a more difficult, and on the whole a less rewarding, branch of literature. The exuberance of Subandhu and Bana makes "Euphuus" almost tame in comparison. In the romantic tales of these authors the story counts for little, and often appears to be merely an excuse for the display of technical dexterity. Every rift is indeed overloaded with gold. We find descriptions consisting of pages of sesquipedalian adjectives, and an endless flow of double meanings. Against these writers, however, we can set Dandin, who shares many of their characteristics, but does not carry them to such great excess. His picaresque novel, *The Adventure of the Ten Princes*, is a masterpiece of brilliant and witty prose.

It is difficult to choose from this extensive classical literature examples which are sufficiently typical to convey something of the quality of the poetry, and which are at the same time capable of a translation which shall preserve at least some fragment of the force of the original. At the best a translation can give only a hint of the nature of the foundations of literal meaning upon which the poet built his poem, and at worst many involve a degree of sacrilege comparable to the transcription of a Bach chorale for a brass band. I have chosen therefore to quote a few stanzas from Bhatti rather than from Kalidasa. Kalidasa after all needs no justification. He is one of the great poets of the world, and no one has ever ques-

tioned his right to the first place among the Sanskrit poets. Bhatti, on the other hand, though admittedly of lesser stature, has suffered rather more than he deserves in the esteem of Western critics because of the form of his epic. His theme in the *Ravana-vadha* (familiarily known as the *Bhatti-kavya*) is the story of the Ramayana; but he undertakes at the same time to illustrate in minute detail the rules of Sanskrit grammar and poetic theory. We should not, however, allow this to prejudice our judgment of the poem unduly. It is not a set of mnemonic verses intended to teach grammar to schoolboys, but is rather an academic exercise illustrating how the poet can work in this difficult and complex learned language. It is thus in some ways comparable to Bach's *Art of Fugue*, which, though it teaches the rules, is itself a finished work of art. The following stanzas, taken from the beginning of the second canto, will give some indication of the sort of poetic fancy frequently found in the Sanskrit poets:

"As Rama went out from the city, he saw all around him Autumn wearing the splendour of the forest trees, the lakes, the rivers, the skies, the moon and stars.

"The red lotuses, with their clouds of bees, and petals dancing on the waves, seemed to shine with the brilliance of fire, with smoke and flame.

"The banks of the lakes, seeing their own loveliness stolen by the reflection in the water, in jealousy used their laughter of lilies to spread a loveliness of lotuses.

"The tree at the lakeside, its leaves dripping with the night dew, and with birds singing in its branches, seemed to be weeping and lamenting the night-flowering lotus at the break of day.

"The lotus, buffeted by the morning breeze, as if in anger shook off the bee whose body was red with lily-pollen—a lady cannot tolerate a rival.

"While the stag stood still to hear the song of the bees, the hunter was distracted from his aim by the restless cry of the wild geese.

"The lion roaring in the mountain thickets heard the echo he himself had caused, and started forward in anger, thinking that it was another lion roaring.

"And Rama saw the waters with their fresh lotuses, and heard the humming of the bees, and smelt the breeze laden with the scent of flowers.

"He bent down the creepers and plucked flowers, he descended to the rivers and sipped water; and sitting down on a rock he gazed in wonder at the scene.

"He saw at dawn the waters before him inlaid with the sun's rays: it was as if the beams, melted by the sun's own heat, had been gathered together in one place on the earth."

This last stanza is a variant of an idea which had earlier been used more effectively by Arya Sura, who describes the tropical sea in the calm before a storm: "The sapphire-blue sea, as if the sky had melted in the heat of the sun." This provoked an anonymous critic to exclaim—and there is no reason to suspect that it was meant ironically—"Sura is a poet, Sura is

indeed a great poet. He described the sea as melted sky!" We may not find ourselves able to go to such lengths of enthusiasm, and this straining after effective similes may at times lend itself to ridicule, as when Bhatti in the passage quoted above pictures the trees weeping, the dew-drops being their tears, and the screaming of the birds their wailing. Nevertheless I feel we should be mistaken if we take it all *au grand sérieux*. Many of these somewhat far-fetched comparisons were no doubt recited by the author with a twinkle in the eye. And although this is a purely formal poetry, devoid of any deep emotional content, for which we must look elsewhere in Sanskrit, it can still afford pleasure to the reader by the excellences which it undoubtedly possesses. The beginning of the fifteenth canto shows that Bhatti was at all events not lacking in a sense of humour. Here the demon Ravana sends his servants to seek the aid of Kumbhakarna, in the fight against Rama, and these envoys act in true demonic fashion:

"Then the king of the demons was afraid, and looked all around the city; and despatched demons to inform Kumbhakarna. And they came to his dwelling, and found him asleep. And straightway they uttered confused cries, and beat him with sticks. They pulled out his hair, and drove elephants over his limbs; they poured cold water over him, and burnt him with red-hot coals, they scratched him with their sharp nails, bit him with their teeth, prodded him with sharpened stakes, and beat drums in his ears. But he regarded them not at all, and at length awoke of his own accord."

Bhatti has recently assumed a new and somewhat unexpected interest. The Old Javanese poem on the story of Rama has long been known not to be a direct translation of Valmiki's Ramayana. It was suggested by Ghosh in 1936 that the Old Javanese poem was in fact based on the *Bhatti-kavya*, and my colleague Dr. C. Hooykaas has recently proved in detail that this is the case. The Old Javanese turns out to be to a large extent a direct translation of the Sanskrit. Most striking is the fact that where the tenth canto of the Sanskrit sets out to illustrate the complicated alliterations and word-jingles known as *yamakas*, the Javanese poem likewise produces comparable alliterations. It might be observed in passing that these jingles are not introduced haphazard by Bhatti, but are placed with reasonably good effect in his description of the tumult and agitation in the burning of the city of Lanka. It will take some time before the results of this discovery can be fully worked out, but it is already clear that interesting information can be expected about the text, both of the Sanskrit and the Javanese poems.

The possibility of important literary discoveries of this sort brings to these studies something of the excitement of scientific research. It is not likely that the well-trodden fields of Latin and Greek will yield

the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are aged 65 and over has increased by 1.5 million (1990–1999) and is projected to increase by a further 1.5 million by 2010 (Office for National Statistics 2000). The number of people aged 65 and over is projected to increase by 2.5 million by 2020 (Office for National Statistics 2000).

There is a growing awareness of the need to develop strategies to meet the needs of the ageing population. The Department of Health (1999) has identified the need to develop a 'new paradigm' for the care of the elderly. This paradigm is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the functional ability of older people to live independently and to participate in society. The Department of Health (1999) has identified a number of key areas for action in order to achieve this paradigm, including: (1) promoting healthy ageing; (2) preventing and managing illness and disability; (3) supporting independence; and (4) promoting social participation.

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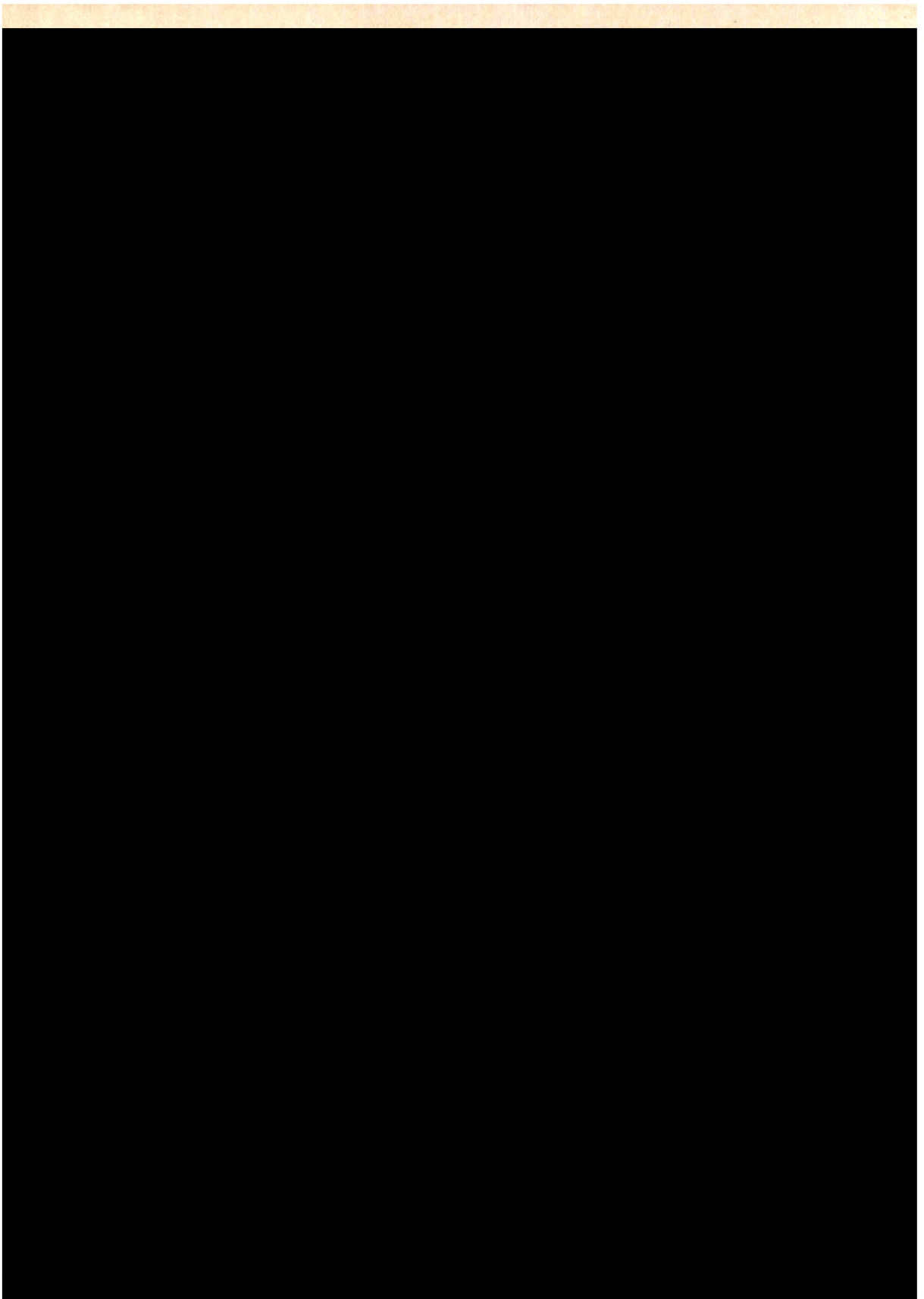
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such discoveries at the present day, and the Indian classics offer a most attractive alternative for those who relish the adventure of exploration:

*"iuuat integros accedere fontes,
"atque haurire, iuuatque nouos decerpere flores."*

A comparative assessment of the merits of the Indian and the Greek classics depends, of course, largely on personal taste. As Kalidasa says, when the princess Indumati rejects a royal suitor: "It was not that he lacked beauty, nor that she was unable to see it—but people have different tastes." Many Europeans find that Indian literature is too far removed from their own standards to afford them much pleasure. I shall be content if I have done something to win from such critics the charitable admission of the princess that at least the beauty is there. But the importance of the study of Sanskrit goes far beyond the aesthetic value of the literature. It is in fact the key to almost all branches of the study of Indian civilization; and, as I have indicated above, the contributions of this civilization

to the development of human thought and culture generally are very considerable. Through the spread of Buddhism also, India has influenced the culture of a very large part of Asia. The study of the Indian classics is the foundation for the study of one of the major civilizations of the world. From the purely practical point of view, I believe that a University degree in Sanskrit can offer the student an intellectual, literary, and philosophical training in every way comparable in value to a Classical Tripos or an Honour School of Literae Humaniores. And more generally, the study of the great Asiatic civilizations demands far more attention than it has hitherto received in the West, if we are to rid ourselves of the provincialism which tacitly assumes that the history of Western Europe is the history of mankind.*

* The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture delivered to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, on Tuesday, 11th March, 1952, with Sir Atul Chatterjee, C.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., a Vice-President of the Society, in the Chair.

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THE UPROAR IN BIOLOGY TO-DAY

By K. N. RAO, M.Sc.

IN recent years the name of the Russian Botanist, Lysenko came to the forefront and around that name much debate is going on, a few apparently agreeing with his views and many calling him a pretender. Students of Biology as well as politicians talk of him, reminding us of the furious controversies that raged in medieval times, or even until hundred years back between men of science and men of the church. What is this Lysenko business about?

To have a complete picture of the controversy, we must acquaint ourselves with the history of the science called Genetics and the philosophy that is known as Dialectical Materialism. We shall begin with the former.

'Genetics' is the science that studies the way of the inheritance of parental features by the offspring. However, this definition suffers from a certain amount of narrowness as in the past fifteen years, conclusions of genetical experiments are cited in support of certain doctrines explaining the methods of evolution. This branch of genetics is now known as 'evolutionary genetics.'

Let us try to understand what this science of genetics tells us.

The resemblance between parents and children is apparent and how this inheritance of characters of the parents by the offspring goes on was for a long time a mystery. Studies of inheritance did not at all yield conclusive results until about 1850, when an Austrian Monk,

Abbe Mendel, claimed to have solved the mystery. He pointed out that when inheritance of characters formed the subject-matter of study, it is not the inheritance of all characters that should be taken into account but each character should be viewed as independent and its assortment in the offspring be studied. On the basis of observed facts he formulated his "laws of heredity." That was the first and the corner stone of the science of Genetics.

Curiously enough, this work of Mendel remained unnoticed until 1900 when Bateson repeated the experiments of Mendel and brought to the notice of the scientific world the glory of Mendel's work. Mendel imagined that there were special 'factors' responsible for each of the features of individual and that these factors were assorted independently of each other to the offspring, the result being that the child resembled the father in some respects and the mother in some other respects. These 'factors' of the imagination of Mendel are now known as the genes and their existence is proved beyond doubt. The genes are bead-like bodies arranged linearly in thread-like chromosomes, found in the nuclei of the cells. Each gene may be responsible for one feature or the interaction of a number of genes might result in a feature manifestable in the individual organism. As genes are the constituents of a chromosome, a certain inter-relationship between the assortment of genes and cell-division was expected and it was soon established

that the Mendelian Laws of inheritance have a cytological basis, by correlating the distribution of chromosomes (as a corollary genes) during meiosis and the appearance of features in a certain ratio in the F2 generation.

With the march of time such phenomena as multiplication of chromosomes (polyploidy) and the associated manifestable changes in the individual, linkage between genes, mutations, existence of plasmagenes which also cause inheritance, though not according to Mendelian principles, came to light. All these together constitute the science of Neo-Mendelism and the greatest and the most important contribution of this Neo-Mendelism is that it has established the existence of an organ of heredity the gene, much the same as organs of digestion, respiration, etc; to say the least, it has established the physical basis of heredity.

The concept of genes and their (as a corollary, chromosomal) part in heredity is referred to by Lysenko and his followers as Mendelism-Morganism.

We shall have to turn our attention at this stage to the theory of Organic Evolution; quite from early times, the concept of Evolution of the organic world was being pressed hard against the concept of special creation. Darwin, with his scientific thoroughness, by presenting a colossus of evidence, succeeded in dispelling all doubts about the validity of the concept of organic evolution. If Darwin was the populariser of the theory of Evolution, he was not the only one to tell us how evolution proceeded on. Notable amongst others who contributed to the theory of Evolution and its methods was Lamarck. Lamarck thought that there was a conscious effort on the part of the individual organism to adapt itself to the environment and as a result of this effort a certain amount of adaptation of the organism to the environment resulted. In the course of generations, the adaptive variation accumulated, as a result of which a species that very much differed from the original came into being. In brief, Lamarck thought that acquired characters were inherited. However Lamarck's hypothesis did not find much favour with scientists.

We shall now see Darwin's hypothesis. Darwin based his theory on three observable facts; the first is the fact of variation. (No two exactly alike organisms may be found. The difference between any two individuals of a species is obvious. These differences between individual members of a species constitute variation). The second is the fact of uniform census in the adult animal population of a given species, barring perhaps Man. The third is the fact of numerous offspring in any given species. Now from the second and third facts, Darwin concluded that there was on a struggle for existence. Otherwise, how was it that not all the offspring became adults, he asked. The first conclusion and first fact, namely, the fact of variation, constituted the premises for his second conclusion, the conclusion of the survival of the fittest. If there was a struggle for existence, which were those that survived? Those that had the advantage-

ous variations, was the answer. Nature selected them. The advantageous variations always meant the variation that made the individual better fitted for the surroundings in which it lived. Such variations are inherent in the species and an accumulation of such inheritable variations will in the last result in the origin of a new species. That in brief is Darwinism.

Variation may be brought about by the habits and activities of the individual. Thus one who constantly practises physical exercises develops a muscular body. His children may not be muscular, i.e., such variations as are only modifications, are not inheritable. But a variation might be due to the disturbance in a gene, a chromosome or a whole set of chromosomes. We have seen that genes are the factors that determine the features of an organism and it is quite natural, therefore, that any disturbance there would cause a variation. Being the instruments of heredity, variations resulting from a disturbance of the genes are inheritable. It is these variations that matter in the evolution of species and this explanation of the methods of evolution in the light of our cytological knowledge is known as Neo-Darwinism.

Superficially, it appears as though there is no difference between Lamarck's argument and the Neo-Darwinistic explanation as to the method of evolution. Both agree that variations accumulate in the individual until in the long run, an altogether new species comes into being. But the chief difference between the two schools is that while Lamarckists contend that even a modification caused by changes in the environment is inheritable, Neo-Darwinists maintain that only such variations as are the results of disturbance in the genes, or a chromosome or a whole set of chromosomes are inherited. To illustrate the point: the dark colour of a Negro is not the result of a continuous tanning of the skin of a white race that was originally inhabiting Africa. On the other hand, the Negroes survived there because their skins being highly pigmented are more resistant to the ultra-violet radiation of the tropical sun. The whites, when exposed to the African sun due to the poor pigmentation of their skin, are handicapped and therefore in the struggle for existence, they are eliminated while Negroes emerged as the fittest to live in those conditions.

And now let us see what Lysenko has to say. To put it in a nutshell, Lysenko has revived Lamarck's contention that acquired characters are inherited. Before going to discuss the scientific correctness or otherwise of Lysenko's hypothesis, it is necessary that we should know why Lysenko is so ferocious an advocate of Lamarckism and why his thesis is favoured at governmental level. If Neo-Darwinism is accepted as the theory explaining evolutionary progress, greater stress on chromosomal changes as instrumental to variation is necessary; if Lamarckism is accepted, no such stress need be placed on these chromosomal changes which cannot be brought about either at a time when we want or in a way that we desire. On the other hand, Lamarckism provides for easy inheritable changes and with a hypothesis like that in the back-

ground a greater incentive to produce desired varieties of plants and animals is possible for the scientists.

But it should not be supposed that the Neo-Mendelists have not been successful in evolving new strains of agricultural crops or cattle. If a list of wheats evolved during the last fifty years were to be looked at, one is simply amazed. Therefore, the practical usefulness of Neo-Mendelism is beyond dispute. Even Lysenko seems to recognise this fact. Then, why this shift in emphasis on the instruments of variation? The answer is to be sought in the ideological issue involved. With Neo-Darwinistic variations, changes can be brought about at a very slow pace and not in any desired direction. A certain permanence for the species is inevitable and as such the traits of the many human races (speaking of all this at a human level) are difficult to be changed. There is thus room for any race or class of human beings arrogating to themselves some superiority. On the other hand, if Lamarckism were accepted, the differences between race and race, class and class may be explained as owing to the environment and in that case a change in the environment is sufficient to eradicate these differences; in other words, under a uniformity of conditions and circumstances, a uniform human race is possible.

Unfortunately, however, all this boils down to wishful thinking. The differences between individuals have got to be accepted and working upon these differences, new combinations in a manner that we desire may be brought about and that would be a more scientific course of action. Nevertheless, Lysenko has revived Lamarckism and let us see how far he could substantiate his claims in a scientific manner.

The way of science is experiment and has Lysenko based his claims on any experimental basis? If so, what are his experiments and what are his results and what are his conclusions? To answer these questions is not an easy matter because any papers, in the sense that we understand, dealing with the experimental work of Lysenko, are not available. We will have to do a bit of putting the cart before the horse as it is inevitable. His conclusions are : (1) Acquired characters are inherited; and (2) "heredity is a property not only of chromosomes, but of every living thing, every cell and every particle of the body." We shall later discuss the merits or demerits of Lysenko and Mendel-Morganists but here we shall see what experimental evidence Lysenko has in support of his conclusions.

Lysenko concludes that acquired characters are inherited on the basis of an allegedly transformed heredity in some wheats when they were subjected to a certain treatment, known to plant physiologists as vernalization. A plant, before it completes its life-cycle goes through certain sets of physiological conditions which follow one another in a particular order. In the time scale it takes one year for some plants to go through all these sets of physiological conditions, two years for other plants and many years for others. Therefore, the age of a plant is dependent on how soon a plant goes through this suc-

sion of physiological conditions and to a large extent these physiological conditions are determined by the environment. Now it will suit the agriculturist to enable a plant come into these physiological conditions by providing them with natural circumstances under artificial conditions. Wheat requires a low temperature before it can head, i.e., a low temperature brings the plants into a physiological state when they can flower and these low temperatures are normally available to the plant during winter, when a snow-storm is likely to damage the crop. So, if the plant is provided with the necessary low temperature even while it is in its early life, it will have been spared the unbearable cold of the winter and it comes to head much earlier than the winter sets in as it had the necessary low temperature. This process of making a plant go through its physiological age within a shorter time-age is known as vernalization.

Now a further claim is that this "shattering" or "shaking" of the individual during its development causes an alteration in the "heredity" of the plant and this shattered heredity is inherited by later generations. Lysenko claims to have thus brought about some soft varieties with 42 chromosomes from out of hard varieties of wheat with 28 chromosomes that are spring varieties only and these new varieties breed true later. This experiment according to Lysenko has conclusively demonstrated the fact of acquired characters being inherited.

Lysenko claims to have effected some "vegetative hybrids" and these "vegetative hybrids" arose as a result of grafting and these experiments in vegetative hybridisation, according to Lysenko "provide unmistakable proof that any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances, even the sap exchanged between scion and stock possesses hereditary qualities." We shall now see how this conclusion is justified on a scientific basis. To quote Lysenko rather lengthily : *

"Academecian; P. M. Zhukovsky, as becomes a Mendelist-Morganist, cannot conceive transmission of hereditary properties without transmission of chromosomes. He cannot conceive that the ordinary living body possesses heredity. According to his views this is the property of chromosomes only. He therefore does not think it possible to obtain plant hybrids by means of grafting, he does not think it possible for plants and animals to inherit acquired characters. I promised Academecian Zhukovsky to show him vegetative hybrids, and I have now the pleasure of demonstrating them at this session.

In this case one of the participating plants was a variety of tomatoes with leaves not dissected, as usual, but like those of the potato, its fruits are red and oblong in shape.

The other variety that participated in the grafting was the one with the usual dissected tomato leaves. The fruits when ripe are not red, but yellowish-white.

The variety with the potato leaves was used as the stock, and the variety with the dissected leaves was the scion.

* From a speech delivered by Lysenko before the Academy of Sciences (U. S. S. R.).

In the year when the graft was made no changes were observed either in the scion or in the stock.

Seeds were gathered from the fruits that had grown on the scion and from those that had grown from the stock. These seeds were then planted.

Most of the plants that grew from the seeds taken from the fruits of the stock did not differ from initial variety, that is to say, they were potato-leaved and their fruits were red and oblong in shape. Six plants, however, had dissected leaves, and some of them had yellow fruits, that is to say, both the leaves and fruits had changed under the influence of the other variety, the one which had been the scion."

He continues :

"I shall now show you plants of the second seed generation obtained from the same graft; but these are from seeds taken from plants which gave no visible alterations in first seed generation. On a number of plants from the second seed generation the leaves are changed—they are not like potato leaves in appearance, but dissected, and the fruits are not red but yellow.

"We thus see that as the result of grafts we obtain dissected, adequate alterations; we obtain plants combining the characters of breeds joined in the grafting, that is to say, we get tame hybrids. New formations are also observed, for example, among the progeny of the same grafts there are plants that have borne small fruits, like those of uncultivated forms. But we all know that in the case of sexual hybridisation, too, we observe besides the transmission to the progeny of characters of the parent forms, also the appearance of new forms."

After apologising for a rather lengthy passage on vegetative hybridization, he continues as the phenomenon provides "instructive material of great significance." The significance is as follows. Again in Lysenko's words :

"Chromosomes cannot pass from stock to scion and *vice-versa*—that is a fact no one disputes. Yet hereditary properties such as the colouring of the fruit, its shape, the shape of leaves, and others, are transmitted from scion to stock and from stock to scion.

"Now show us any properties of two breeds united into one by means of sexual hybridisation—in the case of tomatoes, for instance—which could not be united or have not been united by the Michurinists, by means of vegetative hybridisation.

"The inevitable conclusion from all these experiments on vegetative hybridisation provide unmistakable proof that any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances, even the sap exchanged between scion and stock possesses hereditary qualities."

From the foregoing discussion, the questions involved may be seen to be as follows :

First and most important is the question of the inheritance of acquired characters.

Secondly, the controversy is around the organs of heredity. Are the chromosomes the sole medium through which the heredity is handed down or has the entire body of the protoplasm a part to play in the inheritance of characters?

And last but not least remains the ideological issue.

We shall now endeavour to examine each of these questions and sift out evidence for and against each of the two opinions pertaining to these questions.

The first to propound the theory of the inheritance of acquired characters was Lamarck, a French biologist. His thesis was mainly hypothetical. However, in recent years experiments are being undertaken to prove the truth of this hypothesis, but all of them have had negative results. One very interesting experiment was on rats conducted in recent years in Australia. A few rats were kept in a tub of water. The tub was provided with two iron ladders through one of which was flowing a mild electric current, the other was provided with a low voltage lamp and in the course of a few generations, the rats learnt to associate the presence of the lamp with the absence of electrical charge, without ever erring to learn. However, as the experiment was continued over a few more generations, the rats failed to show this capacity. Of course, only in-breeding was allowed during the time of experimentation.

Fruit-flies (*Drosophila*) were bred in total darkness over 60 generations (a period equivalent to 2,000 years on human scale) and this had not the slightest effect on their visual capacity.

A more serious objection to the acceptance of this doctrine is to be found in experiments concerning pure lines. A pure line is a strain genetically uniform, either because it reproduces asexually or because it has been rendered uniform by close in-breeding and any environmental change caused in it only a modification and when it is put once again under standard environment, the modifications disappear and the standard pure strain once again appears. The modifications due to the changed environment have not been inherited even to the slightest degree.

Now, Lysenko has renewed Lamarckism presumably with scientific data backing him. According to him, it is possible to alter the genetic make-up of a given species of plant by subjecting it to certain special treatments. Thus he claims to have brought about a soft winter strain from among hard wheats. (He points out that there is no winter strain among the hard wheats). A point of interest here is that the hard wheat has 28 chromosomes while the soft one has 42 chromosomes. To quote Lysenko himself as to the method practised for bringing about this conversion : "When experiments were started to convert hard wheat into winter wheat it was found that after two, three or four years of autumn planting (required to turn a spring crop into a winter crop) *durum* becomes *vulgare* that is to say, one species becomes converted into another." This experimental result of Lysenko is unacceptable because Lysenko failed to observe a very simple and plain precaution—the material employed by him was mixed and being so, natural selection has operated, killing off all but the soft winter strains.

Even if the precaution were observed, the emergence of a 42 chromosome variety from a 28 chromosome variety, may be explained on the basis of Polyploidy. Irradiation and administering chemicals are but two methods commonly employed to bring about Polyploidy.

Perhaps exposure of germinating seeds to extremely low temperatures for over long periods also brings about the same result.

Lysenko denies the existence of pure lines on the score that their presence goes against the tenets of the philosophy he and his country-men believe in. Scientifically speaking, pure lines exist; they are evolved by expert agriculturists and geneticists. Philosophically also Lysenko's stand is unsound as will be shown in a later section of this article.

Another very serious objection to the acceptance of this doctrine is that it cannot explain certain observed facts of evolution. A study of the process of evolution shows out one fact very clearly, that one of the main features of the evolution is the existence of long-term trends. The famous instance is that of the development of horse-stock. The trend in this line is towards a plain life, swift feet, and grass diet and it took forty million years to reach perfection. When the point of perfection is reached no more natural selection takes place and the line of development and evolution comes to an abrupt end. Thus for at least the last five million years no change has come over our horses. Who can deny that the environment has changed during this long time and yet the horse has not changed. Therefore, the one inevitable conclusion is that natural selection is the operative force, choosing those more adapted to the environment and rejecting those unsuited to the environment—the variations being the results of Mendelian segregation and recombination or mutation. Thus it might be noticed that the relationship between environment and heredity is indirect and complex and not direct and simple as the Neo-Lamarckists imagine.

Then the existence of climes (gradients of characters) especially noticeable in birds, can be explained on the basis of Neo-Mendalism while Lamarckism is helpless, for how can the same environment bring about so many effects in the same species or sub-species of a bird?

And now, to the second question, concerning the organs of heredity. That the genes are carriers of heredity the Mendelians have established. All their work is based upon this assumption. It is backed up by experiment. More recently, it is even claimed that they are observable under electron-microscope. Of course, a mere look at them will not make any one believe that they are the carriers of heredity. But certain observations tend to support the view that they are the organs of heredity.

(1) During the vegetative propagation of plants as in the practice of layering, etc., the daughter exactly resembles the parent because during the cell divisions that lead to the growth of the individual, the quality and quantity of chromosomes are not disturbed. On the other hand, in sexual reproduction the daughter organism resembles each of the parents to a small or great degree because a qualitative rearrangement of chromosomes had taken place in the cell out of which the daughter has grown.

(2) The distribution of sex in the daughter individual follows the rearrangement of sex chromosomes. (3) The

phenomenon of linkage is another factor in support of this hypothesis. The genes responsible for such features as development of moustache and mammary glands are always found on the male and female chromosomes respectively and therefore these characters go with the sex of the individual. All such genes which are thus held by the same chromosomes are said to be linked and the phenomenon is called linkage. The strength of linkage between two characters depends upon the distance between two genes in a chromosome. The greater the strength of linkage, the greater is the possibility of the two characters appearing together in the individual.

Lysenko, however, tells us that chromosomes are not the only organs of heredity. According to him, "any particle of a living body, even the plastic substances possess hereditary qualities." In support of this contention Lysenko claims to have experimental evidence. The first of these experiments is in the nature of grafting between two varieties of tomato. I refer the reader here to the long passage on pages 375-76, an extract from a speech by Lysenko, before the academy of Sciences. (U.S.S.R.). It will be found that Lysenko has claimed to have produced on the stock fruits very much like those of the scion. Therefore, Lysenko thinks that the principle of heredity is not confined to chromosomes alone but any particle of the cell including the plastic substances possesses the hereditary properties. The objection to the acceptance of the results of the experiment is that the purity of scion is not established prior to the starting of the experiment. If the scion had been heterozygous, i.e., if the scion itself had been the offspring of two different parental types it is quite right that in the next generation it has given rise to a few of its parental types. (By the purity of a given plant is understood that for a particular character whose inheritance is being followed, in-breeding in that plant will show that character and that character alone in offspring and not a contrasting character. When a plant, on the other hand, even if inbred, in two generations throws out offspring with the contrasting characters it is said to be heterozygous for that character). Therefore this experiment of Lysenko does not in any way prove that protoplasm has hereditary properties. However this is not to take the view that the protoplasm has nothing to do with the heredity. Recently it has been found that in the general protoplasm certain particular substances called Plasmagones are present and that these play a part in the heredity.

Coming to the third point, namely, the ideological issue Lysenko pretends that his thesis is in greater conformity with Dialectical Materialism, the accepted philosophy of the communists. According to that way of thinking, all phenomena of nature are the resultants of two opposite forces. Thus the revolution and establishment of communist governments in the countries all the world over is the inevitable result of the struggle between capitalism and the impoverished labour class and this idea of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis is extended

to the phenomena of Physics, Chemistry and Biology (Nature). Secondly, Dialectical Materialism considers all the universe as materialistic in essence and the ideological conception of the universe, according to them, is untenable. Thirdly, Dialectical Materialism believes that all matter is in a state of flux, in a state of motion. It is coming and going. In plain words, all matter is transitory; nothing is permanent.

Permit me here to refer the reader to the history of C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks) for a more detailed account of Dialectical Materialism. Now let us proceed to see which is in greater conformity with Dialectical Materialism—Lysenkoism or Mendel-Morganism.

The entire argument of Lysenko seems to revolve round a statement of Engels, which says :

"The great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind-images in our heads, the concepts go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away."

"For it (Dialectical Philosophy) nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything."

Lysenko seems to be suffering from an obsession that Mendel-Morganists attribute permanence to chromosomes and the genetic make-up of organisms, and he thinks that Mendel-Morganists deny any role for the environment in the hereditary make-up of an organism. Whatever the role of environment on the individual organism and its heredity, nothing can be far from truth to say that Mendel-Morganist school of thought supposes that genetic make-up of an organism cannot and will not be altered, because Mendel-Morganism recognises the importance of such phenomena as mutation, segregation, recombination, etc. It even provides methods to produce a desired variety of organism by such practices as in-breeding for pure lines, hybridisation, etc. All this is compatible with the argument that "nothing is final, absolute, sacred;" it is possible only if "the transitory character of everything and in everything" is conceded. If Mendel-Morganists have supposed that Nature is fixed once and for all there is absolutely no room for effort in the direction of producing new crop varieties by inducing Polyploidy, by hybridisation, and kindred methods. That Mendel-Morganists did not believe in the permanence of things is amply proved by their achievements.

Lysenko denies the existence of pure lines and alleges that the pure line theory has no dialectical basis. He rejected the idea on the score that the theory leads us into a faith of permanent races. It is interesting here to quote De Vries's paradoxical statement. "The pure line is completely constant and extremely variable," because in that statement the Dialectical basis of pure line

theory is put in a nut-shell. It indicates what a fierce struggle goes on between Nature and Nurture. When Nurture is "strong" enough a pure line is disturbed by a mutation, a change comes over in the individual. If on the other hand, nurture (environmental influence) is not so strong as to bring about a mutation, a pure line remains pure. One very important point to be noticed in connection with pure line theory, is the stress it lays on in-breeding. With out-breeding no pure lines are possible. All this only shows the transitory character of all the phenomena of Nature. The pure line theory is more dialectical in the sense that it admits a perennial struggle between Nature and Nurture. On the other hand, Lysenko asks us to believe in a passive individual ready to undergo a metamorphosis once its environment is altered. This is less dialectical in the sense that it admits of passivity on the part of one of the conflicting forces.

And now the materialistic basis of Mendel-Morganism and Lysenkoism. The philosophy of materialism preaches that "the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that inter-connection and inter-dependence of phenomena are a law of the development of moving matter and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter." It preaches that "matter is a subject of all changes." The genes are material objects and they have been observed under electron microscope and the latest effort is towards understanding the chemical composition of these genes. Therefore, Mendel-Morganists are no idealists as Lysenko alleges. Perhaps they are greater materialists than Lysenko because Lysenko talks of heredity without telling precisely how inheritance is caused.

Perhaps Lysenko is a great advocate of materialism, when he accuses Mendel-Morganists of not being able to direct the mutations because according to this philosophy, "There are no things which are unknowable." But Mendel-Morganists confess their inability for the present to direct mutations and they hope to do so at a future date because it is their wish too to conquer nature completely. Philosophical materialism provides for such temporary lapses on the part of the scientists because it says, "There are no things in the world which are unknowable but only things which are still unknown," and the laws that govern mutations are still in the list of "unknown." That is all. To wish to know is one thing and to know is another thing. In wishing to know the laws governing the origin of species, scientists all the world over are one with Lysenko.

Lysenkoism is therefore unsound from all points of view, but thanks to Lysenko, the world of science has come to know that with political dogmas goes the regimentation of thought and the world scientists are now ready to fight this evil.

THE FIRST EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By MISS SANTOSH KUMARI

✓AFTER nearly a century of long and arduous struggle against overwhelming odds and tremendous difficulties, at the stroke of mid-night of August 14 and 15 was hailed all the world over the rising star in the East amidst unprecedented enthusiasm when this land regained its long-coveted freedom from the shackles of alien domination. ✓And the more important red-letter day in the annals of India dawned when she decided to remain a sovereign republic within the Commonwealth and evolved a democratic Constitution for our country which vested the millions of India with "Equality of Status and of Opportunity." ✓At the time of enfranchising the people, 82 per cent of whom are unlettered and ignorant and with 175 million voters going to the polls for the first time in the history of any country in the world, many doubted with some trepidation that it might prove too difficult and risky an experiment. But for obvious reasons they refused to be daunted by the nation's abysmal illiteracy and other physical handicaps and in May 1951, an historic announcement in the Indian Parliament was made that the first general elections as a step towards parliamentary democracy would be carried out during the months of December 1951 and January-February 1952. It is really a matter of pleasant surprise that the population rose to the height of the occasion and responded to the obligations of democracy with such unexpectedly large participation in the voting.

During the elections, much of exhibition of mass enthusiasm, so common at the time of elections, was absent. The dignity and restraint over unhappy impulses and tolerance of political differences without undue excitement shown by the people is a matter of congratulation and augurs well for the successful working of democratic structure in India. The people marched everywhere to the polling booths in unexpectedly large numbers. Even the old and the infirm participated in sufficient numbers for recording their decisive voice in the nascent democracy. The so-called educated sector upon whom much hopes were kept for the success of elections, on the contrary, turned out to be too sophisticated.

Though, judged from any angle, the introduction of adult franchise has proved a resounding success, the progress of the General Elections has brought to the fore a variety of issues and produced big surprises.

A notable feature of the elections is the emergence of a number of new parties with no definite goal, some of them with the only aim of tracking down the Congress from power. Though the growth of parties

is natural under democracy and the growth of opposition becomes somewhat necessary for the efficient working of a democratic government, springing up of parties with aims of dethroning the party in power and capturing the office, is not a healthy development at all. Our Constitution mainly being modelled on British constitutional fabric, the resulting two-or-more party system ensures stability and efficiency in administration. But at the same time we should not forget another aspect of political thought in Great Britain where parties have grown for the amelioration of the social and economic conditions of the people with not as great divergence in policies. The situation is unfortunately different here.

Another equally notable feature of the elections was the participation of some of the princes in the elections in some parts of the country. The active participation on their part in our public and political life, if with indubitable patriotic intentions at heart, is a healthy development and has to be, in fact is, welcomed by all alike. But the idea, if any, of winning back the power they have lost through the very instruments of democracy can hardly evoke appreciation from the people, as the elections have shown that the electorate is not prepared to forgive even the Congress though it was the Congress which got them freedom. It is high time for such erring princes to realize the historical truth and to reconcile as early as possible to the new era.

Full justice to the subject will not, I think, be done if some mention is not made here about the kind of weapons used for propaganda in the elections to cow down opposition on the part of different parties. A certain measure of enthusiasm before the elections and excitement on the eve of electoral success within reasonable limits is, no doubt, inevitable but the lack of scruples witnessed in this regard on the part of several parties can hardly be appreciated. Worse still has been witnessed at the time of defeat when the chagrin borne out on the victory of the opponent made them lose their balance. They engaged in dubious means of propaganda and raved about alleging election malpractices. This is hardly appreciable. They should abide by the verdict of the electorate and forget how they trounced at the polls.

Nor can it be said that there were no irregularities in the conduct of elections, of any kind. Most of the difficulties experienced were inherent due to lack of experience in conducting such a gigantic election but they were not of such magnitude as to have become

the wail of defeated candidates. The irregularities were that the polling booths at some places were too small to maintain perfect secrecy of the ballot box, arrangements of light and water were not very satisfactory; clear and distinct idea of their job on the part of many of the polling and presiding officers, resulting in waste of time, was lacking and too rigid and arbitrary interpretation of election rules was reported on the part of these officers. Taking into cognizance the huge structure involved and the first experiment of its kind in India, the conduct of the general elections has been exemplary. With the increase in the size of the area and population involved, democracy usually becomes harder and harder.

Illiteracy did not hinder our people to cast their votes accurately as was feared before, though a number of anecdotes about the mistakes bred by ignorance (we may call so) were read in daily newspapers. For instance, a voter tore his ballot paper into as many pieces as there were ballot boxes because of his promise to all the rival candidates or because of all the candidates being equally dear to her (in the case of a woman voter who did not want to be discriminating).—nice sentiments as such bred by our inveterate culture, some wanting to vote for two bullocks with a yoke brought grass to feed them but were utterly disappointed to have found no bullocks there, some prayed and then cast their votes—a good regard for democracy—and some vainly searched for a burning lamp, etc. But such examples of ignorance and credulity were surprisingly few. Intensive propaganda on the part of different parties and the assignment of distinctive symbols to the candidates helped a lot to remove confusion. Of course, the system of distributive voting in the double-member constituencies presented some confusion. On the whole, the arrangements were found to be good and polling was entirely smooth, peaceful and orderly.

Coming to the factual side of the elections, the result of the Parliamentary elections for 489 seats are now out and the vast Indian electorate has voted the Congress to power with absolute majority in the House of the People, with ten more seats to be filled by nomination. The elections for the Council of States carrying a total strength of 216 members with 16 nominations by the President are almost half over and up till now, the Congress has captured above 160 seats which shows that the same tale as in the case of House of the People will be repeated here also. In regard to presidential elections, the Congress has nominated Dr. Rajendra Prasad (the present President of India) and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as her candidates for presidentship and vice-presidentship respectively, while the other party to nominate so far is the Communists and its allies who have nominated Prof. K. T. Shah as their candidate for the presidential seat and have expressed their unwillingness to oppose Dr. Radha-

krishnan. Though the Council of States—an upper chamber consisting of more aged, shrewd and mature people which will serve as a check on hasty decision of the lower house—and the seats of President and Vice-president are in no way less important, I shall still discuss only about the House of the People whose hands the real power rests. The following statement would present the picture of party position etc., in the House of the People:

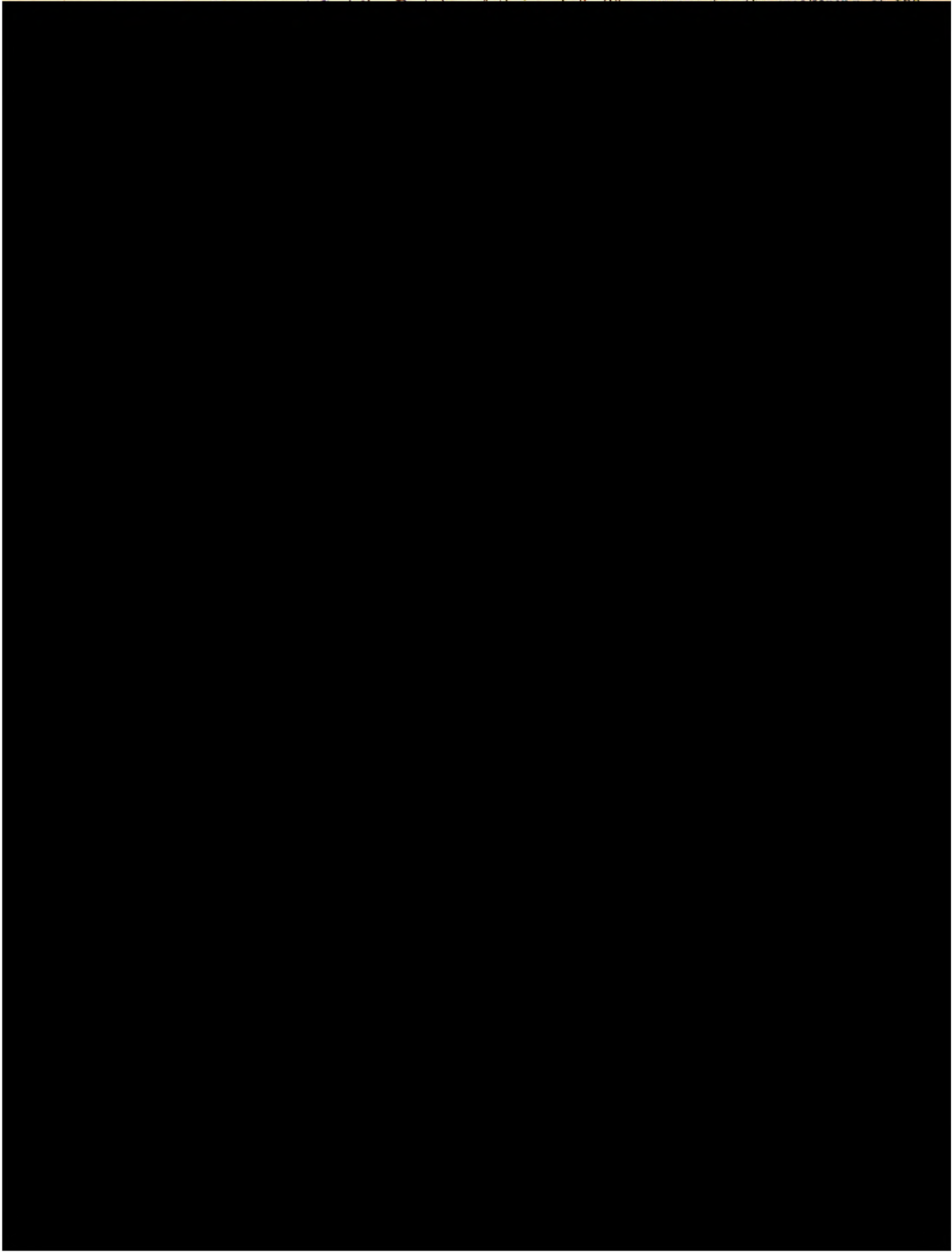
Name of the Party	Number of seats contested	Number of seats won	Total vote cast in (in lakh)
Congress	480	363	4.78
Communists and allied parties	70	27	59
Socialists	295	12	1.10
K. M. P. P.	137	10	57
Hindu Mahasabha	30	4	10
Jan Sangh	94	3	32
Ganatantra Parishad		5	10
Schedule Castes Federation	32	2	24
R. R. P.	57	3	19
Peasants & Workers Party	16	2	11
Independents	453	36	1.55
Others	166	22	91

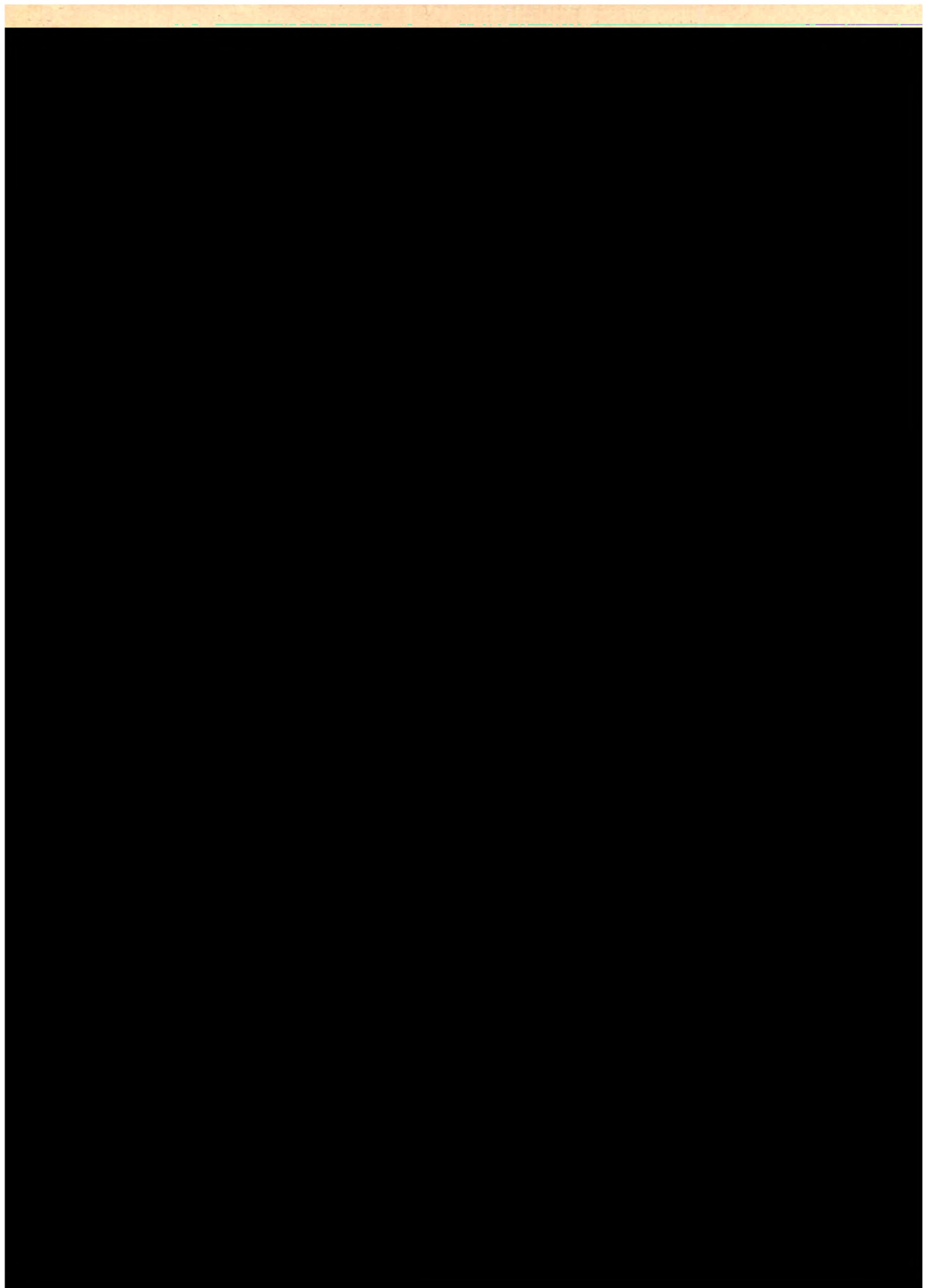
Total votes polled are 10,75,78,776 (including quite a good number of invalid votes) for 489 seats in the House of 499.

It will be seen from the above table that the Congress secured a majority of 237 seats over other parties. Next to Congress, come Communists and allied parties who have hailed mainly from the South with 27 successes in their bag, not to speak of the successful independents who number 36 in the aggregate. It is, however, clear that parties other than the Congress have received very short shrift at the hand of the electorate. The solidarity of the Congress organisation, as against the lack of clear-cut policies and programmes and resort to spurious slogans and propaganda on the part of other parties, impeded the masses to be charitable towards them. The Socialist Party which contested the largest number of seats after the Congress, has comparatively been unlucky as to have secured only 12 seats. The total votes cast in and the total number of seats won presented a controversial picture. The Congress, though it won overwhelming number of seats, has secured only 47 per cent of total votes cast in. The other parties quickly exploited this point as one of their means of propaganda. In this kind of system, such thing is possible but the strong merit of it that it usually produces clear-cut results, should not also be forgotten.

Another striking trait of the elections has been the defeat of some of the top personalities of all political parties, as also that of some eminent parliamentarians. Among the presidents of various parties who stood in the elections, only the presidents of Congress and Jan Sangh have been successful. The list of

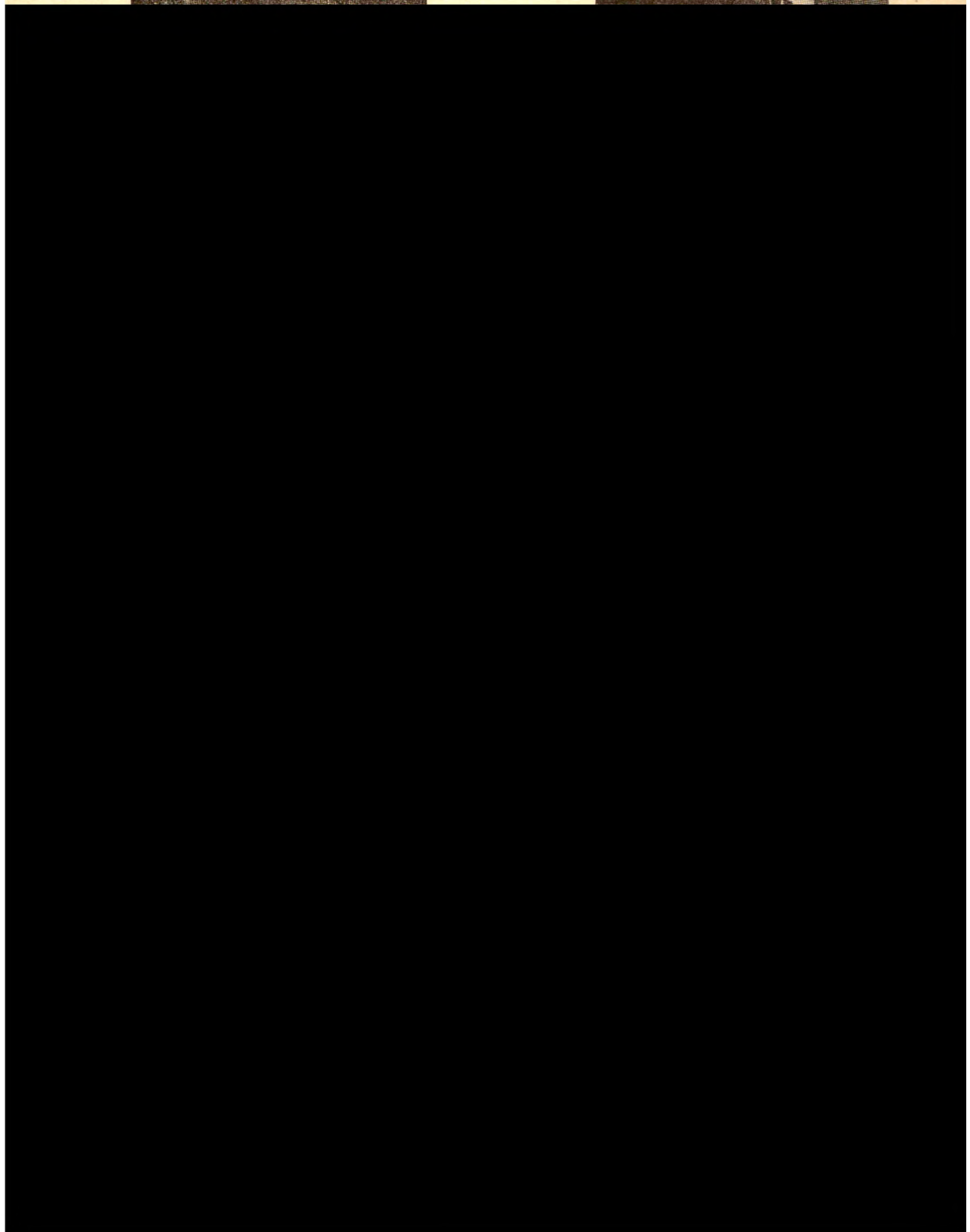
'casualties' included, among many other well-known very protracted; the Communists throve on the persons, Acharya Kripalani (chief of K.M.P.P.), Mr. slogan "What have they achieved within four years

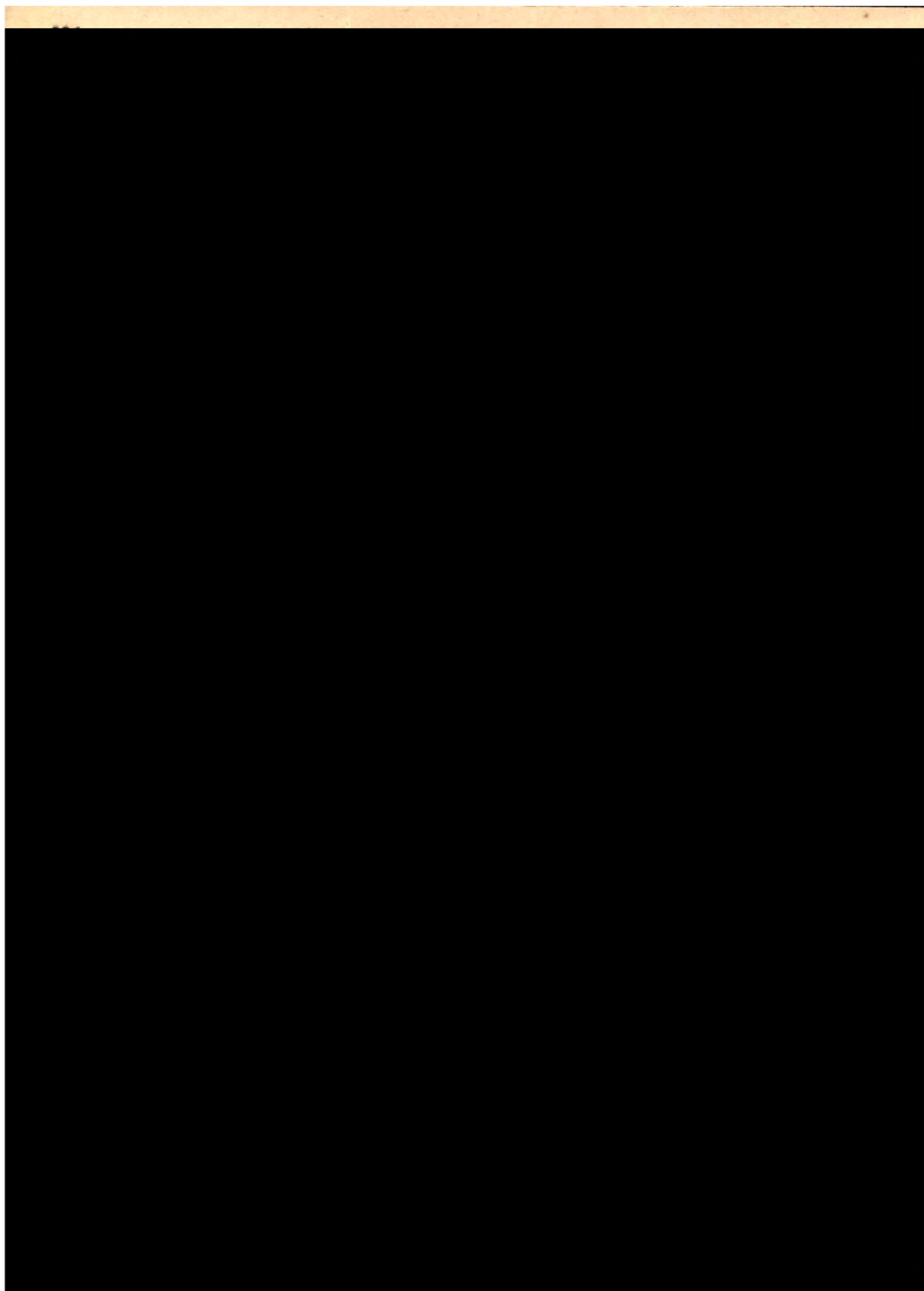




NORWAY

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third largest city, with over 60,000 inhabitants, where the Norwegian Kings were crowned. It is rich in historical monuments and associations. There are the beautiful cathedral and attractive public pleasure-grounds. It is the terminus of the railway line from Oslo to the north, through Elverum, and is the calling port of coastal services and the starting point for trips to Northern Norway, the land of the Midnight Sun, which begins from after about 24 hours' journey from Trondheim.

North of Trondheim, vast territories of wild mountains with charming spots are mostly washed by the Arctic Ocean. Rail service to the north extends to a short distance from Trondheim and bus service to Bode from where starts the wonderland, where the sun never sets in summer. There exist

isolated roads further north, one of which is linked with the Finnish road system. The communication is by the sheltered coastal service, extending to the North Cape and sometimes to Iceland. In the summer, the land of the Midnight Sun always brings tourists to the North.

Behind the Lofoten islands, where the British troops landed during the Second World War, and behind the waterways, studded with numerous islands, lies the town of Nerviik, which is a great source of iron ores. There is a short railway line to the east from Nerviik towards Sweden, but the ore has to be carried along the sea coast. The conflict at Nerviik, during the wars, has brought the place to the forefront of public interest.

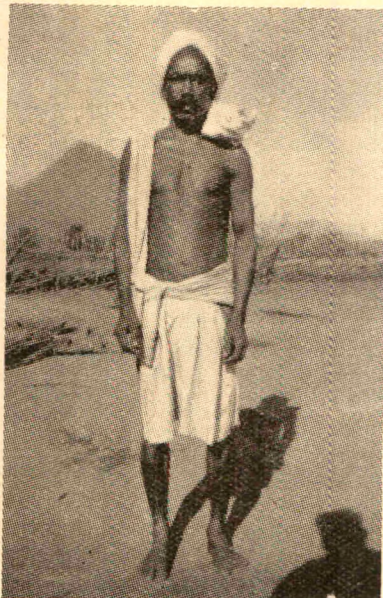
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THE HILL TRIBES OF JEYPORE

By LAKSHMINARAYAN SAHU,
Servants of India Society, Cuttack

THE hill tribes of Jeypore (a zamindari of 11,000 sq. miles) consist mainly of Kandhas, Saoras, Gondas, Gadabas, Parajas, etc.

social customs, manners, etc. My professor Sri Joges Chandra Rai, Vidyanidhi, asked me to make a study of their cottage industries. Here in this article I have



A Kandha



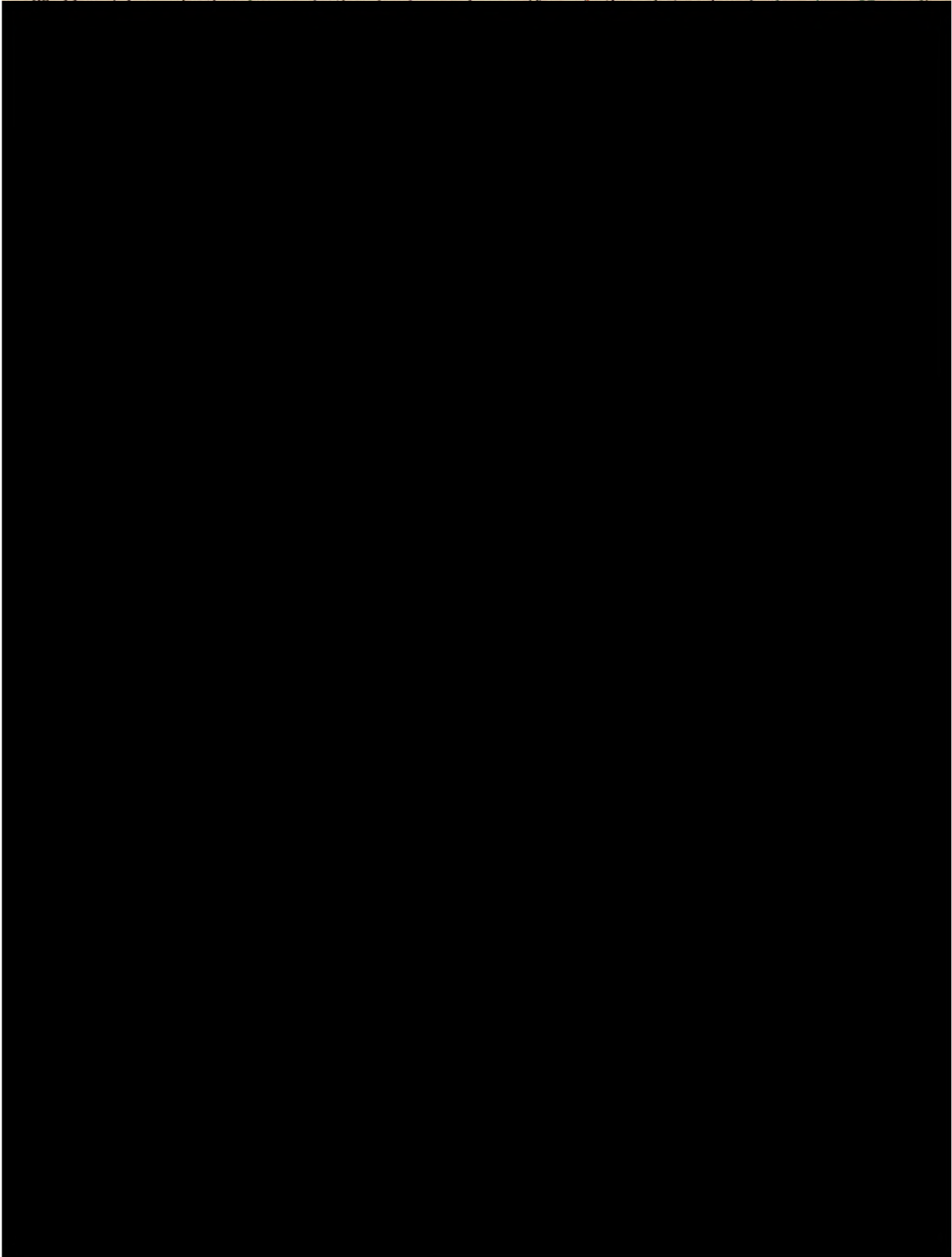
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A thorough sociological study of these hill tribes has not yet been made. I ventured to make a study of these tribes in 1939-42. But I studied mainly their

studied a few of their cottage industries and have taken some photographs. If it be interesting I shall from time to time publish their arts and trades with

photographs for the delectation of the readers of *The Modern Review*.

Now if oil is to be pressed out of "Mahul" seed which is called "Tola" the seed is first pounded in their hand-pounding stick which strikes against the



THOMAS ALVA EDISON AND THE MOTION-PICTURE INDUSTRY

THOMAS ALVA EDISON (1847-1931), world-renowned American scientist, was responsible for many inventions that have far-reaching benefits. The motion-picture industry, in particular, is greatly indebted to him.



Thomas Alva Edison

In 1889, Edison produced his first pictures of moving action and shortly thereafter the Edison Kinetoscope for viewing them. The first motion-picture studio was also an Edison invention, and was used to film motion-pictures for the Edison Company in 1893.

Other inventions through which he contributed indirectly to the film industry were his transmission developments for the telephone, the phonograph or talking machine, the incandescent lamp, the electric dynamo, the kinetographic camera, and photographic film for motion-picture cameras.

For the first 10 years, motion-pictures consisted of 50-foot snatches of variety acts and topical recordings. With *The Life of An American Fireman* and

The Train Robbery, produced under Edison auspices, the story picture with its art of narration arrived.

In 1909, the pioneer motion-picture director, David Wark Griffith, took a company to the southern part of the Pacific Coast state of California to take



The Edison "peep-hole" Kinetoscope. It is equipped with hearing tubes for synchronised sound

advantage of the year-round excellent light and weather conditions. There, in Hollywood and its environs, the new art medium began to grow into an impressive U.S. industry.

Up to 1927, the motion picture was pure pantomime. But it was inevitable that the alert, imaginative industry should take advantage of technological developments in telephone communication and in radio. With the production in 1927 of *The Jazz Singer*, the first "talking" motion-picture, producers, directors and actors were confronted with the necessity of changing their basic techniques. This they did in an amazingly short time. Dialogue, music and sound effects soon became an integral part of the picture, filling in otherwise silent sequences.—USIS

DEVELOPMENT OF TAGORISM

By DR. RAJANI KANTA DAS and DR. SONYA RUTH DAS*

A most important factor in the social regeneration of India is what may best be called, for the lack of a better term, the development of Tagorism or the life and teaching of Rabindranath Tagore. Like Kalidas in ancient times, Rabindranath is the greatest poet of India in modern times. He was a versatile genius, such as poet, composer, reformer, philosopher, and sage. Moreover, he also showed talents as actor, singer, and even as painter. Like his illustrious father, Devendranath, the spiritual leader of the Brahmo Samaj, who was recognized as Maharshi or great sage, Rabindranath was also very appropriately designated as Rishi or sage, i.e., the one in whom piety and learning were combined, as was often the case in ancient India. Tagorism would, therefore, indicate his manysided activities, thoughts, and ideals, such as cultural renaissance, social reform, rural reconstruction, the Santiniketan School, the Tagore University (former Visva-Bharati or World University), creative literature, and universal religion.

Like Gandhi, Tagore was also one of the greatest men India has ever produced.¹ There were, however, some differences between Gandhi and Tagore. Gandhi was an ascetic and advocated simplicity and frugality in living, and emphasized the importance of self-discipline and self-control as the best means of achieving human dignity in the midst of misery and poverty. Tagore, on the other hand, was an apostle of abundance of life to be achieved through all the human senses in the wide world. In fact, these two great souls represent the moral and spiritual achievements of the two different aspects of the ultimate reality of the Universe, such as a Moral Principle or a Spiritual Being. According to Tagore, monotony of life and lack of joy are the outstanding defects of the Indian people and have made India a static, backward, and unprogressive country. It is the fullness of life alone which can make the people of India happy, active, and progressive.

Rabindranath was born in Calcutta on May, 6, 1861, in the illustrious family of Dwarkanath Tagore, his grandfather, who enjoyed the reputation of both wealth and culture. His father, Devendranath, was the minister of the Adi (first) Brahmo Samaj; his eldest brother, Dwijendranath, a great philosopher; his sister, Swarnkumari, a literary genius; his nephew, Abanindranath, the founder of a new school of art in

India. Rabindranath was educated mostly by private tutors. He began his literary career at a very early age and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; the University of Calcutta conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Literature in the same year and the British Government knighted him in 1915. He delivered the Hibbert Lectures at the University of Oxford in 1930, for which the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him in 1940. In 1931, the people of India celebrated his Seventieth Jayanti (birthday) and presented him with *The Golden Book of Tagore*, to which his friends and admirers all over the world contributed.² But Rabindranath could not escape family misfortunes; he lost his mother at the age of 15, his wife at the age of 42; of his five children, only one son, Rathindranath, and one daughter, Mira, survived him. Of his many dear and devoted friends, both Indian and foreign, mention must be made of Reverend C. F. Andrews, a great Christian humanitarian, for his deep devotion and selfless service to Rabindranath. But Rabindranath rose above all these personal misfortunes and achieved supreme control over himself and devoted his entire life to the intellectual, moral, and spiritual elevation of the people of the world in general and of India in particular. After a service to humanity for over two generations, Rabindranath left this world on August 7, 1941.

An outstanding contribution of Rabindranath to India was the cultural renaissance or the revival of India's cultural achievement, which had been started by Rammohun Roy. While his grandfather Dwarkanath acted as a trustee of the Brahmo Samaj, founded by Rammohun, his father Devendranath revived it, interpreted the Upanishads, on which it was founded, in his famous commentaries (*Bakhyam*), and organized its divine services; Rabindranath acted as its secretary, composed most of its songs and hymns, and defended it against neo-Hinduism. The most important work of Rabindranath was, however, to make Bengali prose, as founded by Rammohun and developed by others, a highly developed literary language. Moreover, he revived folk songs and dances, rural sports and games, and village festivals and fairs; composed songs and plays, and organized public performances, in which he himself and many respectable women took part in spite of strong criticisms by the Hindus and the Brahmos alike. In short, for over half a century,

* Authors of *India and A New Civilization*.

1. The writers were personally acquainted both with Mahatma Gandhi and Poet Tagore.

2. The writers were very happy to contribute their shares to *The Golden Book of Tagore*.

Rabindranath was the personification of India's cultural renaissance.

Rabindranath took up the social reform movement with the same degree of earnestness. He stood against neo-Hinduism, under the guise of which some Hindu leaders bolstered up idolatry and even attempted to make it a part of the national political movement, thus alienating a number of Moslem leaders from the Congress party. He also condemned the caste system, child marriage, and restriction on widow marriage. Rabindranath had different concepts of nationalism and did not approve of the boycott of British goods and the Non-co-operation Movement. But he heartily advocated the Swadeshi (use of indigenous goods) movement and the national system of education. As a poet and philosopher, he devoted himself exclusively to the giving of shape to the intense national feeling which swept all over the country, specially over Bengal, in all forms of literature. They form the beacon light to the future generations and a significant part of his creative literature. The two outstanding acts of Rabindranath during this period were: first, his public denunciation of the Partition of Bengal in 1905; and second, his public renunciation of his Knighthood as protest against the massacre of Amritsar in 1919. On both these occasions, Rabindranath, as India's outstanding personality, symbolised the national feeling against the callous and brutal acts of the British Raj in India.

A burning desire of Rabindranath was the education of the people, about nine-tenths of whom were illiterate, as indicated by the following institutions founded by him:

First, the Santiniketan School (Brahmacharya Ashram or school-under-the-trees) in 1901. His father had already built a *mandir* or hall of worship at Santiniketan, and Rabindranath wanted to make it "a home of the spirit of India." Here children are educated in an atmosphere of beauty and freedom of Nature. They are awakened by the chanting of hymns and all of them join in a prayer. Students and teachers have room and board together, irrespective of race, caste, or religion. Students make their own rules, select their own leaders, organize their own sports and games, administer their own disciplinary measures, thus receiving their training in self-government. Moreover, the Brati-Balaks (Boy Scouts) take part in training the boys of the neighbouring villages in community services. National festivals are observed in the celebration of the seasons of the year, such as spring, autumn, and rainy season, with sports, games, music, and plays, in which both students and teachers take active part. National holidays are observed on the anniversaries of outstanding personalities in moral and spiritual fields. Students of higher classes follow university curriculum for Matriculation examinations. Although

starting as a paternal school or a school under the paternal care of a teacher, as in ancient times, Rabindranath adopted what is the best in Western education and made it a democratic institution.

Second, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan (some two miles from Santiniketan) in 1922. It is, in fact, a part of the Visva-Bharati and was established one year later. As manager of his ancestral estate at Sheleidah, a village on the Ganges, Rabindranath came in close contact with the rural population and, after several experiments in their welfare work, conceived the idea of the Institute. The Institute has a small-scale model farm for teaching the neighbouring cultivators how to utilize improved seeds and crops, and also a school for teaching improved methods in arts and crafts in the light of modern technology. Attempts are also being made to teach the literate how to continue in their home reading and the illiterate how to think. The two notable features of the Institute are: first, the co-operative health and medical services under the direction of a physician appointed by one or more villages for preventing diseases rather than curing them; and second, the supplementing of the Government educational system by training the school teachers in the better methods of teaching, the village boys in the community service under the guidance of the boy-scouts, and the school boarding boys in community leadership.³

Finally, the Visva-Bharati (World University) at Santiniketan, in 1921, with a view to establishing an Institution where East and West could meet and exchange their views, thoughts, and ideas. Education was to be extended in three stages or concentric circles, such as Indian civilizations, Asian civilizations, and Western civilizations. Dr. Brojendranath Seal, India's intellectual leader, opened the University and defined its aim to be the study of human mind in its diverse aspects in order to develop a common culture. Among the essential features of this University mention must be made of the following: (1) The Kala-Bhavan (the School of Art) which, under its prominent artists, has built its national reputation and drawn its students from all parts of the country; (2) the study of ancient cultures, especially Buddhism, with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese books and treatises and the Moslem Culture; and (3) visiting professors, such as Sylvain Levi, a great Oriental linguist from the University of Paris, and Dr. M. Winternitz, a great Indologist from the German University of Prague.

The greatest triumph of Tagorism is the recognition by the people of India⁴ of its value and utility

3. Mr. R. K. Das was the Director of the Institute for Rural Reconstruction in 1924-25.

4. In February, 1940, Poet Tagore wrote to Mahatma Gandhi a letter with the following message: "The Visva-Bharati is like a vessel

and especially the recommendation by the University Education Commission that the Visva-Bharati should be given a provisional charter as a university with suitable capital and recurring grants.⁵ On the basis of this recommendation, the Government of India passed a Bill on May 3, 1951, accepting the Tagore University (the new name for the Visva-Bharati) as central teaching and residential university and incorporating the following original objectives:

(1) To study the mind of man in its realization of the different aspects of truth from diverse points of view:

(2) To bring into more intimate relationship of different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity:

(3) To approach the study of the West from the standpoint of such unity and thought:

(4) To seek to realize in common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and West; and

(5) with such ideals in view, to provide at Santiniketan research and study of religion, literature, history, science, and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian, and other cultures.

Provisions have been made for the non-recurring grant of Rs. 500,000 and the recurring grants of Rs. 450,000 a year. The Santiniketan School will remain an independent institution, but the Institute of Rural Reconstruction will become a part of the Tagore University.⁶

A distinct characteristic of Rabindranath was the "wanderlust" or study and travel in search of truth almost all over the world. He travelled practically all over India; most of the countries of Europe, including the Soviet Union; China, Japan, Indo-China, Bali, Java, Thailand, Malaya, Burma, Iraq, and Iran in Asia; and also Egypt, the United States, Canada, and Argentina. These studies and travels had profound effect upon the mind of Rabindranath. First, he came in contact with representative men and women in most of these countries and established moral and spiritual relationship with them. Second, in his study and travel over the globe, Rabindranath came across many new truths and found many new things which India could accept either in original or modified forms for her own benefit. Finally, Rabindranath brought India's cultural message to most of the countries representing what was the best and noblest in India's glorious past and also what India was striving to achieve in material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual fields. India could not find a better representative than Rabindranath for her cultural message to the world.⁷

which is carrying the cargo of my life's best treasure and, I hope, it may claim the special care of my countrymen for its preservation."

5. See footnote 1, page 32.

6. *India News Bulletin*, Indian Embassy, Washington, D.C., April 26 and May 18, 1951.

7. The first European travel of Rabindranath Tagore took place

Above all, Rabindranath was a great poetic genius and it was in this field that he made his greatest contribution. Beginning with his *Evening Songs* and *Morning Songs*, with which he commenced his literary career at the age of 18, Rabindranath continued to write practically to the end of his life on various subjects and in various forms, such as poems, essays, sermons, dramas, novels, and stories, and composed and set to music songs and hymns creating new moral and spiritual values.⁸ His creative literature has various aspects, such as the concept of the universe in unsurpassing grandeur and beauty; description of Urvashi, a celestial nymph of Hindu mythology, in exquisite feminine charms; glorification of human virtues, e.g., devotion, bravery, honesty, and fidelity, as well as human relationships, maternal affection, conjugal love, fellow-feeling and universal brotherhood; and realization of the ultimate reality of the universe as a Spiritual Being and in terms of truth, beauty, and goodness, as expressed in his poems, songs, and hymns and as best indicated by *Gitanjali*. In the simplicity of diction, richness of thought, intensity of devotion, and sublimity of concept, they stand the highest among moral and spiritual achievements of mankind.

Another great contribution of Rabindranath is his conception and realization of a universal religion. The perception of unity in the midst of diversity might have been revealed to him by his poetical genius, but comparative religion founded by Ram-mohun Roy and also his own personal experience acquired by close contact with representative men and women in different countries, might have also supplied him with its social background. Rabindranath was strongly opposed to the unification and uniformity of diverse cultural patterns and advocated the preservation of their individualities by mutual appreciation and respect inasmuch as they add to the richness and beauty of the growing concept of universal humanity. Moreover, a sympathetic understanding of the differences in other cultures will also pave the way to the growth of universal love, which is the essence of a universal religion and international peace. Rabindranath worshipped the ultimate reality or Spiritual Being not only as truth, beauty, and goodness, but also as love, which made his religion a living faith. With the progress of philosophy, science, and technology as well as increasing

in 1878 and the eleventh in 1932. In 1932, he was also invited by the Shah of Persia, and on that occasion, he also visited Iraq. In 1934, he made an extensive tour in Ceylon.

8. Rabindranath Tagore's publications amounted to 60 poetical works, over 3,000 songs, and a vast amount of prose writings of all kinds which still remain to be enumerated. Of his most important and popular works, mention may be made of only a few: *Gitanjali* (1912); *Gardener*, *Crescent Moon*, *Chitra* (1913); *Post Office* and *Sadhana* (1914); *Kabir's Poems* (1915); *Hungry Stone* (1916); *Cycle of Spring* (1917); *Home and the World* (1919); *Crescent Moon* (1922); *Gora* and *Red Oleander* (1924); and *Religion of Man* (1931).

communication facilities and international organizations, the individual life has expanded manifold both in intensity and extensity, the intellectual,

moral, and spiritual demands of which can be supplied only by a growing faith in a universal humanity, universal love, and universal religion.

9. References: Chatterjee, Ramananda: *The Golden Book of Tagore*, Calcutta, 1931; Thompson, E. D.: *Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist*, London, (1948); Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Religion of Man, Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1930; Paul, R. I.: *Tagore and His Life Campaign*, Lahore, 1942. Sykes, Marjori: *Rabindranath Tagore*, Madras, 1944; Sen, Sudhir: "Rabindranath Tagore on Rural Reconstruction," *Visva-Bharati*, 1943; Radha Kriehnan, S.: *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, London, 1918.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY

By NARAYANI BOSE, M.A.

HEGEL's political philosophy may be said to be the culmination of the great idealistic movement that started in Europe. His political thought is derived from his metaphysics. Analysing this world of nature Hegel finds one common principle,—a principle of reason operating everywhere. What alone exists for Hegel is thought, idea or law of reason. But then readily occurs the difficulty that thought as such can never exist at all. In order to be real thought requires particular objects through which it can take concrete form. Annihilate all things, where will form stand? Thus mathematical laws and physical forms operate everywhere, but without things these are mere abstract notions. Similarly, Absolute Reason, so far as it does not objectify itself in this world, remains an abstract universal. So, in order to realise itself, the Absolute evolves from within and manifests itself in this external world. By this act of self-determination the Absolute makes itself finite, concrete and particular. The particular again, in its turn, seeks to identify itself with the Absolute. In this way the particular progressively realises the idea or notion. So, behind the progressive development of the world there is an infinite Reason or Idea. Hegel has identified this Idea with Divine design. The events of history are not accidental facts. In the development of historical events Reason progressively realises its essence, viz., 'freedom'. The realisation of freedom is the goal of Reason.

The method by which Idea marches onward to realise itself is the dialectic. This principle of progress does not exist outside but within the Idea itself. It means that every notion in itself is one-sided and contains its opposite within itself. The second moment of the idea which is the antithesis of the first is similarly one-sided. These two moments are synthesised in a higher notion which is more concrete, therefore more rational and real than the preceding notions. But this higher notion also proves itself to be one-sided and the triadic process goes on, Reason manifests itself through this dialectic movement.

The State comes into existence in the historical development of Spirit or Idea. Hegel thinks that the State is the instrument of Spirit to attain its real freedom,

because freedom which is the essence of Spirit, originates in will and will contains two elements: the element of pure indeterminacy, i.e., universality and the element of determination and differentiation, i.e., particularity. Freedom consists in the unity of these two moments and Hegel thinks that the attainment of this unity is possible only in the State. "Truth is the unity of the universal and subjective will and the universal is to be found in the State, in its laws, its universal and rational arrangements." (*Philosophy of History*). The individual has conflicting impulses. "The satisfaction of one is unavoidably subordinated or sacrificed to the satisfaction of another." (*Philosophy of Right*). To preserve the interest of the individual and at the same time to establish the social interest over private interest is the goal of Spirit, because the incompatibility of private desire and social interest is accompanied by a corresponding bondage of the Spirit. The desire to realise one's own potentiality within society is already contained within his inherent infinite potential spirit. This desire of the individual is described by Hegel as morality. The peculiarity of morality lies in the fact that here one's own conviction does not bear sway. It is the outward manifestation of what is subjectively demanded by reason. The moral consciousness of man always demands that man will realise his potentiality and at the same time give opportunity to others to develop their personality. "Be a person and respect others as persons" is the imperative of right itself. But sometimes ordinary men, in whom Spirit is yet to be manifested, are so much engaged with their private interests that they forget their social interest and to make their rational will manifest laws of the State are necessary. So, law is nothing but the outward manifestation of morality.

Infinite universal will as existing in the individual is infinite in form but finite in content. This individual will is not free because the desires of one in the process of actualisation come into conflict with those of others. Of course, arbitrary will can change its course but it cannot get rid of its finitude. So it always negates the abstract infinite will. The individual finite will can get back its original nature by rationalising and purifying

its impulses. This is the work of morality. Hegelian ethics steps in to reconcile the conflict of individual desire and universal will as embodied in social interest. The State can come into existence only when the ethical basis is prepared in society. The moral principle takes a concrete shape in the external world through the laws of the State. So, with Hegel, law is nothing but the rational will of man. In this way, Hegel tries to reconcile the inwardness of morality with the externality of law.

In opposition to this view some are of opinion that man is free by nature. His essential nature requires no law or government because they curtail the freedom of the individual. But natural freedom, which is brute passion in pre-State society, restrains freedom itself. The State and its laws certainly impose limitations on the individuals belonging to it but these limit only their brute passions. In fact, the State has a double relation to the individual. On the one hand the individual must be aware that the State is external to him, determining him and even constraining him. The State must stand above every citizen within it and must have power to mould any of its factors. To it any member may appeal for protection against any other. It is the supreme judge and has the supreme right. On the other hand the individual must know that the State is not an alien power but the expression and realisation of his own rational will. It is only his caprice which is constrained but he has every right to develop his personality within the State. By right Hegel does not mean the liberty to do anything but the rational claim of an individual to the exercise of some faculty and a concession of that claim by society. Thus, right is nothing but the individual consciousness of having an object in common with others. Now it may be asked if the individual has got certain rights within the State then under what conditions these rights are liable to be forfeited? Or in other words, is the State entitled to inflict punishment upon the individual? Hegel answers in the affirmative. (To him crime is nothing but the infringement of right as right and justice demands the negation of such infringement by force.) So punishment is inherently just. The State can punish the individual because by punishing him it helps to establish his rational will itself. So capital punishment is justified only when the criminal is permanently incapable of rights, i.e., rational exercise of his will.

Hegel thinks that the State is the best embodiment of the Idea. Yet to what extent the State will be able to embody it depends upon its internal constitution. Hegel seems to have preferred constitutional monarchy to every other form of government. He affirms that sovereignty resides in the State as a legal person although that personality must find expression in an individuality and a well-trained monarch becomes the true bearer of State personality. In the historical development of Idea, there have been different phases: Oriental, Greek, Roman, Christian and German. The Orientals did not yet attain to the conception of Spirit as freedom; hence they were

not free. They knew that only one was free and the freedom of that man resulted into absolute power. The mass of people had no rights. The consciousness of freedom first arose among the Greeks. But they also gave freedom only to a few. The vast majority were outside the fold of Greek democracy. The Roman State further extended the scope of freedom by making laws for all citizens. But here also the balance was soon upset and led to despotism. It is in the German State that freedom recovered its universal basis. Thus Reason marches from East to West.

In the onward march of Spirit the State which has embodied the Idea at its best comes into the forefront with its claim of superior nationality. But gradually it proves itself incompetent to cope with the onward development of Spirit and a new State takes charge of the banner of progress. In this dialectical way the development of State goes on.

Undoubtedly, Hegel's philosophy centres round the State. Still he does not minimise the importance of individual freedom. Hegel even thinks that it is the passionate activity of man through which Idea actualises itself. By passion Hegel means 'human activity as resulting from private interest'. Private interest is the vehicle of the universal and men by the very pursuit of their private ends realise the universal. The importance of great men lies in the fact that they while seeking their own interest serve a great social purpose. Thus they are the milestones of history. Thus Caesar was contending for his position. But while the power of his opponents included the power over the Roman Empire, Caesar's victory secured for him the conquest of the Roman Empire itself. And this conquest involves the consolidation of the small states into the Roman state, a great political change accomplished towards the freedom of Reason while Caesar was biding for his self-interest. In this way world-historical personages seek their own interest but their actions achieve more than their conscious intentions and thereby fulfil the intention of Reason. These world-historical individuals follow the inexorable dictates of Reason and when their role is played, they depart from the stage of History.

Like Plato, Hegel has developed a utopian conception of State. History belies the verdict that the State is the root of all progress. Progress is possible in a weak State centring round its culture or individual personalities as in the cases of India and China. Neither does history admit that the leadership of the king or of the aristocratic class can help to develop an ideal State. It has very often led to despotism. Hegelian theory wherever applied in practice has resulted in the denial of individual rights against the State. Of course, if the State can really resolve the conflict between the individual and society, the individual need not feel any suppression. But the point is whether any State has ever actualised Hegelian utopia. There is some truth in Russell's hit that Hegelian freedom has been converted into the right to obey the law.

Hegel's conception of a historically leading nation has a fascistic leaning. In his opinion, in every age only one nation will reveal the Idea with which its own progress is identified. The historical nation has therefore the right to go on aggressive war against smaller nations. This glorification of the State and of the superior nation and the justification of war have given the philosophical incentive to fascism. Of course, Hegel himself was never in favour of the fascistic idea. Although he never minimised individual value, he believed in the absolutism of the State. His ideal State is an authoritarian State and it must establish its superiority by imposing its control over other nations. Thus in practice, Hegel has served the inspiration for the totalitarian and chauvinistic view of State.

So, Hegel's theory of State is a noble but impractical idea. Nevertheless it has made some contributions to the modern democratic State. Having suppressed individual desires which go against the social interest the State does not curtail individual liberty, rather it establishes actual liberty. Modern democracy also accepts this view. It aims at establishing a balance between economic equality and political liberty. If the individual is given too much of political liberty it will only secure the economic domination of capitalism as Marx visualised. Hence modern democratic theory admits State interference in individual enterprise as a necessary condition for maintaining the economic balance of society and for adjustment of individual with collective interest which is the practical element in Hegel's philosophy.

Q. 1. In 'Geist' — 'Spirit'?

2. In what sense Hegel's philosophy uses to accept Spirit?

ART IN EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

ONE of the serious defects of the present school curriculum is that it fails to meet the physical, social, and emotional needs of children, too much stress being laid upon the development of their intellect. Education has thus been made synonymous with mere book-learning and the imparting of theoretical information in the class rooms. "The education of the whole man" or an all-round development of a child's mind is being hardly aimed at in the present-day educational system of the country. If education is to be a dynamic force in life, it should not merely consist in the acquisition of theoretical knowledge through books. Education, in the true sense of the term, is not mere telling things—not something imposed upon the minds of children from outside. But the real aim of education should be to develop the latent powers and potentialities of a child's mind and to direct them on the right lines. So an important place should be assigned to art in the education of children, inasmuch as it affords them ample scope for "self-expression in material forms," and provides an outlet for their imagination and emotional energies. No impression can be perfect without expression. To quote an eminent Psychologist:

"Expression and impression react upon each other and each helps to perfect the other, so that where there is no power of expression, the power of impression itself is maimed and crippled."

There is no gainsaying the truth of this statement. No lasting impression can be formed on our mind; unless and until a particular thought or idea is reproduced in some outward form. Art constitutes a far more important and effective

means of self-expression than writing. When a absent object is described in words, or an idea expressed through the medium of a language, the mental picture formed thereby is in the nature of pure abstraction, and fails to be as clear and vivid as the representation of the idea or the object in a piece of art, such as drawing, painting, or modelling, which is a far more direct and accurate reproduction of the idea or the object in question. Besides, the importance of the imaginative and emotional appeal inherent in a creation of art cannot be under-rated. Every man is more or less a creator: he was made after the image of the Divine Creator, as the Bible says. His imagination as well as his power of creation finds expression in art. Tagore has aptly observed:

"Man has a fund of emotional energy, which is not all occupied with his self-preservation. The surplus seeks its outlet in the creation of art, for man's civilisation is built upon his surplus."

Here man differs from the animal, most of whose physical resources and energies are exhausted in their effort to live—in their struggle for existence. The activities of the latter are mostly motivated by the instinct and urge of self-preservation as well as the preservation of the race.

"Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?"

But unlike the animal, man is not content to confine himself within the bounds of necessity or practical utility. Man, to whom "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," is not always inclined to judge

things in terms of utility and necessity. Very often he throws the claims of thrift or necessity to the winds, and is lavish in the use of his resources and materials. Thus economy and thrift are sacrificed to the decorative and ornamental, which cannot altogether be ruled out of his life. Man is not satisfied with the mere erection of houses and buildings, which barely serve to protect and shelter him from the sun and the inclemency of weather. He has spared no pains to beautify the buildings constructed by him. His attempts at the creation of beauty have crystallized themselves in the form of architecture throughout all ages. The different styles of architecture thus testify to man's innate love of beauty and is indicative of his aesthetic sense. (Man has tried to indulge in his aesthetic sense as well as his love of the beautiful in furnishing his dwelling houses also. All the luxurious articles of furniture that a rich man possesses were not perhaps invented for the sake of necessity and comfort only. Some of the furniture may be conducive to his comfort. But from the practical point of view, many of the things are considered to be quite unnecessary. Probably most of the articles of luxury are designed and calculated to satisfy man's love of the beautiful.) Clothes are a primordial necessity of man's life. But the average civilised man is not content with the mere clothing of his body. He has tried to evolve the art of dressing from time to time, and to set the fashion in style. The different styles of dresses betoken the variety of his tastes and his artistic sense. Perhaps the decorative and ornamental portions of his dresses can easily be dispensed with. Not to speak of the various designs in the ornaments and jewelleries that women adorn their persons with, those are absolutely unnecessary from the point of view of practical utility. Similarly man is not satisfied with the bare narration of facts and the imparting of information. He has tried to create beautiful art and literature by way of self-expression. It is no use multiplying instances. In every sphere of life man's emotional energies and sentiments surpass the limits of necessity and utility and find expression in the creations of art, which bear the stamp of his personality. (The genesis of all the great works of art, brought into being with the creative power of man, can be traced to his inherent love of the beautiful and his eternal passion for self-expression. As Tagore has beautifully put it:

"Man's energies running on two parallel lines—that of utility and self-expression tend to meet and mingle. By constant human associations sentiments gather round our things of use and invite the help of art to reveal themselves."

So it is the emotions of man which are transfused into the world of reality and actuality and help to transform this matter-of-fact world into that of

sentiments and idealism. Practical utility is not, therefore, the criterion by which the value of a work of art should be judged. Perhaps the very idea will be revolting to the artist in man. In the words of Tagore:

"Where there is an element of the superfluous in our heart's relationship with the world, Art has its birth. (In other words, where our personality feels its wealth it breaks out in display.)"

Quite apart from the fact that art serves the purpose of an important medium through which man expresses his personality—his emotions and sentiments, it plays a very important part in the education of children's imagination and the cultivation of their powers of observation and invention. So in schools children should be afforded ample opportunities of participating in creative activities, which call forth a good deal of their imagination, memory, and inventive powers and serve to train them in the powers of observation. Their imagination as well as creative instinct is thus appealed to. Children should be taught to observe and appreciate whatever is beautiful in nature and the surroundings in which they find themselves. In schools, every endeavour should be made to inculcate the love of beauty upon children, with a view to developing their aesthetic sense and artistic tastes. Care should be taken that the environment in which they 'live, move, and have their being' is as beautiful as possible. So attempts should be made to surround children with beautiful things. Beautiful surroundings, also, help to beget a love of beauty among them. Children may be called upon to observe and appreciate the beauty that exists in nature. They should be taught how to appreciate beautiful works of art—the beauty of form, colour, and arrangement, as well as symmetry, proportion, and the harmony and contrast of colours. Some people are of the opinion that the love of beauty and the colour sense, which are inborn, cannot be cultivated. But practical experience has proved that the aesthetic and artistic sense of children can be developed and trained to some extent. (Their eyes can be trained to observe the beauty of form, colour and arrangement in whatever they see, so that they may be able to reproduce and recreate that beauty in their own creation of art. Beautiful surroundings cannot but leave their impress on the plastic minds of children and serve as an incentive for creating beauty.) Now the question is how to provide beautiful surroundings for children. This may not always be possible in their homes, because the average middle class parents can hardly afford pretty gardens or beautiful works of art which are looked upon as a luxury beyond their means. Hence the necessity and importance of school gardens, art galleries, and artistic school buildings. Attempts

should be made to develop the tastes of children on the right lines from their very infancy. So the cultivation and training of their aesthetic sense should begin even at the pre-school stage. A school garden is considered to be indispensable to a nursery school. The little ones may, also, be called upon to take part in gardening with a view to developing a love of beauty among them. Small plots may be assigned to each class and children may be entrusted with the work of sowing seeds, preparing the soil, weeding, and watering plants. They can thus be taught to observe and love whatever is beautiful in nature. Their colour sense as well as powers of observation may well be trained in and through gardening which constitutes a good manual training also. In the course of gardening children may be taught how to appreciate the beauty of form, colour and arrangement. Symmetry, proportion, harmony and designing may be taught, when planning out the lay-out of a garden. Children's colour sense may be trained through the natural colours of flowers and leaves. Gardening may be of great help in developing the artistic sense of children, who may thus be induced to reproduce the beautiful things of nature in works of their own creation—drawing, painting, and modelling. A taste in decoration may also be developed through the furnishing of the school house and the decoration of the class-rooms on festive occasions. Children may be trained in that art of decoration in various ways. On special occasions they may be asked to arrange flowers in vases, to decorate the floors of rooms and verandahs by means of *alpona* designs, to paint the walls of class-rooms, to decorate the walls and gates of the school buildings with flowers, leaves, etc. The aesthetic sense of children may also be cultivated through needlework and the art of dressing. The colour scheme forms an important factor in decoration, dressing and needlework. Besides all this, children should be afforded ample opportunities of seeing beautiful works of art also. With this end in view, art-galleries should be provided in schools, where possible, and wherever funds permit. If an art-gallery proves too expensive, pupils may be called upon to equip one, on a small scale, with the best specimens of their own production. Children may, also, be asked to collect beautiful pictures, curios, and other odds and ends for the purpose of equipping an art gallery in their school. Thus their collective instinct, too, will be appealed to. Where possible, occasional visits to art-galleries and art exhibitions should be arranged, so that children may be given ample opportunities of looking at beautiful productions of art by eminent artists of the day. They will thus be made to appreciate art and beauty, and will develop a taste for the beautiful. Such pupils as possess artistic talents will be able to realise that they are also endowed with the power of

creating art and reproducing the beauty of art and nature in their own work.

There seems to be very little method or purpose in teaching the kind of handiwork or art that is usually taught at the average school in West Bengal at the present moment. The little that is taught is anything but well-graded and systematic. Attempts should be made to evolve and follow a well-thought-out scheme of handiwork. At the pre-school stage, children may be asked to cut out beautiful coloured pictures or to fill in the outlines of things drawn with suitable colours. Various designs and models may, also, be taught by means of paper cutting and paper folding. Coloured paper may be cut out by children in the shape of flowers, fruits, or animals. Their powers of observation may be trained through these exercises. Stories and nursery rhymes may well be illustrated with coloured pictures and charts to be prepared for the purpose. The matching of colours and the art of dressing may be taught, through needlework as well as play. The little ones may be called upon to make garments for their dolls, and to dress them in the up-to-date style. Some clay-modelling and toy-making with simple waste materials may be taught at this stage too. However crude and humble children's attempts at self-expression may be, these should be encouraged by all means. In the junior schools, *i.e.*, at the primary stage, some clay-modelling, paper-cutting, paper-folding, and paper-modelling, the cutting out and colouring of pictures, chalk-drawing and the like, are generally taught at the present moment. There is no denying the fact that this type of handiwork has got a value of its own, inasmuch as it helps to cultivate children's powers of observation and is of great help in training their senses. An important purpose is served thereby, as the training of the senses should form the basis and corner-stone of the education of children. But so far, very little efforts have been made to provide a well-graded course of handiwork, which should be perfectly adapted to the physical and psychological needs of children, and which should harmonise with their physical and psychological development. Gradation is an important factor, which should not be lost sight of, when drawing up the art syllabus. The co-ordination of the smaller muscles of children's eyes and hands is not perfect until they attain the age of six or seven. At this stage, such exercises as involve "wide sweeping arm movements and broad hand movements" should be set. From seven to fourteen the power of accuracy in detailed movements is acquired rapidly. A well-arranged course of art or handiwork must be based on the principles of gradation, and should be consonant with the order of the development of muscular co-ordination. The smaller pupils should, therefore, be mainly taught "Free-arm Drawing" and the "Modelling of general mass." We

know, "The mind apprehends wholes before details," and preception and muscular co-ordination develop simultaneously. So the representation of the finer details in drawing and modelling should be aimed at, at a later stage, after the co-ordination of the smaller muscles has become more perfect. In the earlier stages of teaching, modelling should precede drawing, the latter being a more abstract and artificial mode of representing solid forms than the former. Of course, both can be made to illustrate and supplement each other throughout. It should always be borne in mind that mass-drawing in colour should be taught before outline-drawing. Drawing in mass should, therefore, be introduced soon after modelling has been begun. Coloured chalks, instead of the brush, should be used at this stage. At a later stage, however, mass-drawing with the brush and water colour may be taught along with outline-drawing with a pencil. Each may be made to supplement the other. Throughout an effective course, the originality of work should be encouraged by all means. Mere copying should not be resorted to, when teaching either drawing or modelling. Children should be asked to draw from nature and to reproduce things from memory and imagination. This will help to develop their powers of observation, memory, and imagination. At the primary school stage, children may be told stories, and, later on, they may be asked to illustrate those with pictures. The stories need to be told in such a way that children may be able to visualise the pictures conjured up in the course of narration and to draw them from memory and imagination. A clever and resourceful teacher should never try to keep too closely to the syllabus, and should always try to provide as much variation as possible. In art work, attempts should be made to do away with the rigidity of a cut-and-dried syllabus.

It is a great pity that at the average school in West Bengal, very little importance is attached to handiwork. Even in those few schools where handiwork has been included in the time-table, it is seldom treated seriously. Very often handiwork is looked upon as a subject by itself without any relation, whatsoever, to the other subjects of the curriculum. Probably only a handful of teachers specialise in a course of handiwork and are properly equipped for the purpose of teaching it on sound, rational, and systematic lines. They seldom care to think out and evolve the type of handiwork best suited to the requirements of the children of different ages. Nor do they know how to teach it on efficient lines. Very few of them have any idea as to how handiwork can be turned into an important educational method. There is a tendency on the part of the average teacher to consider handiwork or art to be a subject of the curriculum, rather

than an educational method. Handiwork or art, if properly employed, comes to the aid of much of the school instruction on every subject, and its correlation with other subjects can be as varied and interesting as possible. All the important subjects of the curriculum admirably lend themselves to concrete illustration by means of charts, models, pictures, etc. Thus the correlation of quite a number of subjects with drawing, painting, modelling and gardening may be effected. Drawing, and painting may be taught in correlation with nature-study, History, Geography, Hygiene, gardening and needlework. Similarly modelling may also be correlated with History, Geography, Hygiene, and Nature-study. Art or handiwork thus constitutes an important educational method, the value of which cannot be emphasised too strongly, inasmuch as it involves the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The charts and models may be prepared by the pupils, on a co-operative basis, for the purpose of the illustration of lessons, each contributing his or her share to the work. Teaching can thus be reduced to an art, and children will naturally enjoy the lessons. If instruction is made agreeable, the teachers will find it much easier to command the attention of their pupils and to maintain discipline in the class. Such concrete illustration will help to get things fixed in children's memory.

Besides the educational handiwork mentioned above, children may be taught a few useful handicrafts, too, which may be of some use to them in earning their livelihood or supplementing their family income in later life. So, where possible, there should be an arts and crafts section, attached to the high and middle English schools. Many children, who may not turn out to be good scholars may be very clever at handiwork. Want of proficiency in academical subjects does not necessarily mean want of dexterity in manual skill. Such children as are intellectually backward and will not go in for a higher academic career or University education may specialise in art or handiwork. So provision for a vocational course should be made at schools, wherever funds and space permit. It may not always be possible for the average high and middle school to run an arts and crafts section, on a very big scale, on the lines of *Kala Bhavan* of Santiniketan. But the course to be provided must needs be sufficiently varied, so as to enable the pupils to discover and develop their own special tastes and aptitudes, and to ascertain the kind of occupation that is most congenial to them and for which they are most fitted. In high schools, the teaching of art should be made compulsory up to class VIII. Children should be afforded ample opportunities of discovering their own tastes and aptitudes, before they decide upon a specialised course. So specialisation should not begin until at the age of fourteen.

PROGRESSIVISM AND THE POETRY OF ESCAPE AND REVOLT.

By PROF. RAJENDRA SINGH AHLUWALIA, M.A.

POPULAR opinion to-day tends to associate progressivism with literature of the communistic brand. While admitting that communistic literature may include progressive thought, it is not very clear as to why the curve of progress need necessarily incline to one direction only—the left. Progress, after all, is a relative thing. What is extolled as progressive in the cultural and social context of one period of history may be, and often is, regarded retrogressive in the changed mental climate of the age immediately succeeding. Hence progressive literature may not be the exclusive monopoly of any political party or intellectual coterie. The dynamic potentialities of progress are in danger of being lost sight of, if we view it as a fixed and static entity in any social, political or cultural ideology which, for the moment, may dominate the thoughts of men. Thus viewed the word "progressive" will but be synonymous with "modern"; and it will, then, be futile to talk of progressive poetry in the past. The Protean character of progress makes the definition of the term difficult, but not impossible, for the broad features of progress, in any age, bear family likeness and may easily be picked out.

Progressivism in poetry demands from the poet, inter alia, a significant response to the time spirit, or the "Zeitgeist." In the process of communication the poet should create a heightened awareness of the reality to which he so sharply reacts. For a poet to be progressive it is not enough to merely react to the existing situation in a more sensitive way than the average man does. He must clothe his reactions in an intelligible language which, apart from being intelligible, takes cognizance of the peculiar idiom and ways of thought of the particular age in which he finds himself writing.

But unfortunately the romantic tradition of English poetry since the 16th century has perpetuated a popular poetic conception which has continued to wean poetry away from the everyday life and thus diverting it, for long periods, from the main source of progress. Milton, the great poet, may be held responsible for sidetracking poetry from its highway by offering a seemingly innocent verdict that it should be "simple, sensuous and passionate." The romantic temperament, through the ages, has seized upon this slogan to justify its withdrawal from the grim realities of life into an ivory tower. In essence, Keats' dictum that poetry should "surprise us with a fine excess," is not therefore very different. The popular mind may then be excused if it expects from poetry no higher aim than that it should 'move' the reader irrespective of the stuff of poetry. Not that the poetry of withdrawal from reality is not great according

to certain accepted standards but it certainly may not be called progressive because instead of creating a heightened awareness of experience it tends to bring about, in the poet and the reader, a state of mind which aims at softening the experience. Escape from reality does not make for progress, for the rush of reality cannot be stemmed by burying one's head in the sand. Nor does it pay a poet to turn his back, like the Lady of Shallot, on the colour and din of a life none too pleasant.

A few daring spirits at critical moments in the history of poetic development in England revolted against this arbitrary poetic ideal which sought to oversimplify the theory of poetry. They attempted to renovate the poetic ideal by introducing a criticism of life in it. But by far the greatest number of the 19th century poets subscribed to the escapist formula. Not to speak of the Romantics in the first three decades of the 19th century who by their very mode of thinking tended to be 'other-worldly,' even the great Victorians like Tennyson and Arnold apparently voicing contemporary thought, actually confirmed the poetic convention of withdrawal. In spite of his "Palace of Art" and "The Lady of Shallot," where the obvious moral is against a life of isolation, Tennyson could not rise above the escapist mentality because even in the "Palace of Art," poetry belongs to the palace. Arnold who made much of "this strange disease of modern life, its sick hurry and divided aims" and "this iron time of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears" employed these trappings of reality as a means of escape to the freshness of an early world. For all their intellectual unrest these great poets were merely carrying on the romantic tradition of Shelley, Byron and Keats. The core of their poetic temperament was persistently assailed by the canker of other-worldliness. If they occasionally deviated into a poetry of stark realism, it was a temporary aberration.

Browning of all the great Victorian poets had the making of a progressive poet. He did introduce living interests in his poetry and his use of the spoken idiom in verse might have raised him to the stature of a progressive poet but he fell in the pit of the esoteric which, earlier, had been the grave of Donne's poetry and later on that of the symbolists and the imagists. Even William Morris, a man of great common sense, reserved poetry for his day dreams. The decadent poetry of the Georgians continued this debilitated tradition right into the 20th century in spite of the fitful attempts of poets like Bridges, Sassoon and Owen to sound a progressive note by merely introducing modern idiom in their poetry. But poetry cannot be made progressive by simply mentioning modern things, catalogue-fashion, unless the

accessories of modern life are knitted into the fabric of poetic thought. No amount of mentioning—

"A million, million Spermatozoa,
All of them alive
Out of their cataclysm but one poor Noah
Dare hope to survive."

—ALDOUS HUXLEY

will transform the merely ostentatious and clever into the actually progressive.

Escapist attitude then goes against the spirit of progressive poetry. But this does not exclude the map of vision from the domain of poetry. It only stresses a too often forgotten fact, that the poet need not necessarily be a visionary, a maker of dreams. His head may float in the clouds but his feet should be squarely planted on the terra firma. Keats, for instance, talked glibly of the agony and strife of human hearts, yet he was essentially fed on manna dew and had irresistible attraction towards "the magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn." He seemed strangely oblivious of the fact that a bloody revolution across the channel, and the advent of industrialism in England, had shaken the ways of life and thought of millions of men, thereby creating the need of a revaluation of life. Keats then may be a great poet but he can hardly be a progressive poet according to the strictest sense of the term.

This does not, again, mean that a progressive poet is forbidden "to look before and after," fixing his gaze only on the immediate present. The past has certainly a value for him but only as a link in the continuous chain of time whose farthest end creeps into the future. The past should interpret the present and serve as a guidance for the future. But merely to yearn for the past, to pine for what is not, to owe "devotion to something afar from the sphere of our sorrow" is a step backward. The progressive poet stands like the two-headed God, Janus, on the crossroads of the past, the present and the future. He is not only an interpreter but a prophet as well. Appreciating the value of historical perspective he yet revolts against what in the course of time has become the hackneyed and the trite. In such circumstances it becomes an article of faith for a progressive poet to break away from the past. He would share Omar Khyam's desire to shatter "the sorry scheme of things entire" in order to remould it nearer to the heart's desire. This shattering of a few window-panes to let in a gust of fresh air is a commendable act only if it is creative also. Because the spirit of revolt though generally found amongst progressive poets does not in itself make for progress. Byron revolted violently against the traditional morality of his day, yet he cannot claim the title of progressivism, his love of freedom notwithstanding. He was more of an iconoclast than a creative artist. He gave slashing blows to a crumbling order but he lacked the necessary creative power to hasten the birth of a new world. Shelley, the revolutionary and the rebel, fared no better. He swore against kings and priests—the enemies of mankind, yet he too had no clear idea as to

what was to replace the "dying faiths" and empires—the wrecks of a dissolving dream. Both these poets great in their own way did not venture a positive solution of the problems of life and stopped short of being progressive. The spirit of the rebel should partake of the spirit of the pioneer, if progress is to be registered.

Wordsworth, on the other hand, did the trick. His revolt against the stereotyped and the second-hand resulted in a new turn to the 19th century poetry. He made an honest attempt to approximate the language of poetry to the language of everyday life and introduced a democratic note in English poetry which was quite in consonance with the early flutterings of political democracy in the first half of the 19th century. Poetry was liberated from the clutches of the scholar, the wit and the courtier and came within the intellectual reach of the humblest of human beings. His revolt against the tyranny of the 18th century poetic diction and the affectation of thought resulted in the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* which in itself is a landmark in the history of poetic development in England inasmuch as the scope of poetry was widened to include all subjects under the sun, from the meanest flower, the humblest reaper to "the still sad music of humanity." Thus Wordsworth did satisfy one of the conditions of progressivism and in as great a measure may be called progressive.

Once before in the 17th century Donne had Wordsworth's opportunity but he foundered his barge against the rock of newness and perversity. He held out a promise of progressivism but unfortunately that promise was only partially made good. He rescued poetry from the sentimental trash of the poetasters who followed the great age of Shakespeare but was unable to bring it nearer life. He found himself placed at a point of national consciousness when the swing of the psychological pendulum inevitably drove him away from the traditional, the merely trite. But the element of recoil in him veered perilously towards the extravagant and the eccentric and what might have been the most progressive impulse degenerated into a quest for the novel and the strange.

To lay our finger on a really progressive poet we have to jump to the present age and meet T. S. Eliot. He has not only effected a complete break with the 19th century poetic convention of the "other-worldliness" but has also broken new ground by expressing a modern sensibility and the contemporary ways of thought and feeling in a language that takes cognizance of the advances in psycho-analysis and scientific technology in our day. His poems portray the crisis of the soul that is the characteristic feature of our times. Our civilisation is "the waste land." "We are the hollowmen, shape without form, shade without colour, paralysed force, gesture without motion." To portray faithfully such a complex civilisation as ours and to lay bare the inmost recesses of a modern man—a cocktail of contradictions—a poet has necessarily to exhibit an encyclopædic temperament and an originality of style and pattern far beyond the comprehension of an average man. So the charge of unintelli-

gibility levelled against him is, to say the least, unfair to the poet as it is born of a lack of proper appreciation of the complexity and many-sidedness of our modern life. It is not the poet's fault if only a microscopic minority is aware of the manifold content of modern civilization or if the available fund of knowledge and culture has not penetrated deep into the masses and has only touched the fringe of a learned few. Is not the poet justified in making incursions into various fields of psychology, history, mythology, science and religion, if he takes upon himself the difficult task of portraying the ways and thoughts of the modern man—a despair of psychologists? Thus viewed, *The Waste Land* is a remarkable poem. To the uninitiated reader the poem may seem chaotic. It presupposes on the part of the reader a familiarity with the works of Dante, with Buddha, Upanishads and the mythologies of the East and the West. But is not the all-inclusive character of modern knowledge responsible for the complexity of the poem? As a progressive poet, the business of T.S. Eliot was to create an added awareness to the facts of contemporary experience and integrate them into the cosmic scheme of things. And this he has been able to do. Consider how pointedly and significantly he describes the disease of modern life, the boredom, the vacancy and idle expectancy of a modern man in the following lines:

"What shall I do now? What shall I do?
I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street
with my hair down, so. What shall we do
tomorrow?
What shall we ever do?
The hot water at ten
And if it rains, a closed car at four
And we shall play a game of chess,
Pressing lidless eyes and waiting for a knock
upon the door."

And who could better describe the tragedy of modern life which mistakes the shadow for the substance than T. S. Eliot in the lines:

"Where is the life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in
information."

T. S. Eliot has not stopped at heightening our awareness of the character of contemporary experience, he has integrated the separate facts of experience into a unified whole and even attempted solution for the ills of man. And it is a matter of pride to us that he has tapped the wisdom of the East for reaching the solution of man's intimate problems. He has been progressively favouring the need of religious experience in human life and the value of resignation in spiritual advancement.

"Teach us to care and not to care
Teach us to sit still,"
—says he in *Ash Wednesday*.

The need of humility is emphasised in his poem, *The East Coker*. "The only wisdom we can hope to ac-

quire," according to him, "is the wisdom of humility." The concluding lines in the *Sermon of the Thunder* are still more significantly oriental as they directly bear on the teachings of the Upanishads—*Damayata* (control), *Datta* (give) and *Dayadhvam* (be compassionate). Perhaps these words hold in them the quintessence of the greatest philosophy of life for a humanity suffering from the disease of materialism.

The language of T. S. Eliot's poetry, also, answers most aptly the description of progressive poetry. He felt the need of a virile medium to express the complicated thought-pattern of the modern mind and found it in the natural language of a scientific age—"for last year's words belong to last year's language. And next year's words await another voice." (*Little Gidding*). Only a 20th century poet with all the awareness of the developments in medical surgery speaking with a scientific ring in his vocabulary could describe the evening as "Spread out against the sky

Like a patient etherised upon a table."

Does he not speak with the tongue of a club-ridden, hotel-addicted man of today when he says, "I have measured out my life with coffee spoons" The poet's language is sufficient to date him.

Now, having enumerated a few of the essentials of progressive poetry, the fact remains that it is against the spirit of poetry to make its appreciation depend on labels or brands. For, it may quite reasonably be asked as to why should poetry be progressive at all. Is not the end of poetry served if it is just poetical and nothing more? Keats may not be progressive in the sense T. S. Eliot is, but has he not delighted many generations of readers by upholding the ideal of beauty in poetry? And is not the addition of a sense of beauty to materialistic values of life itself a progressive act? But the answer to all these questions is that they ignore the fact that a poet, like every one of us, has a place in society and certain obligations towards it. When there is so much misery around he cannot simply go on charming people by cooing sentimental stuff. He cannot go on merely playing on his musical instrument, like Nero, while the whole humanity burns. And this is specially true of the poet of the war-ravaged 20th century. The poet is a creature gifted with greater sensitiveness, with a highly developed sense of harmony and colour, and because of these gifts he can lend a musical air to the troubles and dreams of humanity and touch its heart more effectively so as to bring about a spiritual "catharsis." Shall he not show the beauty in ugliness that surrounds life and thus hold that ugliness in bold relief. Why shall he ransack the past and fix his gaze only on the future to fish out poetic themes? Is not the present a store-house of veiled beauty waiting for the touch of the master's finger to wake up into life? If the poet ignores this vital source of beauty—the life as it is—he may be anything but progressive.

A SHEAF OF BOOKS ON ART

By KAUNDINYA

For various reasons, including an utter lack of interest in and demand for guidance in the study of the visual arts, India is very poor in the literature of art. But during the last two or three years some enterprising authors and publishers at considerable risk have made brave attempts to contribute to art-literature, refusing to be discouraged by the perils of high printing expenses and dearth of printing papers. The study of the Fine Arts is very much neglected in our schools, colleges and universities, so that there is no adequate popular or scholarly interest to devour books on the subject, and the lack of suitable books has not contributed to any kind of curiosity to venture on the field of the arts of vision. For this reason some section of the reading public, not addicted to fiction and light reading, should be grateful for the few books on art-subjects that have been published recently.

In architecture one is happy to welcome two serious contributions to the study of the Building Art. The first one, *A Study on Vastu-vidya* or Canons of Architecture, a Doctorate thesis by Tarapada Bhattacharyya (Dariapore Gola, Patna. Pp. 371. Price Rs. 14) is the mature fruit of a research scholar who began his studies many years ago under the guidance of Akshaya Kumar Maitra (Varendra Research Society). The author has dug deep into the ancient texts in Pali and Sanskrit as well as the Silpasastra works to gather materials for an intelligible history of Indian architecture from very fragmentary and obscure sources. That it is a very systematic, if not an exhaustive treatment of the available data, will be apparent from some of the titles of the chapter in the book: Origin of Architecture in India, Architecture in the Rigvedic period, in the Later Vedas and the Brahmanas, Sutra Literature, in the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, in the Jatakas and Pali Canons. There are other interesting chapters on Classification of Indian Temples, the Orders of Indian Architecture, Principal schools of Vastuvidya and their principal authors. Some original data are offered in a chapter on the Origin of Temples, and on the assimilation of Aryan and Non-Aryan cultures. In the new set-up in free India one expects various kinds of building activities, in the foundation of new cities and in refugee settlements. In this context the rich architectural history of India deserves an intensive study on the part of our builders and engineers and these solid fruits of a serious scholar should be in the hands of our city-planners and builders in new India.

The principles of Indian architecture are studied and presented from another point of view by a practical engineer of long experience, Govinda Krishna Pillai (an M.C.E. London, and P.W.D. officer, Government of India), who in a very well-documented work,

The Way of the Silpis, or Hindu Approach to Art and Science (Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp. 356. Price Rs. 22-8) subjects the data of the Silpasastras to merciless mathematical analysis, and to tests of measurements, thus elucidating the most important principles of ancient building science from the practical scientific point of view, interpreting un-intelligible Sanskrit technical terms in an intelligible manner. The astronomical data of the Vastu-sastra texts are very happily elucidated. The Determination of the Cardinal points on the basis of traditional Indian practice is a very satisfactory demonstration. The greater part of the book (first nine chapters, pp. 177) is devoted to the elucidation of measurements and very useful mathematical data, which are likely to scare away the ordinary reader. The chapters on Town Planning and House Planning give a very clear presentation of ancient Indian psychological principles, which should be of great use to our modern town-planners and builders. The comprehensive title of the book, the 'Way of the Artists', justifies a chapter on sculpture, the least authoritative part of the work. The author's grounding in the principles of Indian Iconography is not adequate and his citation of a Jaina Image (Fig. 16) which he identifies as "Prince" does not demonstrate any scholarly understanding of the masterpieces of Indian sculpture, though he has an Indian's respect for Indian ideals and canons of beauty. The citation of a decadent wooden figure of Sukra Maharshi, a school-boy's presentation of the Buddha (Pl. XXXVII) have no relevance in the study and should have been omitted. The most valuable part of the work is the series of diagrams, drawings, and plans, illustrating the different types of buildings and temples. We heartily echo the concluding remarks of the authors: "This book is the result of a little 'deep-digging' in the field of the Silpasastras. Though imperfect and incomplete, it is hoped that this may be of some service for a correct appreciation of Indian Art and Architecture on scientific lines." "It is indeed a valuable research for truth in the debris of Indian culture, in fields that have been ploughed by many and often discarded as worthless."

In the field of Indian Architecture, a pretentious publication said to have been generously subsidized by the Government of India through the Ministry of Industry, is A. Goswami's curious venture, assisted by a galaxy of scholars and art-critics, (D. P. Ghose, Nirmal K. Bose, and Y. D. Sharma, Kim Christen), and illustrated with drawings (not numbered or captioned) by Gopal Ghose and Phani Bhusan and with photographs of large fragments of Orissan architecture, chiefly of decorative and ornamental significance, covered by 72 plates (under the title *Orissan*

Temples, published by Thacker's Press, Calcutta). Excepting that the volume is very well-printed and the bad photographs are excellently reproduced, the enterprise is a monument of arrogant incompetence of Sri A. Goswami to realise the magnitude of the task he had undertaken to fulfil. The letter-press not even paged should have been entrusted either to Prof. D. P. Ghose, or to Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, both very competent students of Orissan art, instead of dividing the responsibility among four experts on Art, who have done their part in a scrappy, hasty, and perfunctory manner. The drawings, though done by talented artists with no special training for interpreting the monuments of Indian Art and their decorations, have utterly failed to convey the quality or flavour of the originals. It is a magnificent example of Love's labours lost and sinful waste of public money. It will be an interesting enquiry, how much money has been donated by Government and who was the officer concerned.

A very well-produced album, illustrating the *Paintings of Sushila Yawalkar* with two-page Introduction and 42 illustrations, eight in colour, comes from the Yawalkar studio, Matabhoy Mansion, oval, Bombay (Price not stated). The comment is very moderately phrased, and reveals sober judgment without extravagant praise. "It is very refreshing to come across the work of this type so untutored, naive, yet eloquent in full expression in forms of volume and colour."

The Government of India, Publication Division, Ministry of Information, is responsible for a lavishly illustrated volume of 134 pages, illustrated with 37 colour plates and 126 black and white illustrations (Printed at the Saraswati Press, Calcutta, Price Rs. 10) with the somewhat pretentious title *Indian Art through the Ages*. The uneven and haphazard distribution of the indifferently chosen examples does not convey the rich treasures of ancient and mediaeval Art, represented by 14 examples of sculpture and paintings, the latter being illustrated with 8 examples of Rajput and two of Moghul; the chosen examples of second-rate specimens do not convey any adequate idea of Indian achievement in pictorial art, the Buddhist schools being altogether omitted. Whoever may have been responsible for the choice of specimens appears to have been obsessed by the recent modern developments in Indian Art, as he has chosen to present a very small fraction of the ancient and mediaeval phases, covering a period of 4500 years by 20 specimens mostly indifferent, while he has lavished 111 illustrations for painting and 14 for sculpture to represent a period of hardly more than 80 years. Even the presentation of an exaggerated canvas for the modern phases due to lack of judgement in choosing significant specimens fails to illustrate the modern trends in a systematic or intelligent manner; so that the effect of this formidable array of modern speci-

mens, while eclipsing the ancient and mediaeval glories, very poorly presented, is confusing and bewildering and will not educate the average man to form a just estimate of the qualities of Indian Art in any phase of its long and brilliant career. The accompanying letter-press does not reveal a trained and scholarly connoisseurship of the qualities of the ancient and mediaeval phases nor explain their significance in Indian life. The literary comments on the modern phases, likewise unsatisfactory, is much better than the previous sections. It is unfortunate that Government of India could not find a competent Indian critic to present the great panorama of Indian Art in a way worthy of its magnificent achievements. The book is very well-printed and the plates are, on the whole, quite satisfactory and the popular price is a highly commendable feature of the production. In a later edition the text should be entrusted to a competent expert.

From Nalanda, the enterprising publishing house of Bombay, comes a very well-printed volume on *Contemporary Indian Painters* with the letter-press contributed by the well-known critic and connoisseur G. Venkatachalam (Pp. 120 and colour plates and 13 monotone illustrations. Price Rs. 8-4). The treatment of the matter is novel and interesting. After a two-page Introduction, giving a short survey of the new Renaissance, the author devotes fifteen short studies of fifteen modern Indian artists, all of the Bengal school, excepting D. Rama Rao and including the pictorial art of Rabindranath. The commentaries, each prefaced by a typical illustration of each artist, are not the critical analysis of the works, but are charming pen-portraits and vignettes of the personalities of the artists. Each vignette is given with great charm and sympathy and makes the portraits stand out before us in living and convincing presentations. This is a novel way of introducing contemporary painting not through elaborate presentations of their works, but through thumb-nail sketches of their personalities with some details of their careers. The Appendix ("The Fool Hath Said") is a slashing answer to Beverly Nichol's foolish assertion that "after a year's search he was unable to find a single Indian artist of any major significance, with one solitary exception."

We are happy to welcome two new art books from that enterprising private publisher Sarabhai. Manilal Nawab of Ahmedabad, who has created a creditable precedent for fine productions, enough to make many professional publishers to blush in shame. Of his two latest publications, one is a folio album of Jaina miniature illustrations accurately reproduced in colour on 35 plates, covering some treasures of Jaina painting from the Jasalmer Collection. The plates are prefaced by authoritative, descriptive notes by Muniji Punya-Vijayji and published by Sri S. M.

Nawab (with his usual high standard of printing and production) under the title *Jasalmer-va Chitra-Samriddhi* (printed in 300 numbered copies, and published at Chia Mavjini Pole, Ahmedabad, price Rs. 25). The only criticism that can be offered is that the texts should have been printed not only in Gujarati but also in Hindi or in English so as to be accessible to readers in all parts of the Indian Union. The second item is a mere collection of mounted colour plates, seven small cartons, and two larger ones, with descriptive captions in Gujarati, and in Hindi, contained in a thin folder under the title *Sri Jaina Chitra-vali* (Price-Rs. 5). The smaller series are miniatures representing the Jaina Tirthankars, of no artistic value, though of profound significance to Jaina devotees. The two other plates are beautiful reproductions of two Yantras, Risi-mandala Brihad-Yantra, and Mantradhira-ja-chintamani Yantra, excellently embellished by icons of the Jaina pantheon in the developed style of Jaina pictorial art. Their excellent aesthetic values will appeal equally to Jainas and non-Jainas. One is led to remark that the example set by Sri Nawab to publish the art-treasures of Jain Art, should be emulated by cultured sections of other sects of religion.

Warm compliments are due to the admirable enterprise of Messrs. Dhoomimal Dharamdas (Connaught

Place, New Delhi), who are issuing a series of illustrated books with excellent colour-plates, devoted to works of modern Indian painters, some in small convenient size, others in larger size with plates mounted with generous margins. To this last class, belongs an album of 12 plates (Price Rs. 12-8) without any letter-press, devoted to a series of oil-colours in modernistic manners, from the brush of Premoja Chaudhuri, an artist of talent, yet to attain maturity. More convenient in size, produced with admirable taste and eloquence is the album of 9 colour-plates and 30 monochromes devoted to the works of Sailoz Mookerjee, the well-known popular artist whose oil colours seek to illustrate Indian romantic themes and landscapes, couched in French techniques. This neat little album (Price Rs. 6) is prefaced by a critical introduction by A. S. Raman, according to whom, Sailoz "has drawn his inspiration not from the mere externals of our great masterpieces, to which the Bengal school has unfortunately confined itself, but from the spirit behind them."

Of diverse appeal and of divergent quality, these series of books on Indian Art have made some additions to literature on the subject and are sure to awaken some more interest on a subject in which even our educated men evince very little interest.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. Vol. III, 1771-88: By Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. viii + 336. Price Rs. 10.

With the publication of this volume Sir Jadunath's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* can be had complete in a uniform set of four volumes of the decent demy octavo size. The original edition, which was in small stubby crown octavo volumes, has been long out of print. As usual, the author has made minute corrections and utilised all the new materials secured by him since 1933, when the first edition came out. The subject-matter is nothing less than a tragic drama, though true history in every line. The period includes the hopeless breakdown of the Mughal Government of Delhi as conducted by successive Muslim nobles, the Emperor's final solicitation of Mahadji Sindhia to

save him by becoming his guardian and regent. Ghulam Qadir Ruhela's unspeakable atrocities on the Emperor (whom he blinded and then beat) and even the princes and princesses. The full history of the Jat Power and Rajputana for the time is newly constructed from sources in Marathi and Persian, French and English.

N. B. R.

TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHALS: STUDIES IN LATE MUGHAL DELHI: By Dr. P. Spear. Published by Cambridge University Press. Five illustrations. Pp. xii + 270. Price 18s. net.

This is a contribution to Indian history marked by such a wide study of original sources, patient research, scholarly openness of mind and unusually high literary skill and economy of words, that the reviewer could not stop without reading it from end to end. His only regret is that Dr. Spear should have chosen

such an uninviting, almost flat subject, and strung his studies together by a rather tenuous thread, as the locality of Delhi city and the imperial enclave around it in the dim sleepy days between Lake's capture of Delhi in 1803 and the extinction of the Mughal line after the Mutiny in 1858. There is much interesting information also about the European Society in the old place, especially Metcalfe and Colebrooke. The gifts and industry displayed by our author in this book, will, I hope, be turned to a better subject, which will easily enable him to produce a standard authority on some aspect of Mughal India, and render an abiding help to inquirers into our past.

I may be permitted to draw the author's attention to the scandals and sordid life of the Mughal palaces after 1803 as illustrated in *Sketches of India* written in 1811-14 (London 1816) ascribed to Ensign Wynne, and the Persian *Mafatih-ur-Riyasat* by Syed Muhammad Riza (Br. Mus. Or. 1752, VI). The British atrocities after the recapture of Delhi are detailed in Cap. G. F. Atkinson's *Campaign in India . . . before Delhi*, 26 tinted lithos, 1859, and also in the *Diary* of the famous *Times* Correspondent, W. Howard Russell. How we wish for some information about the old Delhi (English) College which produced Shahamat Ali and Mohun Lal, the Persian secretaries of Wade and Burnes. On p. 27 *n Atomony Batches* is a misreading for *Domni-Bachcha*, for which see Wilson's Glossary.

J. SARKAR

THE PURANA INDEX, Vol. I: By V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras. 1951. Size 10 ins. × 6½ ins. × 2 ins. Pp. xxvii + 660. Price not mentioned.

The first volume of the Purana Index comprises letters from A to N. The Bhagavata Purana, the Brahmanda Purana, the Matsya Purana, the Vayu Purana and the Vishnu Purana have been included in the Index. The Index when completed will be found to be of great service to students of Sanskrit and ancient Indian chronology. The printing could have been more condensed with advantage to the reader and this would have substantially reduced the size of the volume. The Introduction might have been written with a little more care. The author following the Western scholars has wrongly translated *Pratisarga*, one of the five characteristics of the Purana, as 'secondary creation.' *Pratisarga* in Puranic literature means 'the destruction of the world.' The author has further failed to notice the difference between Purana, Mahapurana and Purana Samhita. His idea that Vishnu Purana is the work of a single hand is wrong. The names of the different redactors of the Vishnu Purana are to be found within the Purana itself. He further repeats the absurd idea of the Western scholars that the Puranas were reduced to writing about 5th century B.C. The author has placed Nanda's coronation at 401 B.C. but he has not mentioned the source of his information. The defects in the Introduction do not interfere with the great value of the Index.

G. Bose

RAJADHARMA: By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Published by The Adyar Library, Madras. Pp. 236. Price Rs. 3-8.

Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's name is well-known among scholars for his numerous and

authoritative works on Ancient Indian Law and Politics. The present work consists of two lectures delivered by him under a Madras University Lectureship Foundation as far back as 1938. Originally prepared for oral delivery, the lectures have since been published in bookform with the addition of a considerable number of explanatory notes. In giving the somewhat challenging title of *Rajadharma* to his book, the author, as he tells us in his Preface, (p. xv), uses it not in its narrow sense of 'kingcraft' or 'polity,' but in a wider meaning so as to make it practically co-extensive with the scope of *Dharmasastra*. The author's aim, as he further tells us in the course of the same informative preface (p. xiii), is "to stimulate interest" in the sadly neglected literature of *Dharmasastra*, "to define its position among kindred studies and to vindicate the value of the traditional method of approach to it." In the course of his two lectures the author makes, in support of his aims, numerous weighty observations of which we can give only a few examples. There is, he thinks, no justification for the present preference of the *vyavahara* content in the *Dharmasastra* to the neglect of its other parts. The assumption on which it is based, viz., that *vyavahara* deals with 'the secular' as contrasted with 'the religious' aspect of Hindu Law, is contrary to Hindu thought (pp. 9-11). The hypothesis of 'the secular' origin and character of the *Arthasastra* is opposed to the Indian tradition (pp. 11-12). The large element of law in the Smritis of the middle period, distinguishing them from those of the earlier and later times, is not due to the secular bias of the authors, but to their incorporation of the oral explanatory matter (pp. 16-20). The idea that "ignorance, prejudice and self-interest" of the priestly class are the ruling motives in the composition of *Dharmasastras* is excluded by the conditions of their origin which ensured "integrity in texts, accuracy and fidelity in interpretation, logic in inference and absence of bias in application" (pp. 21-22). The views that the distinction between *Dharmasastra* and *Arthasastra* corresponds to the difference between magic and law, between private and public law, between ideals and real-politik, between municipal secular law and penance law, are all wrong (pp. 23-24). The postulates of Indian belief underlying the conception of scope and content of *Dharmasastras* involve the hypothesis that "Dharma has its root in revelation" and that "the sole subject of revealed literature is Dharma," from which follows the important conclusion that any rule in the Smritis for which a Vedic source can be found is infallible and that those rules for which no such origin can be found must be presumed to be based upon a lost Vedic source (pp. 29-30). "The hypothesis that *Dharma* was good for all time and all circumstances acted as the Law of Nature did in the evolution of Roman Law. The processes by which the adjustment of *Dharma* was insensibly effected were, however, natural and logically followed from the primary hypotheses" (p. 37).

Enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the varied and important contents of this work. The present reviewer, however, has his slight differences of opinion with the author on a number of points. To begin with, he is not convinced that there is any need for importing the wide connotation of *Dharmasastra* to the familiar term *Rajadharma* which occupies a distinctive place in our Smritis from first to last side by side with the parallel branches of *Dharma*. In his

anxiety to clear the *Arthashastra* from the charge of being secular, the author forgets to make proper allowance for that phase of *Arthashastra* thought which is represented by the citations of the schools of Brihaspati and Usanas in Kautilya I.2 and which deservedly drew upon its authors the censure not only of the austere Buddhist and Jaina canonists, but also of such a writer as the author of the *Kadambari*. For the division of Smritis under the heading of *dristartha* and *adrishtartha* (p. 37) it would be more correct to speak of Smriti texts of the above two types. The term *nyaya* translated as 'logical interpretation' (p. 38) may properly be rendered as equity. These and other differences do not stand in the way of the reviewer's high appreciation of this work as marking a valuable contribution to the study of our ancient Dharmaśāstra literature.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BIHAR: THE HEART OF INDIA: By Sir John Houlton. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta. 1949. Pp. x + 223. Price Rs. 10.

This book is undoubtedly one of the best accounts of an Indian State. Sir John Houlton was, for a long time, in the administrative service in Bihar and he has had ample opportunity of observing the country and the people about whom he writes. He writes with knowledge as well as sympathy. The traveller in Bihar will find in the book information for which he will be grateful to the author.

This book should not only be in the hands of those who are interested in Bihar but also serve as a model for future accounts of other States in the Republic

of India. The photographic illustrations have been well chosen and very well printed.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MORE ABOUT PSYCHIATRY: By Carl Biniger, M.D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1951. Price 10s. 6d. net.

There are 14 chapters in the book each dealing from the common man's point of view with different aspects of psychiatry. Throughout the chapters, however, one point has been sought to be emphasised and very rightly too. Since the discoveries of psycho-analysis many persons, even some busy medical practitioners have begun to realise that in treating diseases the personal relation between the physician and the patient is a factor of paramount importance. No one has done more to stress and spread this point of view amongst the medical men than the psychiatrist. Citing numerous instances the author has shown that the current methods of teaching in the medical colleges and studying cases in the hospitals need thorough re-orientation. The patient is not merely a bed number. Symptoms do not always originate merely from somatic conditions. There may be and usually are psychological factors in their aetiology. We have to learn to take a stereoscopic view of the sick man and to remember that a symptom is not either 'psychogenic' or 'somatic.' A little more intimate contact with the patients and a little more personal interest in the 'case' often reveal facts which have a direct bearing on the genesis of the symptoms. Psycho-analysis traces the symptoms to their hidden roots.

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Considered in the proper way psychiatry is in a position to render much help to the normal man too. In the task of choosing a mate, in improving mental health, in bringing about better adjustment amongst men and even in preventing wars, immense contributions may be made, the author believes, by the psychiatrists as social scientists. The belief will easily be shared by every one who has ever taken a genuine interest in the affairs of man and in the problems of human motivation.

The book is written in an exceedingly pleasant style. There is as much charm in the literary aspects of the book as there is worth in the contents thereof. Medical practitioners, especially those who are staunch believers in 'organic pathology' only, will certainly find their belief shaken if they care to peruse some of the chapters of this eminently readable book.

S. C. MITRA

THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA: *By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 12.*

This authoritative life of Mir Jumla is the result of patient research extending over seven years. In his Foreword, Sir Jadunath Sarkar describes it as a "worthy supplement—in some points a corrective also—to my voluminous history of Aurangzib . . . the present author has used the microscope where I had to use the telescope." This work shows meticulous care in the collection and in the presentation of materials.

Mir Jumla has been described as the greatest among the Persian immigrants in India. His career here extends over thirty-three years but his place in history is determined by his achievements compressed into seventeen years only 1646-1662. Mir Muhammad Said, famous in history as Mir Jumla, began his career in India as the personal attendant of a merchant. He became very soon a great business magnate himself and the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. With his big mercantile marine, his far-flung overseas trade with western Asia and the East Indies, he played a very important part in the economic history of the seventeenth century. He was a keen competitor with the Dutch and the English in overseas trade. Mir Jumla also rose to be the Diwan-i-Kul of the Mughal Empire under Shah Jahan and the Subadar of Bengal in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. He influenced the history of India from Karnatak to Delhi and from Khandesh to Assam. Mir Jumla's part in court intrigues, in the diplomatic and military history of the seventeenth century, his economic system and his activities in the commercial history of this period, have been described very fully in these pages. Incidentally two neglected regions of India—Karnatak and Assam—have their history of this period fully described. The author devoted so many years to the study of the achievement of this adventurer of genius but he does not indulge in what is usual in such cases an over-estimate. His conclusion that 'Mir Jumla failed to be a constructive force in the history of the Mughal Empire' seems to be amply justified in spite of the panegyrics of Persian chroniclers and epithets of contemporaries describing him as *asaf-ud-dawran*, "the wisest man in Hindustan."

N. K. SINHA

THREE ESSAYS TOWARDS A WORLD RELIGION: *By Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ram Tirath, ed. with an Introduction by Ram Nath Aggar-*

wal, B.A., LL.B. Bharat Utthan Publishers, Ludhiana, Punjab. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8.

Though badly printed and shabbily got up, the book will be liked by all for its contents, which are Swami Vivekananda's two famous lectures: (1) The Way to the Realisation of a Universal Religion, (2) The Ideal of a Universal Religion, and also Swami Ram Tirath's After Death or All Religions Reconciled. The title of the book indicates the aim of the publishers, which is no doubt laudable.

B.N.B.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM: *By Satishchandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University. To be had of Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Hinduism is a much mis-represented and generally much misunderstood form of religion. Its rites and practices, divested from their philosophical content and their position in the system, have been subjected to enough unwarranted criticism. Curiously enough the critics not unoften include persons who call themselves Hindus. This is principally due to the widespread ignorance of the scriptures as well as philosophical works and particularly the paucity of works explaining the rationale of the injunctions contained in the scriptures. It is therefore gratifying that the learned author of the present volume seeks to clarify in a scientific and logical manner the aims and ideals of Hinduism on the basis of what is stated in the Shastras. In twelve chapters the book presents the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Hindu religion with their philosophical background. It begins by giving a definition of Hinduism which is shown to be a monistic religion and proceeds to explain the nature of God, conception of self, the theory of the world, the doctrine of re-birth, Law of Karma, the doctrine of bondage and liberation and the natural course of liberation: Varnasrama Dharma as expounded in various religious and philosophical works of the Hindus. The work ends with a description of the four special paths to liberation, e.g., Rajayoga, Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga and Jnanayoga. Incidentally it meets the objections raised in some quarters regarding the supposed flaws of some of the doctrines, e.g., the doctrine of Karmavada and its apparent incompatibility of the law of free-will. The book will thus be helpful in arriving at a correct estimate of Hinduism and what it stands for. Is it too much to hope that the learned author will extend his scope of enquiry and give in future a detailed treatment of the various rituals on similar lines? The relation of the rituals with high philosophical ideals of life requires careful elucidation, especially in view of their preponderance in the religious life of the Hindus.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE VEERSHAIVA PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM: *By Sri Kumaraswami, B.A. Published by Navakalyan Math, Bhusapeti, Dharwar, Bombay Presidency. With an Introduction by Dr. J. H. Holmes of New York, and a Foreword by Dr. Paul Brunton of London. Pp. 274. Price Rs. 5.*

In the twelfth century there appeared in Karnataka two to three hundred Lingayat saints of whom about sixty were women. Basava and Allama Prabhu are the most distinguished amongst the men saints and Akka Mahadevi was the beacon-light of the women

mystics. All of them taught in Kannada the language of the province and brought about religious revival unprecedented in Karnataka. Their inspired sayings are collected in what is known as the Vachanasashtra, the scripture of the Lingayat Faith or Veerashaivism. The book under review presents the main principles of this school of Hinduism in the terms of Western thought.

The etymological meaning of Linga is *Liyate gamyate yatra iti* Linga i.e. the highest Godhead. Linga, which is another name for Shiva, is therefore the static aspect of the Absolute. Lingadharana or wearing marks of Shivalinga on forehead, arms, chest and other parts of the body is one distinctive feature of the Veershaivas. This has brought them the nickname of Lingayat. This school of Hindu philosophy and religion, so wonderful and profound, is almost unknown outside Karnataka. Hence this book will be warmly received by all students of Hinduism, and may be read as an introduction to Veerashaivism.

Veershaivism accepts the dynamic aspect of the Absolute called Shakti, Jangama or Chara. Shiva and Shakti, the two-fold aspects of the Absolute are admitted in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. In this connection Sri Basava the Veershaiva philosopher observes: "As submarine fire is hid in the waters of the seas, as ray of ambrosia is hid in the moon, as fragrance is hid in the flower, as love is hid in the maidens so is Shiva hid in Shakti." For this integral association of Shiva and Shakti Veershaivism is called Shakti-Visistha Advaita.

Akka Mahadevi, the great woman mystic of Veershaiva sect, beautifully expresses like St. Teresa, St. Catherine and other leading women mystics of Europe the various stages of divine realization in a figurative language thus: "The glorious Divinity has scarcely placed His hand upon my head when the worldly bondage of mine disappeared. He made me like Himself and the Divine consciousness permeated my body both within and without." Many interesting mysteries of spiritual life as this are very impressively described in this book. An earnest student of practical religion with modern education will find this book immensely interesting and instructive.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY: By P. S. Joshi. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 5-8, Library Edition Rs. 7-2.

The policy of the Union of South Africa to its non-white population is a challenge to the conscience of the world. The author deals in the present volume primarily with the policy of the Union Government to South Africans of Indian and Pakistani origin. He gives besides, in broad outlines however, a picture of Indians in British East Africa and of the Africans and the Cape Coloured in the Union of South Africa.

The Indian (and Pakistani) settlers in South Africa constitute two and a half per cent of its population and have contributed not a little to its prosperity. But Dr. D. F. Malan's Nationalists regard them as a foreign, outlandish and unassimilable element and accept "as a basis of their policy the repatriation of as many Indians as possible." Miserable as the plight of the Indo-Pakistanis in the Union is, that of other non-White communities is not much better. That of the Africans is definitely worse. White South Africa has robbed the Asian of his equality, the coloured of his heritage and the African of his freedom, ostensibly for safeguarding White civilisation,

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but in reality for perpetuating White supremacy and White economic domination.

South Africa's solution for the racial problem is *apartheid*, i.e., a state of separation. It is a theory of race invented by the Nationalist Party to justify its racial policy.

South Africa's first anti-Indian law—Law 3 of 1885—enunciated a theory of residential segregation on the grounds of colour and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (the Ghetto Act) of 1946 embodies it for Natal and the Transvaal. During the sixty years between the two measures South Africa has stopped Indian immigration, restricted Indian commerce, disqualified Indians for certain businesses and professions, handicapped them in industries, disenfranchised them and imposed social disabilities on them. The story of Indians in South Africa is brought up-to-date in the volume under review. It is a black saga of the progressive disinheritance of humanity, of the Whiteman's inhumanity to the non-White that "makes countless thousands mourn." Mr. Joshi exposes also the 'divide and rule' policy of the European masters of South Africa.

Events are moving fast on the South African scene. The rumblings of the coming clash are already audible. Well-wishers of South Africa should bear in mind that a genuine revolution is always directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group, that though a considerable section of humanity can be kept in check by force and diplomacy for a time, such a subjection cannot be maintained for all time to come even through the most ruthless forms of slavery.

A number of Appendices—six in all—add to the value of the volume under review. Of special importance are Appendices E and F giving a list of discriminating legislations in South Africa and chronicling the Union's current history, respectively. A bibliography for each of the nine chapters of the work and also one each for Appendices C and E will make it extremely useful to students of race-relations.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

BENGALI

BHARATIYA SANGEETER ITIHAS (History of Indian Music), Vol. I: *By Sangit-Nayak Gopeswar Banerjee, Swara-Saraswati, Doctor of Music. Published by Basumatī Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

Indian classical music has a long evolutionary history at its back. It is the resultant effect of hard and concentrated efforts and devoted attempts of creative genius of several centuries under royal patronages. The science of Indian classical music has its origin from the accurate and analytic study of their evolutionary art.

It is a very hard task to draw out an accurate picture of this process of musical evolution through long ages because of the dearth of authentic materials. The book entitled *Bharatiya Sangiter Itihas*, composed by Sri Gopeswar Bandopadhyaya, the great septuagenarian research scholar and musical doyen of India, is a bold attempt in the line and I am confident it would be an immense help to all who are interested in music.

In this treatise on Indian music the author has made a sincere attempt to make his readers acquainted with most of the remarkable musical artists and reformers from the 12th to the 18th century, that is from the reign of Prithviraj, the great Hindu king down to Ahmed Shah, the Mughal emperor. It is a rare collection of about one hundred songs composed by the

creative masters of those centuries like Sankarananda, Nayakgopal, Vivekswami, Ramdas, Tansen, Suradas, Sori, Tulcidas, Mirabai, and others. The accurate notations of the songs given in the book are unquestionably a valuable guide to present and future generations of musical students.

In this book the author has collected all the types of classical music like Dhrupad, Tappa, Kheyal, Thumri and Bhajan. The lucid portrayal of the *ragas* by the author in respect of the sources, differences, and characteristic brilliance of those various types of music cannot be over-estimated. In these days the number of much used *ragas* and *raginis* has become so much dwindled and there are so many differences of opinion about the characteristic peculiarities of a large number of them, that a fresh authoritative interpretation is an immense need of the time and if judged from those angles the songs of different *ragas* included in the book are very valuable and timely contributions of the author.

It is extremely lamentable that we are passing through an age when classical music is yielding place to amorous gaieties and commercial frivolities as a result of manifold social and economic complexities and their impact upon human life. It is my earnest conviction that his present contribution through his newly published book *Bharatiya Sangiter Itihas* will be highly appreciated and valued by all lovers of music throughout the country. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Sangit-Nayak who has rendered such valuable service to his country all along his life.

RADHAGOVINDA ROY

HINDI

HINDU CODE BILL PRAMAN KI KASOTI PAR: *By Swami Karpatri, 161-C, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pp. 258. Price Re. 1-8.*

A critical, comprehensive study of the contents and clauses of the Hindu Code Bill, now on the legislative anvil.

G. M.

GUJARATI

DIVAN BAHADUR KRI. MO. JHAVERI LEKHASANGRAHA: *By Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., J.P. Edited by Prof. Dr. Manjula Ranchhodlal Majumdar. Sri Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4. December, 1951. Price Rs. 6.*

Dewan Bahadur Sri Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, the doyen of modern Gujarati Literature, has been a regular worshipper of the literature for more than fifty years now. On the completion of his 75th year, the Forbes Gujarati Sabha has brought out a number of his writings and the volume which constitutes the 52nd issue of the publication of the Sabha has been edited by no less an eminent person than Dr. Majumdar. Mainly in Gujarati, it contains also a few articles in English. The Dewan Bahadur's interest is fairly wide, embracing Persian literature as well as history, and literary appreciation and tributes to individuals covering a wide field. The volume contains 676 pages divided into eight sections and there is a useful index. There is no scope here to discuss any one of the pieces included, but sociological, educational, religious and literary interests are evident.

Even if this volume can serve only to draw public attention to the silent scholarly service which Dewan Bahadur Jhaveri has been doing month after month, it will have accomplished its purpose and endeared itself to numerous friends and admirers of Dewan Bahadur throughout India and outside.

P. R. SEN



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The East and the West

L. E. Williams writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

More than half a century ago Swami Vivekananda wrote, 'The Voice of Asia has been the voice of religion. The Voice of Europe is the voice of politics.' Thus did this wise mind long ago see with extraordinary clarity into what is perhaps the most fundamental cleavage between the two great sections of the world arbitrarily called 'The East' and 'The West.'

The truth of that judgment has been amply substantiated by the historical developments of modern times. The West has shown a progressively increasing concern for the political arrangements of life. Much of what passes for Western culture has been the product of creative minds whose terms of reference have been political-social-economic. The literature, drama, and art of the twentieth century have been largely the expression of socio-political ideas which have been dominant throughout the past fifty years; and as the complexities of Western politics have increased, the expressions of Western culture have become more vague and undefined. Painting has often degenerated into mere impressionistic blurbs, and writing into esoteric babblings or the abnormal analyses of the modern mind made neurotic by the rapidly moving and uncertain events of the political milieu in which it lived and moved and had its being.

As the emphasis upon politics (and the word is here used in the broad sense which Vivekananda intended) grew in the West, the Western mind withdrew more and more from the centre of wisdom where the solution of life's most fundamental problems is to be found. It has become increasingly clear that the vocabulary of politics is one of material power. Contemporary commentators continually resort to such expressions as 'power politics,' 'balance of power,' 'struggle,' 'competition,' 'force,' 'armaments race,' 'air power,' and the whole gamut of military words. As a result of that emphasis, the greatness that is most honoured today is that of physical might. That nation is the greatest which possesses the largest stockpile of atomic weapons, the most battle-ships, the largest air force, the most men under arms.

When the common vocabulary of a people is one of militarism, war becomes inevitable; for, a people's vocabulary is indicative of the force which controls the mind and will of that people.

It is psychologically sound to say that the dominant idea of a mind will seek to prove itself by some outward expression of its essential nature. Therefore, the mind dominated by thoughts of power will sooner or later accept war as the fullest and most satisfying expression of itself. This, it seems, is what has happened in the West; and the reason why most attempts to settle international tensions have failed is simply that the dominant vocabulary of the West

makes it impossible to think in terms of anything other than physical force.

This mental attitude has been growing so uninterruptedly in the West that wars have been increasing in frequency and intensity. Moreover, it is interesting to note that whatever struggles have appeared in the East in modern times have been cast in the same mould and follow the same general pattern as those of the West. This way of life and thought has brought the whole world to the brink of self-destruction.

Now to call attention to a significant thing in Swami Vivekananda's statement: While the second sentence is in the present tense, the first sentence is in the past tense—'The Voice of Asia has been the voice of religion.' No one can deny the fact that Asia has been the seed-bed of all the great religions of the world; and the outstanding names among the religious prophets—Buddha, Confucius, Jesus Christ, Mohammed, Nanak—are those of members of Asiatic nations and races. It would appear that in Asia throughout the ages there has been a congenial atmosphere for the exercise and development of the Spirit.

However one may try to explain this extraordinary fact, it is so; and in a recognition of it lies the suggestion for the meeting of East and West, and the bringing into being of a 'One World' frame of mind. There is a growing consciousness on the part of many people in the West that a new way of life must be found if the world is to be saved from annihilation. If that is true, where will one look for that way? Can it be expected to develop out of the same consciousness that has produced the present state of affairs in the world generally? It hardly seems possible that such can be the case. Is it not more likely to arise out of the union of the spiritual consciousness of the East with the practicality of the West?

When the West has learned to bring its practical nature under the guiding influence of the East's spiritual genius, there will be hope for world understanding and co-operation.

When the West can truly appreciate not only Ernest Hemingway but also Rabindranath Tagore when it can understand both Einstein and Aurobindo, there will have been born that gnostic consciousness of which Sri Aurobindo spoke which will make impossible 'war with its spirit of antagonism and enmity, its brutality, destruction, and ignorant violence, political strife with its perpetual conflict, frequent oppression dishonesties, turpitudes, selfish interests, its ignorance, ineptitude, and muddle. The arts and crafts would exist, not for any inferior mental or vital amusement, entertainment or leisure, and relieving excitement or pleasure, but as expressions and means of the truth of the Spirit and the beauty and delight of existence.'—*The Life Divine* p. 944.

It has long been the habit to think in terms of East or West. It has been taken for granted by most people that the cultures of the orient and the occident are two separate and incompatible entities. The thought patterns of the East were held to be so completely different from those of the West as to be unintelligible, at least to the empirical mind of the West. The ways of life, the common approach to both business and leisure, were considered strange, bizarre, and, because they were different, inferior. But there is a growing consciousness in the West that the empirical mind, while producing an amazing material civilization, has somehow failed to create a peaceful and wholly satisfying world. It is a world of fear and uncertainty, of increasing tension and threat. The nerves of the world are at the ragged edge; and the people cry for peace, but there is no peace. We seem to live in a world that is all questions, the answers to which always elude us. On the whole, it is not a comfortable world; and the West is more and more aware of it, but does not seem to know what to do about it.

The time has come when the dichotomy of East or West must give way to the amalgam of East and West.

There is undoubtedly much in the West that could benefit the East—for one thing, better methods for the production and distribution of the essentials of life, but there is probably more in the East that would help the West. If the West can help the material side of life, if it can give the technical knowledge and skill needed to raise the standard of living for people everywhere, the East can strengthen man's spiritual nature. And this is the greater need; for the break-down of world morality is a symptom of the desiccation of the Spirit. Man's peace is not to be found in the abundance of things which he possesses, but in an inner serenity. His mind must develop a 'modus operandi' which goes beyond the excellence of engineering into the far reaches of Reality and which understands that Life is more important than mere existence. To this end the wisdom of the East can make an inestimable contribution. The exigencies of the present demand a true meeting of East and West, out of which will emerge that 'One World' about which men of goodwill everywhere dream.

Bharati's Mysticism

Subrahmanya Bharati, a great modern poet of the Tamil country in South India, who in his lifetime suffered great privation but kindled patriotic fervour among his people with the stirring poems for which he is perhaps best known, has received high posthumous honours. K. Chandrasekharan presents in an article in the *Aryan Path* the claim for Bharati as a mystic poet :

An element of mysticism can be found in all great poetry. At any rate no Indian poet worth the name can ever fail to evoke a sense of religious feeling by what he writes. Many poets here have adopted the conventional *Nayaka-Nayaki Bhava* in describing their relationship with God, while others have resorted to variations of the same idea, with a Master or a King or a Father as the immediate object of their love. But in all these outpourings there remains a lively consciousness of the presence of God behind all things in life.

No doubt poets like Tagore have had their own freshness to add to devotional mysticism when they dispensed with all mythological symbols and sectarian concepts of God. They have preferred their own spiritual longings to the knowledge gathered from legends and Puranic stories. Tagore did not stop with mere selection of such themes as God being the King or the Father, the Poet or the Bridgroom or the Lover; he also significantly contributed to a type of "Nature Mysticism." Indeed in modern times there has been no other poet to arouse such religious feeling for nature as Tagore. Like Kalidasa, whose intensest form of spiritual elevation consisted in seeking nature frequently to prove the existence of the universal spirit, Tagore made it his prime care to introduce as often as possible a pervading sense of the mystic unity of the spirit behind both man and nature.

Subrahmanya Bharati of Tamil Nad was a poet imbued with the same thirst for God. One can easily envisage his powerful attraction to the mythological deities as he sings of Kannan or Velan or Kali. No mean fervour does he arouse in us when he makes his Kannan live before our eyes in all the varying charms of childhood or youth. Some may, however, go to the extent of calling Bharati a poet of innovations even in the traditional setting of his mystical songs. For the innumerable saints of the South, whether Vaishnavites or Saivites, had evoked emotions subsisting in the human relationship between the human soul and the divine spirit only in such a manner as would not upset the usual attitude of an inferior towards a superior being. But in Subrahmanya Bharati's devotional songs you find for the first time the order reversed; God becomes the woman or the servant even and the human soul plays the part of a man and a master.

Some consider that the idea of the *Nayaka-Nayaki Bhava* itself, when indulged in with excessive feeling, would tend to border on the physical plane, thereby making the relationship essentially erotic. But, scoffers apart, there cannot be anything more sustaining to God-filled souls than this class of poetry, especially that which recalls the soulful strains of the *Gopika-Geeta* in the *Srimad Bhagavata*. Suka-Brahman, in his ecstatic moods of God-Realization, chose to surpass all known theistic philosophy by resorting to this search for God in the most pathetic of human

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situation, that in which the Lord as Lover vanishes for a while, from the sight of his sweet-hearts, leaving them in utter despair. Perhaps a single strain of this wonderful poem can compensate for all the wants from, which the world suffers.

Bharati has secured for himself, by the very fact that he has added to the mystical poems of our country, an abiding place in the hearts of all lovers of true poetry.

In addressing his beloved Kannamma, he transports us with a pageant of rich imageries, the like of which we only very rarely find in modern poetry.

Thou art the leaping light, my dear, and I
The eye roving free.

Thou art gleaming wine, my dear,
And I the drunken bee.

I strive to speak of the glory thou art,
But words fade into quiet;

Thou art a splendour from Heaven, my dear,
A Nectarine riot.

Thou art a vina, my dear, and I
The playing fingers cunning;

Thou art a jewel, my dear,
And I the gem flash running.

Wherever I turn, my dear,
The world with thy love-light is rife;
Thou art sovereign queen, my dear,
The anchor of my life.

To a *crescendo* of passion, lit with translucent colours, does he take us along with him, and we rise to the summit of his delight even as he does. That is the way of all true mystical poetry. Let us then ascend the spiral staircase with him:

Thou art the fragrance, my dear,
And I the opening flower;

Thou art the meaning of what is spoken,
And I the rich word-dower . . .

Thou art the moonlight, my dear,
And I the joyous sea;

Thou art the ground note of my life,
And I the song to thee.

The experience that naturally overtakes all the searchings and yearnings of the God-mad soul gives way to moments of ardent intercourse with the object of its adoration. Then we pause at the meeting of the two in a happy embrace, as it were, which is also vividly portrayed, thus:

And there, somebody softly stole to me,

And behind me standing, closed my eyes.

I felt the soft hands and in a flash was wise;

I knew her by the fragrance of her silk saree,

I knew her by the joy that within me welled,

I knew her by the beat of our kindred hearts.

"Oh, take thy hands away, Kannamma;
thy arts"

I cried "are of no avail." Her hands I held.

And then, while her laughter tinkled, I freed
my eye,

And turning, drew her to me and said

"Behave!"

"What did you find in the rolling ocean's
wave?"

Whatever did you find in the blue of the
sky?

And what in the whirling foam, its twist and
break,

And among the tiny bubbles that flash and
dart,

By conning space day by day, part by part,
What good have you got, tell me," she
spake.

"In the rolling ocean's wave I saw thy face;
And only thy face in the broad expanse of
sky,

And amidst the foam as it whirled and broke
high,

And but thy face in the tiny bubble's race.

Naught did I see but thy infinite grace,

In my study of the one in all its strands;

And when thy laughter tinkled and I moved
thy hands,

And turning clasped thee, again I saw thy
face."

Do we need more proof of Bharati's mystic
upsurge?

From the enrapturing feast of his pictures of
God as the darling of his heart, we turn to another
aspect of Him as Father and Sire.

Here Bharati fills us with a sense of the un-
approachability of His primeval paternity and pre-
science. In his words,

He is old, immeasurably old,

Yet, the brightness of his youth is unfading.

Neither sorrow nor age has he,

Nor weariness, disease, nor fear.

Having no leanings, taking no sides,

He stands detached, transcendent,

And sees with joy the working out of infinite
design.

Fie, he cries,

To those who go to him broken with pain,

And then heaps them over with tenderness.

Those who endure the rack of body and mind,

Their patience he loves;

Those who turn only to the joy of things,

On them he showers, rejoicing,

Joy on joy,

Bliss.

Yet another picture of God, as servant, is also
vouchsafed us in this enduring range of God-Studies.
The servant here is a lad, and so the poet fondly
narrates what he is to him—in his own actual life.

The lad's love for us has, day by day, grown

And the good he has done no words can
render.

As the eyelids guard—alert and tender—

The eyes, he tends my family:

Not once have I heard him grumble. But he

Sweeps the street and cleans the rooms;

And even the housemaids he presumes

To chide and controul! And to my children

A tutor, nurse, doctor, he does bewildering

Services manifold. He buys plenty

Of milk and butter and all things dainty

And stocks my pantry, somehow or other,

To the women he is like a loving mother;

And to me a friend, guide, teacher, brother.

A seeming servant, in deed a God,

This shepherd lad from somewhere abroad,

He has come to me—for my merit's reward!

Beautiful lines, these. In translation much of the
music of the word pictures in the original has suffered.
We are thankful for at least what remains. For there

were days when the great Bharati was not known in his own birthplace, much less outside Tamil Nad. People were shouting only his national songs, imagining that he had not gone beyond the horizon of his patriotism. That which liberates a poet, even as it does any other real being, is the vision of things beyond his own insular security. Patriotism too has limitations, viewed in this light. For loving one's own country cannot stop there but extends to hating others. To love all certainly requires greater understanding of God's work and creation. That is the spirit in which the Rishis who gave us the early epics in Sanskrit acted as our beacon-lights.

If a Tagore or a Bharati or, for that matter, any poet treading the path of the spiritual uplift of humanity, prepares us for more such delicious experiences, we recognize only the unfailing purpose with which a poet is born. Perhaps in Bharati too we find it once more as a living experience, as in the Upanishads, but with all the warm tints derived from a poet's heart.

Dravidian Contribution to Indian Culture

Tamil Culture, a Quarterly Review published from Tuticorin, writes editorially :

The lot that has befallen Tamil is happily not the lot of the Sanskrit language. This other great vehicle of Indian thought is an Indo-European tongue. Because of its affinities with Latin and Greek, and German and other modern languages, it has received recognition abroad. Since the days of William Jones, and more recently, since the days of Max Muller, scholars in the West have come to a better knowledge of the characteristics of the Sanskrit language and literature. Vedic Sanskrit definitely antedates Latin, Greek and Avestan by many centuries, and displays the original Indo-European structure better than any other known tongue, with the exception of Lithuanian. On the other hand, there should be a better knowledge of Latin and Greek in India. Scholarship in our Universities, particularly in comparative philology, is woefully inadequate. Scholars in Tamil should be better conversant with the languages and literatures of the other "cultivated" and "uncultivated" Dravidian tongues, and of Sanskrit and English, if they are to make their work truly worth while.

Comparative studies in Dravidian languages have not advanced far since Caldwell's time.

Because of its affinities with the North Indian languages, and because of the unique position it has held as a vehicle of religious and philosophic thought, Sanskrit holds a prominent place in Indian culture. Writers like Max Müller, Winternitz, Macdonell and Keith have revealed to Indians themselves the treasures of the Sanskrit tongue. Tamil cannot expect the same amount of study or spontaneous interest on the part of non-Tamils for the want of such linguistic affinities. No heed has been paid to the observation of Max Muller himself that "Tamil literature hitherto has been far too much neglected by students of Indian literature, philosophy and religion." (In *Prefatory Note to Hindu Manners and Customs*, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1905.) Most of the pioneer work, therefore, that will cause interest in the rest of the world must proceed from the Tamils themselves. Some of them

should be prepared, even at the cost of sacrifice, to acquire a literary proficiency in foreign tongues so that they may translate the Tamil classics into other languages. So far no translation of a Tamil classic seems to have been incorporated in a series of the world classics in English or in any other language, nor any extracts from Tamil poetry included in the anthologies of world poetry.

There is, however, in European Universities a growing desire to examine the Dravidian contribution to Indian culture. It is a relief to find that such research is popular among at least a few scholars in India. In the new series of *History and Culture of the Indian People* published by the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti, the first volume entitled *The Vedic Age* contains a study of particular interest, and that is the study entitled "Race Movement and Prehistoric Culture," by S. K. Chatterji of the University of Calcutta. He says, "It has been generally admitted, particularly after a study of both the basis of Dravidian and Aryan culture through language and through institutions, that the Dravidians contributed a great many elements of paramount importance in the evolution of Hindu civilization, which is after all (like all other great civilizations) a composite creation, and that in certain matters the Dravidian and Aryan contributions are deeper and more extensive than that of the Aryans. The pre-Aryans of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were certainly in possession of a higher material culture than what the seminomadic Aryans could show." Again, while estimating the Dravidian and other non-Aryan contributions, he points out tersely that "In culture, speaking in the Indian way, one may say that over twelve annas in the rupee is of non-Aryan origin," meaning that more than three-fourth of Indian culture

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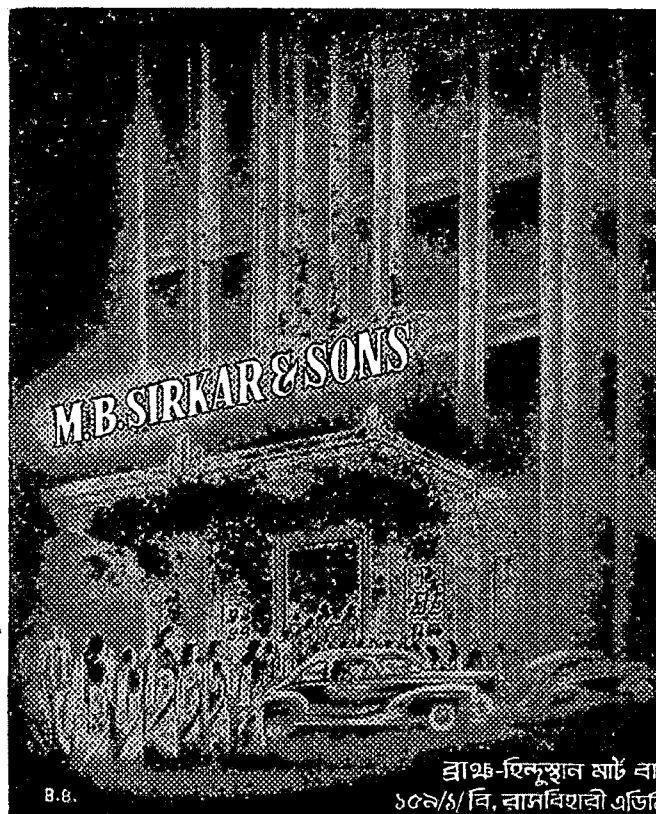
is non-Aryan and predominantly Dravidian. He proceeds to show that Indian food, the Indian way of thinking, the Indian counting and computation, the Indian marriage and religious customs, and Hindu worship and ritual are mostly Tamil or Dravidian. (*The Vedic Age*).

It is clear that the neglect of studies and research concerning Tamil India, can give room to gross errors and misleading judgments in the writing of Indian history and in the exposition of Indian Culture and Indian Literature.

The peculiar characteristics of the Tamil language, its antiquity, its one and only declension and one and only conjugation, its classification of gender so unlike the Indo-European that attributes gender to inanimate objects, and even changes the gender of objects from century to century, its ancient and obsolete particles should arrest the attention of all those interested in the structure and the history of human speech. Tamil is as much a classical language and a classical literature as Greek or Sanskrit with this difference that while her ancient contemporaries have changed beyond recognition or been long regarded as "dead," Tamil continues to be one of the most vigorous of modern Indian languages, perhaps offers the only example in history of an ancient classical tongue which has survived to this day and yet remains young as it was two thousand years ago. Dr. Winslow

had reason when he wrote some decades ago: "It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and, in both dialects, with its borrowed treasures, more copious than the Latin. In its fulness and power, it more resembles English and German than any other living language."

During the last fifty years a number of ancient Tamil works have been edited in print by that prince of editors, the late Swaminatha Aiyer. Knowledge about these ancient literary anthologies has not yet reached those who contribute articles to books of reference in the West. Hence their studies generally are confined to the Kural and the Saivite and Vaishnavite hymns. The love lyrics of the Tamils, their Nature poetry, the panegyric and ethical poetry of the Puram anthology, the Tamil epics like *Silapadikaram* and Kambar's *Ramayana* have not been critically studied side by side with the other masterpieces of the world's literature. There are few languages that can claim such a refined and classical love-poetry as Tamil. Few literatures in the world seem to contain such a large volume of ethical and devotional works. And no other language seems to have been the literary vehicle of the poetry of so many different religions for in Tamil there are poetical works representative of the Jain, the Buddhist, the Saivite, the Vaishnavite, the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Moslem faiths.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What is Point Four?

Following is the full text of the address by the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, before the Roosevelt Day Dinner in New York on January 22, 1952, sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action:

What is Point Four? There could be no tribute more fitting to the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt than this programme dedicated to the Point Four idea. The whole idea of Point Four is one that looks toward the future with boldness and imagination, as did Franklin Roosevelt. Indeed, there are signs that his own lights were turning in this direction in the last months of his life. When Roosevelt was returning from Europe on what turned out to be his last voyage, one of the matters that preoccupied him was the relation between underdeveloped areas and the problem of world peace. In the course of a press conference on board the *Quincy*, he spoke prophetically of the need for helping the people of Iran and the other countries of the Middle East with irrigation, reforestation, education and health—the very things we are now carrying forward vigorously under direct trademark, the mark of Point Four.

Both in Europe and in Asia, the war was still raging, but his mind was already turning to the problems of keeping the peace after the guns had been stilled. These problems, however, were to be the burden of another man. Less than two months later, the awesome responsibilities of the presidency became the duty of a man whose resolute courage and staunch character have led and inspired people everywhere in the cause of world peace—Harry S. Truman. It was for President Truman to carry on with the task begun by President Roosevelt of building the United Nations and repairing the destruction of that terrible war. And to him also fell the task of leading the free nations in the resolute defence of their freedom against the renewal of aggression. These have been subsequent achievements but there is another that history will credit especially to the account of President Truman. His was the practical imagination that conceived the programme known throughout the world as simplified Point Four. Today, three years to the month since President Truman announced this "bold, new programme" of technical co-operation, and one and a half years since it went into operation, Point Four has become a settled part of American foreign policy.

And although the programme is young, it is already apparent that Point Four is a success. Figures do not reveal that whole story, but they give some indication of progress. Under the Point Four Programme, we now have 619 American technicians serving in 34 countries, and there are 372 people from other countries studying techniques here in the United States. All told, there are some 216 Point Four projects under way in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. And side by side with these are many

other technical co-operation projects being carried on by the United Nations, by private agencies, and by other agencies of our government. But this is primarily a human enterprise we are talking about—an exchange of skills and information—and you cannot get the full story from statistics. This story has to be told in terms of people.

One man comes to mind at once. A man who called himself "an old Oklahoma dirt farmer," became one of the best ambassadors the American people ever had. From Azerbaijan to the Ganges, people will remember Dr. Henry Garland Bennett as a man who knew how to make things grow. I have elsewhere paid tribute to Dr. Bennett and his three associates, who lost their lives last month while on a Point Four mission in Iran. It was a tragic loss. Even the one year in which Dr. Bennett served as Administrator of the Technical Co-operation Administration imprinted indelibly upon the programme his sound judgment and his sense of dedication. More than anywhere else, the success of the Point Four Programme is to be found in the work of hundreds of shirt-sleeve diplomats all over the world. They are men from our farming states, who ride on mule-back or walk among the farmers of their countries. They sift the soil in their gnarled and expert hands, and they know how to make it support life.

I speak of such men as Horace Holmes, county agent from Tennessee, who has been working miracles in India, and Frank Pinder of Florida, who has walked through most of Liberia like a modern Johnny Appleseed, leaving a trail of growing things where he has been. Women, too, play a gallant part in this pioneering effort—women like Elizabeth Clark of James town, Rhode Island, who has braved tropical heat and the cold of high altitudes to teach health and nutrition to villagers in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia.

I have heard some critics paraphrase Voltaire's famous remark and say that this Point Four Programme is neither bold nor new, and is not much of a programme. Of course, American missionaries have been carrying medical and agricultural information to the

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world for many years, and even before the Point Four Programme came along, this government was doing some of these things in Latin America and elsewhere. But these Point Four activities have a new significance which makes them more than unrelated good deeds.

Under the Point Four Programme these activities are but the first steps in a process that can change—and is changing—the whole aspect of life in these areas.

This process has profound social and political effects, and that is what makes it an important part of our foreign policy today.

For example, the work of Horace Holmes with a group of Indian farmers in some small area in northern India—not more than 100 square miles in size—has been followed by an agreement with the Government of India under which that work will be multiplied 50 times. In the small demonstration area wheat production had been doubled by means that were simple and at hand. (It is believed that this enlarged programme, based on that demonstration will, within five years, eliminate the threat of famine from India and, in ten years, will double India's present food production. This work will be done under a special Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund to be jointly financed by the two governments. The fund will make possible the establishment of 50 rural-urban development areas around river valley projects and tube wells. Each development area will have modern housing, good schools, improved health facilities and many industrial opportunities. But that is not all. The chain reaction of economic development once started goes far beyond the immediate range of Point Four work. The work of the fund is only one part of India's new five-year economic development plan. Under it, India, using the facilities of the Colombo Plan and of seven agencies of the United Nations, is making a concerted attack on illiteracy and disease, and will build roads, dams, power lines, factories, hospitals and schools.

Here is a programme that illustrates the exciting possibilities that open up from the small beginnings of the Point Four projects.)

Before I leave this discussion of the Indo-American Fund I would like to say a word about the man whose great energy and goodwill contributed so much to its realisation, an alumnus of the Act, our Ambassador to India, Mr. Chester Bowles. With that limitless energy of his, Ambassador Bowles has in three months covered most of the subcontinent by jeep and plane, and has become a friendly and familiar figure all over India. His grasp of the complex problems of that part of the world is a great asset in developing a closer friendship between India and the United States.

I think it will help us to support this programme intelligently if we are very clear about why we are

doing this Point Four Programme, and just what it is we want it to do for us.

Now, why is it we are carrying on this programme? First of all, we can clear away several mistaken notions. It is not philanthropy that motivates us. I don't think we need to be embarrassed to admit to disinterested idealism. But there is a hardheaded self-interest in this programme, and other nations will co-operate with us with more confidence if we say bluntly why we are in it. Nor is the Point Four Programme primarily something to beat down the Soviet menace. The Soviet threat is very real and dangerous, and the successful operation of the Point Four Programme does help to meet it. But this is a by-product—the programme has a much more enduring and fundamental purpose than that, and we should be carrying it forward even if there were no Soviet threat. Finally, although the Point Four Programme does have the effect of developing overseas markets and sources of raw materials, even this is not its primary purpose. Our reasons, I think, are more basic than any of these things.

Point Four, it seems to me, is a fundamental, political and philosophical idea. It grows out of our whole approach to the problems presented by nature to civilisation.)

Now this brings us close to the heart of our real interest in the Point Four Programme. It is our faith—our deepest conviction—that representative and responsible government is more deeply in accord with man's nature than any other system of government. We also believe that representative and responsible governments by their nature contribute toward world peace.)

We have an interest, therefore, in the development of such governments in the world, because we are seeking to create an environment in which we can live peacefully and continue to develop our own society. This is the essential purpose of our whole foreign policy.

But the setting in which we operate is a revolutionary one. We live in a time when two revolutionary movements have been crisscrossing the face of the earth. One of these is the revolution of technology, which in the 19th century, brought industrialisation to Western Europe and North America, and is now beginning to stir the countries called "underdeveloped."

The other revolution is represented by our Declaration of Independence and our Bill of Rights. I am speaking of the contagious ideas of liberty, justice, and independence expressed in the French and American Revolutions. It is the ferment we see at work today in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere in the world. It is the juncture of these revolutionary forces in the underdeveloped areas of



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the world that gives meaning to the Point Four Programme, for the new technology gives us not only the instruments of a better life, but also the means of mass communication and education by which to transmit this knowledge. And if, in so doing, we can help people not only to develop the soil, the water and the resources of their lands, but to develop the culture that suits them and fits their needs, and to fulfill their aspirations for responsible and more representative government these revolutionary forces can be constructively channelled, and contribute to the peace of the world. If not, the world will continue to be swept by the rip tides of conflict.

Now if we look at the Point Four Programme with this in mind, a number of interesting considerations present themselves to us. We see that we cannot be indifferent to the social impact of our ideas and our science upon the people in these parts of the world.

But if, in our Point Four Programme and all other activities that affect the underdeveloped areas, we seek to encourage and assist the governments of these countries to deal responsibly and effectively with the aspirations of the people and by our influence and our aid try to assist in the development of representative institutions then we shall be serving our own ultimate interests and the interests of world peace. This analysis suggests not only a general emphasis in our Technical Co-operation programmes, but a number of specific operating considerations.

One is that we need to give due attention to the opportunities open to the urban populations to find useful and satisfying application of their newly-acquired ideas and education. It often happens that many from among this group participate as technicians in the programmes for rural areas, but this has not always been sufficient. A second consideration is that, in relation to the rural groups, we must be concerned not only with techniques of agriculture, but also with the relationship of the farmer to the land he tills. To make a decent living out of farming, a farmer must either own his land, or use it under fair conditions and terms of tenure, and he must in addition have access to credit on reasonable terms. A third point is that we must continue to stress the self-help character of the Point Four Programme.

(Point Four can accomplish a great deal for the amount of money it costs, because its chief contribution is in the communication of technical skills. Recipient countries have put up three out of every four dollars expended, on the average, and the prime responsibility for financing economic development, on the foundation laid by Point Four, rests with the recipient countries.) It is a sound principle, which has been part of the basic conception of Point Four, that the economic development to follow upon the Technical Cooperation Programmes, should in the main be financed by private capital.

The fourth consideration is best expressed by Dr. Bennett in the memorandum to which I referred earlier. In that memorandum to his staff, Dr. Bennett described the Point Four Programme as a "simple, down-to-earth, self-help programme designed primarily to assist other peoples in increasing their food production, bettering their health conditions, and improving their educational systems." Almost 80 per cent of the Point Four work falls into these three categories. Of these, the most urgent is food.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation has estimated that it would be necessary for the under-

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developed areas to produce by 1960 approximately twice as much food as they have been producing in recent years, in order to achieve a minimum adequate standard of living. This goal has been the objective of the Administrators of the Point Four programmes, and a point of principal emphasis. Progress toward industrialisation in these areas, as in the U.S., will be most effective if it rests upon a sound agricultural base.)

There is one final consideration I would like to put forth. It grows, I believe, out of all the others I have mentioned.

The Point Four Programme must be regarded as a long-term proposition. It is not an overnightly miracle drug. It can produce results at every step of the way and the encouragement of seeing one year's crop bigger than last is a necessary spur to continued effort but the fundamental results will only become apparent over a number of years.)

Although I have not referred directly to the valuable Technical Assistance Programme carried on by the United Nations and its agencies we consider our participation in that programme an essential part of our Point Four activities. Support for the U.N. programme is central to the U.S. approach to technical assistance. We are proud to have played a leading part in the expansion of the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme. Our experience has shown the wisdom of our intentions to continue to carry out these activities, wherever practicable, through the U.N. and its Specialised Agencies. This not only gives practical meaning to the Charter's reference to the U.N. as "a centre for harmonising the acts of nations." But it makes full use of the U.N. capacities

for encouraging and assisting peaceful and orderly transitions.

This much I think can be said with assurance, that if the programme continues to receive the steadfast interest and support of the American people, it will continue to become an ever more important element in our foreign policy. What is more is that in these simple actions the world will find and understand the true meaning of our American heritage.

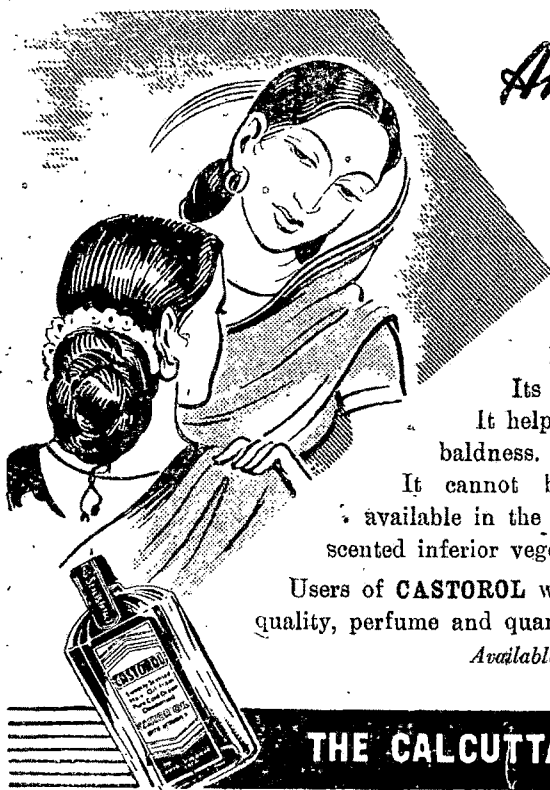
Compensation

A view which seems to have gained ground during the first world war and again during the second is that, in agricultural production, there are three parties whose interest should be safeguarded—the tenant who supplies the working capital, the landlord who supplies much of the fixed capital, and the community for whom its home agriculture may be one of the most important assets.

THE LANDLORD'S RIGHTS TO COMPENSATION

It is generally considered that the landlord has no claim to higher rent simply because the value of the holding has increased as a result of a tenant's efforts, but at the same time it is generally held that the landlord has the right to expect from the tenant that the latter will maintain the value of the holding by working it according to local good farming practice.

Sometimes, as in the case of England and Wales, "rules of good husbandry" are laid down by which that tenant is bound to abide, and his landlord and the county agricultural executive committee are given the right of inspection in order to check, at all



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reasonable times, whether the tenant follows these rules. The Agricultural Holdings Act, 1948, gives the landlord the right to compensation from an outgoing tenant for specific delapidations, deterioration or damage to the holding, in so far as this has been caused by the tenant's "non-fulfilment of his responsibilities to farm in accordance with the rules of good husbandry." The Act lays down that the amount of such compensation shall be "the cost, as at the date of the tenant's quitting the holding, of making good the delapidation, deterioration or damage." If he so wishes, the landlord may, alternatively, claim under the written tenancy agreement, if this matter is covered in it. Further, under these provisions, the landlord can claim for general deterioration of the holding where the tenant can be shown to have failed to farm in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. The general claim will be considered only in so far as the landlord has not received compensation under a claim made for specific delapidations, etc. In such cases, he must notify the tenant of his intention of making the general claim at least one month before the tenancy ends. The landlord has this right even in respect of damage, etc., which did not occur during the tenancy which has just ended or is about to end, but also for earlier damage, etc.

The legislation of other countries is, on the whole, less precise. Some countries include matters not specified in the English Act of 1948; for example, Swedish law prescribes a compulsory inspection by experts at the beginning and end of each tenancy. Regulations for inspection exist also in Finland, where it is laid down that "buildings, gardens, fields, meadows, ditches, roads, bridges, wells and drains shall be inspected and their condition noted in writing and exactly described . . . This inspection shall be carried out not later than six months after the tenant has taken over the farm." A similar inspection is carried out when the tenant leaves. As a result of these inspections, compensation is fixed, taking account of improvements made by the tenant.

Dutch law simply lays down rules of good husbandry as a guide, and the interpretation of these rules is a matter for the land chamber of the province. In Belgium, the matter is covered by the Civil Code and, here again, the tenant is obliged to farm according to the rules of good husbandry. The tenant may use the holding only in the way permitted by the lease, otherwise the landlord may give him notice. The new Bill contains a provision to encourage landlords to compile an inventory at the beginning of the lease. Inventories are also

obligatory in France, under post-war legislation. These are taken by an expert appointed by the joint tribunal which also settles disputes. In the case of *metayage*, the owner's livestock has to be returned, i.e., the same breeds, quality, weight, or market value, according to the entry valuation; any increase or decrease is normally shared by the two parties in equal parts and a settlement made according to current prices or in kind. The *metayer's* own stock is returned on the same principles. Pigs and poultry raised by the *metayer* on his own account are not affected by these provisions. As regards hay, straw and fodder crops, the *metayer* must leave the same kinds and amounts as he found on entry and must make up in kind any difference in the quantity. Machinery and implements provided by the owner have to be returned to him but the *metayer* is not liable for any charge for depreciation. The outgoing *metayer* must leave the land under the same crops as he found on entry, unless otherwise agreed.

In Italy, the Bill at present before the Italian Parliament provides for the establishment of a technical commission on rent in each province, which would, *inter alia*, deal with compensation payable by tenants to landlords. According to Portuguese law, which dates back to 1919, the tenant is required to farm in such a way as to avoid deterioration of the holding; if he fails to do so, the landlord is entitled to give him notice and hold him responsible for all loss and damage to the property.

In Switzerland, the onus of discovering deficiencies in the property rented is laid upon the tenant and—what is more strictly relevant here—the tenant must manage the holding in the way laid down in the lease and, in particular, must take care to maintain productivity. As under the new Belgian law, the tenant is not necessarily obliged to manage his holding according to local traditional methods and the right to apply new methods and techniques is conceded to him.

But, as regards proper management and maintenance of the holding, the tenant has further duties, e.g., the eradication of moles, mice and dangerous insects, the combating of plant diseases to save the current harvest and to avoid infection of future crops. Often expenses arising as a result of this may be shared. As regards supplies of straw, hay, manures, etc., on the farm at the end of the lease, the outgoing tenant is not usually entitled to remove such produce.—*International Labour Review*, August-Sept. 1951.

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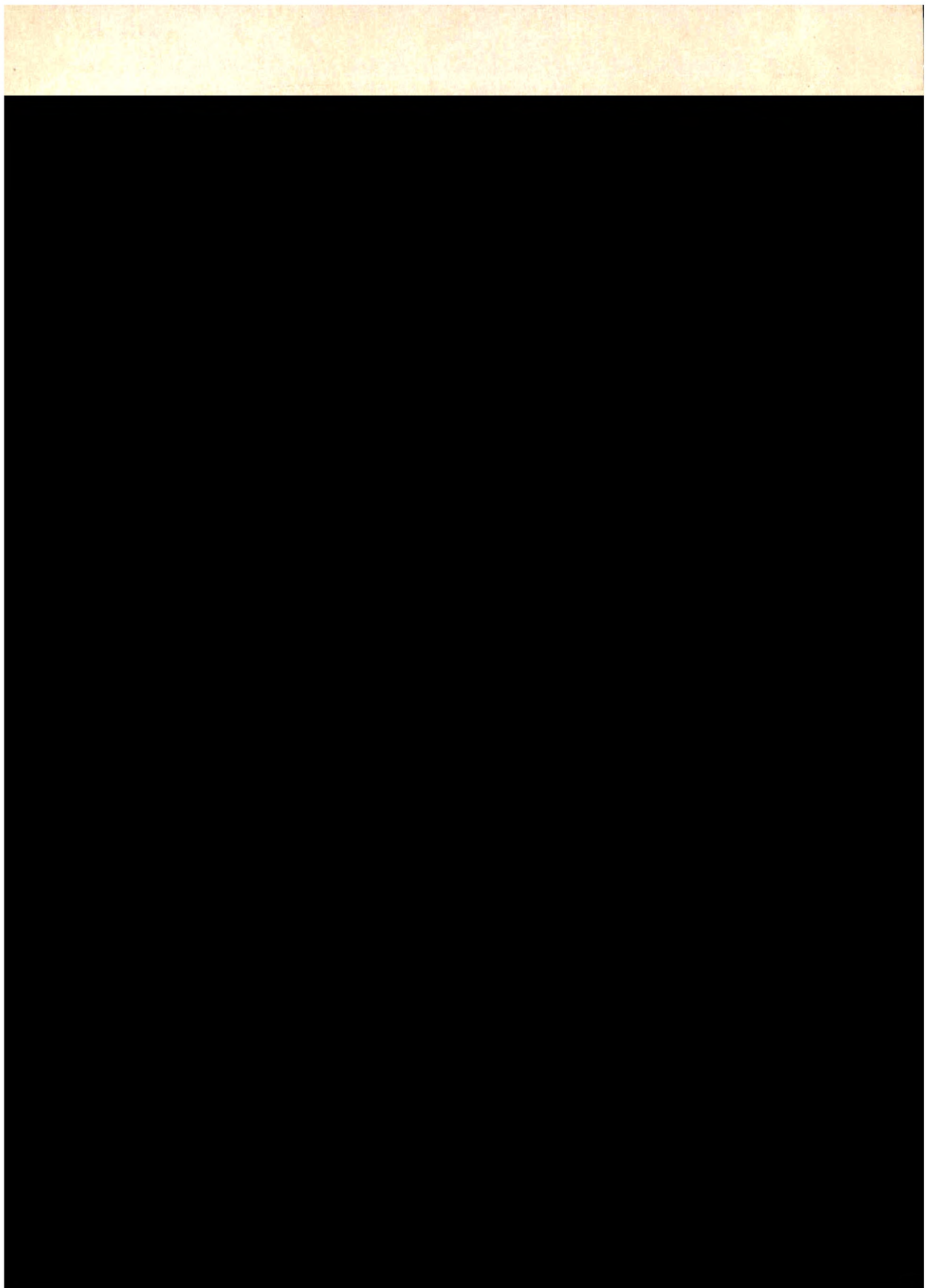
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The President and the Vice-President

The nationals of the Indian Union may mutilate themselves unreservedly on the election of Rajendra Prasad as Head of the Union and his Deputy.

Little need be said beyond the offering of respectful felicitations to Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Our Rajendrababu—as we prefer to call him—is too well-known and well-beloved for any further eulogies. He has progressed well into the hearts of his co-nationals during his previous tenure of the Presidentship and, within the limits of his personality, has striven his uttermost to carry the torch given unto him by his Master and Preceptor. Indeed of all those who have attained office and status in the present regime, he is the one person who can take the name and invoke the spirit of the Father of the Nation. May the light of that great soul bathe the reason and conscience of our President and free it of all narrow inhibitions!

The Vice-President is a truly international figure and rightly represents the Brahminic traditions of philosophy and catholicity in intellect. Our greetings to him on the attainment of the high office which he will well decorate.

It is a pity that these elections did not go without contest. Under the tenets of our newly acquired democratic constitution, faulty, flimsy and haphazard though it be, we suppose such contests are inevitable. Since he is not the Chief Executive of the Union, as in the case of the President of the U.S.A., our President should have been elected on a unanimous and non-party basis. If the opposition had accepted him without contest, they would have automatically put him above party levels. This may not be true about

all future nominations, but we would venture to say it would have been so in the case of Rajendrababu.

The New Cabinet

A further step in Pandit Nehru's downhill progress towards autocracy has been marked by the formation of the new Cabinet. The announcement given below was released on the evening of the 13th May:

"Members of the new Central Ministry were sworn in this evening by the President at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Their names and portfolios are as follows:

Members of the Cabinet: 1. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs; 2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research; 3. Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Defence; 4. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health; 5. Dr. K. N. Katju, Home Affairs and States; 6. Mr. R. A. Kidwai, Food and Agriculture; 7. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance; 8. Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Communications; 9. Mr. G. L. Nanda, Planning and River Valley Schemes; 10. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Commerce and Industry; 11. Mr. C. C. Biswas, Law and Minority Affairs; 12. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Railway and Transport; 13. Sardar Swaran Singh, Works, Housing and Supply; 14. Mr. V. V. Giri, Labour; and 15. Mr. K. C. Reddy, Production.

Ministers of Cabinet Rank: 1. Mr. A. P. Jain, Rehabilitation; 2. Mr. Satya Narain Sinha, Parliamentary Affairs; 3. Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Finance; 4. Dr. B. V. Keskar, Information and Broadcasting.

Deputy Ministers: Mr. D. P. Karmarkar and Mr. S. N. Buragohain.

Among the notable features of the new Ministry are the larger size of the Cabinet, the creation of a new category of 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank,' redistribution of portfolios and the appointment of five new Ministers, excluding Mr. Kidwai.

Compared with Mr. Nehru's outgoing Cabinet of 12, the new Cabinet consists of 15 members. At one stage, before the resignation of Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Kidwai and Mr. Sri Prakasa, the outgoing Cabinet had a strength of 15.

In the last Ministry, there were seven Ministers of State, of whom one, Mr. Biswas, has now become Cabinet Minister and three, Mr. Jain, Mr. Sinha and Mr. Tyagi, have been promoted to 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank.'

Of the other three former Ministers of State, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa was not elected to either House, while Mr. R. R. Diwakar and Mr. K. Santhanam have been appointed Governor of Bihar and Lieut-Governor of Vindhya Pradesh.

There were six Deputy Ministers in the last Ministry, two of whom, Mr. Karmarkar and Mr. Buragohain, are being retained in that rank. Of the other four, Dr. Keskar has been promoted, Maj-Gen. Himmatsinhji was recently appointed Lieut-Governor of Himachal Pradesh and Mr. Raj Bahadur and Mr. Thirumala Rao lost at the polls.

In giving Mr. Jain, Mr. Sinha and Mr. Tyagi, 'Cabinet Rank' but at the same time excluding them from the Cabinet, Mr. Nehru was, apparently, guided by the consideration of keeping the size of the Cabinet to the minimum possible number.

It is known, however, that 'Ministers of Cabinet Rank' will enjoy the same status in all particulars as Cabinet Ministers. They will be entitled to attend Cabinet meetings whenever it is necessary.

Of the five new Ministers, the election of Mr. K. C. Reddy, who was formerly Chief Minister of Mysore, is intended to give representation to non-Brahmins from South India, Mr. Ayyangar, Mr. Krishnamachari and Mr. Giri being all Brahmins.

Some surprise was caused when the report first became current that Sardar Swaran Singh would take Sardar Baldev Singh's place in the Cabinet as a Sikh member as he was already serving as a Minister in Punjab (I).

With the exception of Mr. V. V. Giri, who has a long record of work as a leader in Railway labour, and perhaps of Mr. K. C. Reddy, who is a semi-unknown quantity, the rest of the Cabinet seem mere reflections of Pandit Nehru, or at least that is their obvious record. We should perhaps reserve judgement, for under the new stimulus, some of them might show qualities hitherto unsuspected of them. But whatever may come out in the final assay, we would say that the metal of the Cabinet is neither pure gold nor true steel. That it is not true steel there can be no doubt, for Pandit Nehru has evidently striven hard to remove all vestiges of the late Sardar's influence from his own hand-picked and truly personal Cabinet. He has chosen it in his wisdom, so that he may attain complacency, tranquillity and

strength in it, for just as the Blood is the Life to common mortals, so is adulation life's blood to a certain type of supermen. And, therefore, in felicitating Pandit Nehru in his choice, we will say that since to almost all in his Cabinet *Jai Nehru* is synonymous with *Jai Hind*, there will be little fear of discord in the family.

Of the qualifications of the individuals we need say little at present as all of them are to be put to the test in the near future. But a few remarks about some of them and their past record might be cogent.

Of Pandit Nehru with his mercurial temperament and violent likes and dislikes little need be said. He is strongly allergic to all varieties of criticism, friendly or hostile, sincere or insincere. The only outside opinion he tolerates and admits is that labelled "Made in Pakistan," or its home-made imitations. On him had descended the shining mantle of Mahatma Gandhi, and that mantle may have to be consigned to the waters like the ashes of Bapu, due to the sad lack in him of the three cardinal virtues of his predecessor in the leadership of the nation, tolerance, patience and humility, in the service of God and along the thorny path of Truth. We say this in humility and in the full realisation of our shortcomings and narrowness of vision. He does not seem to know where he is leading his nation as his reasoning is like a compass in a magnetic storm. The world believed that he had rightly inherited the mantle, and so did we. *May he be given Light!*

Maulana Azad is a 'tower of strength' to Pandit Nehru, for in that frail personification of a mediæval culture is concentrated more communalism than what would suffice to neutralise all that of the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, and the Ram Rajya Parishad. He has curious ideas regarding the functions of the Education portfolio. As a consequence there is little visible movement in that ministry.

Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's first mission was to the U.N.O. over the Kashmir Affair. The world knows of his achievements there. We know that we have paid Rs. 900 millions for that briefing and may yet have to pay dearly in blood, sweat, tears and treasure.

After the debacle at the U.N.O. he was put in charge of Railways with a chosen assistant in the person of Shri Santhanam. He has succeeded in establishing an almost classless uniformity in Railway travel and transport. For delay, discomfort, theft and risk to life and property are uniformly distributed. And to cap all comes disorganisation in the guise of Regrouping.

Now he is in charge of Defence. After all *Ahimsa* is our creed. And therein lies all the comfort we may need.

We have nothing much to say about Rajkumari

Amrit Kaur. May the good lady continue to decorate the Health Ministry as intended by her chief.

Dr. K. N. Katju hears not evil, we vow, and he speaketh not evil we are sure, but in the portfolio which has been assigned to him, it is incumbent upon him to "see evil." Will he survive that ordeal?

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is an astute politician and in intrigue a veritable Machiavelli. If he applies himself to the problems of Food and Agriculture in the same way as he did to the Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones in the previous ministry then the Union of India's problems of Food and Population might be solved for all eternity. Let us hope that in this journey the needs of the nation would have all his attention. There is no question of ability.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has been in charge of our finances now for quite some time. If a rose smells sweet even though it be called by other names, then perhaps Bankruptcy will sound quite as impressive and reassuring if labelled Finance. For despite all made-to-order figures by tame statisticians, that is what the country is heading for, as he would realise when he descended to the common man's earth and disabused his British blinkers.

Can we proceed any further? The rest are mostly untried men, and we sincerely hope that they be found true when the trial comes.

Notwithstanding all that has been said before, we wish the Cabinet Godspeed in their venture. If they can cast off bureaucratic red-tape, discard party-consciousness, and purge their souls of the evils of parochial interests and greed for personal advancement, they may yet serve the nation well. And the nation is sorely in need of selfless service.

The Opposition Groups

Up-to-date there is no organised opposition party in the House of People. Regarding the recognition of the Opposition Groups the following news appeared in the daily press a short while back:

"There are strong indications that neither the Communist nor the Right-wing groups would be able to form the main Opposition party in the House of the People.

A minimum strength of 10 per cent of the total membership of the House, that is 50, is prescribed as a qualification for recognition as an opposition party.

Neither the Communist bloc (UDF) nor the suggested combination of Rightist members under Dr. S. P. Mookerjee is likely to fulfil this condition in the absence of support from the Socialists and the KMPP.

In that event the Speaker may recognize only 'groups in opposition,' which would be entitled to separate blocs of seats but not to the other privileges attaching to an opposition party."

The Communist hopes for directing a United Front against the Congress-in-power have been

shattered. No party is willing to serve under a group that flies a foreign flag as its party banner. It is evident that the more thoughtful amongst opposition leaders have recovered mental balance and are not likely to be led astray by spurious promises and frothy slogans, like the callow youth of our schools and colleges. Indeed as we go to press the following piece of news has appeared in the daily press, which is all to the good:

"An alliance between the Socialist Party and the KMPP was announced after a meeting of representatives, including Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and Acharya Kripalani, of the two organizations. According to a joint statement issued by these two leaders, the Socialists and the KMPP 'will work in harmony in Legislatures and outside,' forming a single party in Parliament under a common leader.

"Negotiations will now be conducted with 'other like-minded members' of Parliament with a view to extending the membership of the new party, which will be given a name after further consultations."

In their joint statement, Acharya Kripalani and Mr. Jai Prakash Narain say:

"The representatives of the KMPP and the Socialist Party met and exchanged views on the situation that has arisen in the country after the general elections.

"The exchange of views revealed a wide area of agreement and it was generally felt that to galvanize the politics of the country, it is necessary for all parties which believe in the sovereign independence of the country, are anxious to guard its frontiers and are wedded to personal freedom, to come increasingly closer together."

If the Socialists awaken to a sense of realities and the K.M.P.P. sheds its shibboleths then these two can be of immense good to the nationals of India. As men of integrity Acharya Kripalani and Sri Jai Prakash Narain have both a unique status and their standing as devoted patriots is beyond challenge. But the vision of both are clouded by the irresponsible actions and utterings of sly careerists on the one side and reckless and feckless hot-heads on the other.

It would indeed be a calamity if there is no true opposition, based on the real cause of the people, to Pandit Nehru's Government. Indeed the misfortune will be more tragic on the side of the Government for a lack of responsible opposition will only hasten Nemesis for the Congress Party Government under Pandit Nehru.

The Presidential Address

Before discussing the Presidential address, it might not be out of place to comment on the criticisms levelled at the Government during its discussion by the Opposition. Regarding the views of

the Communist Group, we have the following report :

"The Communist leader, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, who spoke after the motion of thanks had been seconded, expressed great disappointment over the address and urged the Government to take swift action to deal with the deepening economic crisis. Thousands of workers had been thrown out of employment, he said, but the Government had done nothing. The two major problems today were food and jobs. The Government had been able to tackle neither.

The word 'famine,' he said, did not occur in the address. Something was said about Rayalaseema but nothing about Hissar or the Sunderbans or other places where newspapers every day reported famine conditions.

Judged by the burdens imposed on the people during the last five years, this country had not yet got freedom or independence. Thousands of workers in the textile mills and handloom industry, the mica mines and coir factories had been thrown out of employment. After the increase in food prices 388,000 people in the Capital had been unable to draw their rations. 'The freedom or independence we have got is not the freedom of the poor man.'

He criticized the Government for making no mention of linguistic provinces. The Government were not in favour of linguistic provinces in Madras, he said, because they were afraid a Congress ministry would not be in office there.

Mr. Gopalan challenged the claim that the Government had followed a policy of friendship towards all countries. He said that while pass-ports were denied to people who wished to visit Russia or China and visas were not granted to some who wished to come here from those countries, 'anybody from America can come here with his bag and baggage and anybody can go to America'."

We hold no brief for the Government and therefore there is no need for us to discuss in detail all the points made by the leader of the Communist group. Indeed we are in agreement with him regarding the economic crisis, linguistic provinces and unemployment. But we have to say a few words regarding the dread word "famine" which is being so loudly shouted by his comrades in West Bengal and in Rayalaseema.

Does the Communist Party really want the people to survive the trials that failure of crops and lack of purchasing power has landed the poor people of the Sunderbans area into? Judging by the methods adopted and statements issued by their party leaders in that area and by their fellow-travellers, dupes and scrap-hunting news-hounds the reverse is the case. Otherwise why this continuous preaching to the people to demand rice, in quantities impossible of procurement and supply, as an absolute *sine qua non*?

There is no need to give a detailed report of the movement and agitation that is being whipped up, but it seems to us that an attempt is being made to make capital out of people's misery just to serve the interests and purposes of the Party.

The same process as was in evidence in Hyderabad, in the Telengana area, is being sought to be brought into action in the Sunderbans. The Government has to accept responsibility for its failures and shortcomings in the past and the present. It has neglected the people's interest and is still bungling. But that does not mean that the people should be misguided into intensifying their own distress, so that the disruptionists may score a triumph.

We do not want Hyderabad methods to be repeated in West Bengal. We append herein Swami Ramananda Tirth's comments in the House of People for the consideration of our readers :

"In the House of the People a notable speech was also made by the Hyderabad State Congress President, Swami Ramananda Tirth. Dressed in his usual saffron costume, the Swami forcefully answered Communist charges."

He strongly denied that the Communist movement in Telengana was a struggle for 'agrarian reform.' It was nothing more than an armed political campaign, he added, which the Government had treated with a measure of generosity.

Communist complaints about suppression of civil liberties were baseless. Had the Congress been responsible for an armed rebellion under a Communist Government, Congress members would not have been able to protest in Parliament."

We emphatically say that as yet there is but scarcity, and not famine, in parts of West Bengal. But attempts are being made to panic people into greater distress and perhaps into actual famine.

As to the Presidential address, we shall reproduce only two small extracts from that, as those two indicate where the President can fully exert himself to influence the destiny of the Nation. In the preamble he says :

"You and I have taken the oath of service to this country of ours. May we be true to that pledge and dedicate our highest endeavour to its fulfilment."

And at the end we find the corollary to the above :

"Your success will depend on the spirit of tolerance that governs your activities and the wisdom that inspires your efforts. I earnestly trust, therefore, that this wisdom and tolerance of spirit will always be with you."

It is obviously the President's mission to convey these exhortations to his Government, from the highest to the lowest and to endeavour for its implementation by all. We wish him success. The rest of the address is for record only.

The Final Central Budget

The Final Indian Budget as presented by the Finance Minister, Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, discloses a surplus of Rs. 3.73 crores as against an estimated revenue surplus of Rs. 18.73 crores in the care-taker Budget of February, 1952. The reduction in surplus is due to the decline in the estimated revenue receipts from Rs. 424.98 to Rs. 404.98 crores, while the revenue expenditure has been reduced from Rs. 406.25 crores to Rs. 401.25 crores. In short the revenue receipts are expected to be reduced by Rs. 20 crores whereas the revenue expenditure is to be reduced by only Rs. 5 crores. The reduction in revenue is due to a fall of Rs. 25 crores under Customs revenue owing to the recent reduction in export duties.

Referring to talk of "price recession" the Finance Minister expressed the view that though much depended on unpredictable world developments, he did not think that the present situation amounted to a depression. He added that at the present juncture the fall is not a portent calling for the reckless injection of purchasing power into the country's economy. It was necessary, however, to guard against lower prices and unemployment. He gave the assurance that the Government were most keenly alive to this danger and would take adequate steps to see that production and employment were not affected. The changes in the export duties, relaxation in the control of jute exports and cotton textiles, the special assistance given to the cotton textile industry to purchase foreign cotton were the important measures adopted by the Government to meet the situation.

The level of industrial production had generally been well maintained, he said. Agricultural production had also been well maintained, jute, cotton and sugar showing encouraging results. The additional production of food-grains had, however, been more than offset by a fall in production due to drought or insufficient rain.

The Finance Minister next reviewed the balance of payments position. In 1951, this had not been as favourable as in 1950, and the deficit for that year was estimated at Rs. 30 crores. In the first four months of the current year there had been a reduction of Rs. 81 crores in the amount of the sterling balances. Till the end of last month the deficit on current transactions had been wholly met from the accumulated surpluses and it had not been necessary to draw upon the agreed release from sterling balances.

The Finance Minister then mentioned the deterioration in the dollar position of this country and the sterling area as a whole. The measures taken by the Commonwealth Governments to stop the drain on the central reserves had led to a decline in the rate of the drain. India's drawings for the second half of 1952 may also be smaller owing to the improved stock position of wheat and raw cotton. Negotiations were

in train for the grant of certain loans from the World Bank and if this came in, it would assist the country's dollar position.

The Finance Minister then mentioned the reduction in the provision for food subsidies. With the rise in the price of imported supplies it would cost the Exchequer about Rs. 60 crores if, in addition to subsidizing milo, the price of food-grains in industrial and other areas were to be maintained at the 1951 level. If prices in industrial areas were to be given to the whole range of consumers, the cost would rise to about Rs. 90 crores a year.

With so many competing claims upon our resources particularly for development of our economic resources, continued the F. M., it will be wasteful to spend sums of this order on consumption by subsidizing food.

The increase in the price of food-grains had also to be viewed against the background of the reduction in the general price level. The urban working class cost of living indices showed that the compensatory fall in the aggregate on other commodities had been substantial. A measure of initial hardship was inevitable, and the Government were doing their best to mitigate the hardship for the lower classes by subsidizing milo. He could not hold out any hope of a relief in the form of restoration of any system of subsidies committing the Central Exchequer to bringing about an approximation between the prices of imported and internally procured grain.

The Finance Minister went on to announce that he did not propose to make any changes in taxation. About reliefs in taxation he said:

"The problem before me now is really not one of having any money to give away but of how to make good the net loss of resources which the changes I have proposed involve." No one could seriously suggest a reduction in taxation with so much to be accomplished for development and when the ordinary citizen was, for the first time in four years, finding the price levels a little less irksome. Revenue had been buoyant in the last two years largely for fortuitous reasons, while demands for essential expenditure had been steadily rising. It would be dangerous to do anything to weaken the Government's revenue position at this stage.

He stressed the fact that in an expanding economy savings in administrative expenditure were likely to be absorbed by increasing developmental expenditure.

For the future, there would be no reserve represented by accumulated balances and the country would have to raise currently the money required to meet public expenditure and to finance development plans. "On any view of the future which one could take," said the Finance Minister, "there can be no

room for complacency or for the relaxation of the efforts to raise the maximum amount of resources for the country's development."

Assistance had been received in recent months from outside sources for development and, while such assistance was welcome, the country had largely to rely on itself.

"The edifice of our prosperity cannot be built on props of outside assistance without sacrificing something vital in the nation's spirit, but can be built enduringly only by the efforts of our own people."

The Finance Minister has announced that the revenue receipt for 1952-53 would drop greatly as there has been a heavy reduction of export duties on jute, oil seeds, and textiles due to depression in world market. Let us survey their real contribution to the exchequer :

Items	EXPORT DUTIES (in crores of rupees)			
	1950-51 actuals	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Revised Budget	1952-53 Budget
Jute and jute products	26.12	36.00	57.00	40.00
Cotton	1.20	4.50	7.70	5.50
Textile and yarn	.31	2.50	2.35	2.50
Manganese	1.32	1.00	2.00	1.50
Tea	11.24	10.00	10.00	10.00
Black pepper	4.26	3.25	4.00	3.00
Other agricultural goods	.40	.24	.50	.40
Iron and steel	.21	.18	.15	.10
Mica	.29	.21	.40	.25
Oil and oilseeds	2	1.25	1.50	1.00
Wool	1.99	2.85	1.25	.75
	47.36	62.25	87.75	65.00

Receipts under jute and textiles record a loss of 17 crores and 2.20 crores respectively. But Customs in general reveals an overall improvement as against the actuals of 1950-51 and Budget estimate of 1951-52. Again the contribution from Excise marks a general improvement over the Revised Budget of 1951-52. The statistical account below will make the position clear :

EXCISE DUTIES	
1950-51 (actuals)	Rs. 67 crores and 54 lakhs
1951-52 (Budget)	Rs. 79 " " 63 "
1951-52 (Revised Budget)	Rs. 84 " " 30 "
1952-53 (Budget)	Rs. 86 " " "

Receipts from Income-tax has been shown at Rs. 132 crores for two successive years and now it stands at Rs. 119 crores. As an explanation it has been declared that the general recession in trade, through which the country, according to the Finance Minister, is passing, is likely to reduce income-tax receipts.

The thing which should arrest public attention, is the deplorable condition of our cash balance position at the end of the year. The Central Exchequer started with Rs. 273 crores and 90 lakhs as cash balance after the partition of the country. Nearly 260 crores of this

sum has been used up, the balance remaining at Rs. 78 crores and 38 lakhs only. And this will stand at Rs. 83.08 crores at the end of 1952-53 though there has been a huge surplus of Rs. 93 crores from the last year. This again includes an unspent balance of Rs. 40 crores received as foreign aids. That is, out of a total amount of nearly 300 crores, only 47 crores of rupees remains as cash balance. The bulk of this money, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh declares, has been utilised for essential purposes and development. But little substantial progress in any aspect of national development can yet be seen.

No mention has been made of the workings of the Five-year Plan. It has been declared that the Central and State Governments would practise economy in expenditure by all means and the money thus relieved will be utilised for the implementation of the Plan as assigned to respective Governments. But throughout the whole Budget no claim has been made of such savings and the transference of such money to national reconstruction under the Five-year Plan.

The Budget estimate reveals a reduction revenue by Rs. 20 crores while the expenditure has been raised even over the last Revised Budget. 'Defence' as before, still accounts for half the total revenue. Some relief under the present situation may be obtained if military training is made selectively compulsory so that trained reserves may be readily available in times of emergency.

Such enhancement of expenditure is discernible in other branches of administration as well. No evidence exists to show that the recommendations of the various economy committees have been accepted for implementation by the Finance Minister.

One of the peculiar features in the Budget of the Government of India is that both Revenue and Capital accounts are combined together. The proportion of capital expenditure overseas has increased very much. During the current year the Government would have to spend Rs. 216 crores and 70 lakhs overseas. Payment on personal account through the Banking Institutions are, however, outside this account. Of this amount, Rs. 33 crores and 90 lakhs will go from the General Revenue, while under Capital it will be 166 crores and 83 lakhs. Debt Repayment accounts for Rs. 4 crores and 85 lakhs while other Debts and Deposits will cost Rs. 19 crores and 39 lakhs. We shall earn, on the other hand, only Rs. 2 crores and 29 lakhs. The net drainage therefore will be Rs. 214 crores and 70 lakhs. In 1952-53, the net revenue will be Rs. 535 crores and 87 lakhs while the net expenditure will be Rs. 594 crores and 49 lakhs. Out of this a drain of Rs. 214 crores and 70 lakhs abroad seems to be rather a high proportion.

The difficulty of reducing the level of expenditure to what can be covered by revenue when balances

have been used up must inevitably pose a serious problem, and one that will soon have to be faced if Indian finances are to remain in good condition.

That more success has not attended the Government's efforts in economic stabilisation is due partly to the fact that more deflationary measures were not put into operation. For, although Government expenditure throughout the period maintained an expansionist bias, much the greater mischief to the economy was done by the post-war mobilisation of war-time earnings held by people who were ordinarily outside direct taxation. Perhaps the fundamental dilemma of the situation was never really resolved, *i.e.*, whether the way of salvation lay through more controls and greater savings secured by heavier taxation or was it to be found in less control and lighter taxes facilitating investment out of larger available incomes. Economic stabilisation has been claimed by Mr. Deshmukh as one of his objects. It, however, seems unlikely, as seen through the handling of our finances by our successive Finance Ministers, that public finance can ever be a very powerful stabilising instrument in our country at least within a foreseeable future.

Railway Budget

Except for an additional provision of Rs. 1 crore for labour welfare and an equal amount for the elimination of transport bottlenecks on certain sections of the railways, the new Railway Budget does not exhibit any substantial modification on the interim budget of February, 1952. Much of it is concerned with the re-grouping of railways to which the new Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, presumably lends his full support. He confined his observations to two or three major developments only, since the presentation of the estimates in February. Dealing at length with criticisms against the formation of the Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern zones, he said that, while the general scheme for welding together the numerous railway systems in India to form one co-ordinated railway system divided into six zones had received general support and the formation of the Southern, Western and Central Railways had also been welcomed by the State Governments, trade and industry, labour and the public, it was a matter for regret that the last phase of this great administrative reform, namely, the formation of the remaining three zones, should have occasioned bitter controversy, sometimes acrimonious, in certain quarters.

When the Railway Ministry's tentative plan was circulated in January 1952 various suggestions were received from the State Governments concerned to suit their peculiar individual needs and the requirements of trade and industry of these States. These suggestions were conflicting and not susceptible wholly to reconciliation. The concern of the Government was to evolve a plan which, while giving due and

appropriate consideration to these suggestions, would not merely maintain but improve the operational efficiency of the entire railway system as an integral undertaking.

He was confident that the people "of this young Republic" were capable of rising above narrow, parochial and provincial sentiments, and prejudices in the larger interests of the unity, solidarity and prosperity of the nation as a whole.

Referring to the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway, he said that this railway, as now constituted by the amalgamation of the old O.T. and Assam Railways, was a purely metre-gauge system and there was no question of locating its headquarters at any station other than the one on the metre-gauge system.

Regarding the retention of the Allahabad Division in the Eastern Zone, a great deal has been said in the Press and in the various memoranda received by the Railway Board during the last few weeks, allegedly based on opinions like those of the Wedgwood and Kunzru Committees. In arriving at the decision that the Allahabad Division should be integrated with the Northern Railway, Government naturally gave the fullest and the most careful consideration to all such opinions to the extent of their validity in the altered conditions prevailing today.

The case for the retention of the Allahabad and Lucknow Divisions and perhaps also the Moradabad Division with the Eastern Railway was urged by some primarily to facilitate the provision of an adequate number of empties to the coalfields. The point made by them was that the inclusion of these two or three Divisions in the Eastern Zone would give it elbow room and operational flexibility to achieve this end. It had to be considered whether the unified Indian Railways could either take such a limited view or allow this position to be perpetuated by continuing to penalize these three Divisions alone for the lapses of the other zones involved in the movements.

The Railway Minister maintained that the regulation of coal traffic in the country would be better secured by co-ordination on an all-India basis and by the realization by all the zones involved in the movements of their responsibilities in the matter. On this concept and in order to secure better and more effective co-ordination, a Deputy Director of the Railway Board had been posted at Moghalsarai. He would be in constant touch with all zonal administrations and with the Railway Board to ensure the flow-back of an adequate number of wagons into the coalfields.

Referring to the Sealdah Division on which also there has been a certain amount of controversy, the Minister said that in the tentative plan, this Division was proposed to be attached to the North-Eastern Railway to give it an access route to the Port of Cal-

cutta. The Government and the business interests of West Bengal protested against this provision and, after careful consideration, the Government came to the conclusion that the point made by West Bengal that this Division should continue with the Eastern Railway for the unity of the broad-gauge system in West Bengal should be conceded. With a view, however, to providing a wider and more effective measure of co-ordination over all the riverine interchange points of traffic than was envisaged in the original plan and to maintain the uninterrupted flow of traffic to and from the Port of Calcutta, an officer of the Railway Board designated as Director, Rail Movements, had been appointed in Calcutta to take overall charge of regulating traffic in this area.

Appealing both to the House and the people outside to bring an objective analysis and appreciation to bear upon this problem of administrative reorganization, he said he was confident they would all agree that the measures taken had the larger interests of the country as their objective.

Mr. Shastri has sought to justify the ill-advised scheme by the lame insinuation that its critics have been inspired by purely local or regional preferences and sentiments and has made an appeal to the House "to rise above narrow, parochial, and provincial sentiments and prejudices in the larger interest of the nation as a whole." But it is the Railway Ministry that has betrayed a lack of a sense of national interest under political pressure and parochialism and still it blames others for provincialism. Mr. Shastri should be the last person to accuse others!

The three major objections to the re-constitution of the railway organisation in Eastern, North-Eastern and Northern regions are the establishment of the headquarters of the North-Eastern Railway at Gorakhpur instead of Calcutta as originally proposed, amalgamation of the Sealdah Division of the Eastern Railway (E.I.R.) with the new Eastern Railway and the inclusion of the Allahabad Division into the Northern Railway.

As to the first of these issues, the Railway Minister has invented a moral plea. The North-Eastern Railway being a purely metre-gauge system, he said, there can be no question of locating its headquarters at any station other than one on the metre-gauge system. This argument, illogical and strange as it is, naturally excludes basic considerations of re-grouping like administrative and operational efficiency as also of ultimate economy. The argument moreover is vitiated by inconsistency of points and policy declared by the authority. The new Southern Zone as reorganised by the Ministry, comprises broad, metro, as well as narrow gauge systems, but still it has been grouped under one headquarters. If their existence in one section does not inhibit the implementation of the plan, why it should be so in another under same

management and control? Then, again, this leads to the conclusion that the Assam Railway, which was a purely metre-gauge system before re-grouping, was run inefficiently from its headquarters in Calcutta which was not a station on that Railway. Shri Shastri's reasoning, therefore, is an unrealistic and fantastic red-herring.

About the transfer of the Allahabad Division to the Northern Railway, the Railway Minister has contended that "the fullest and most careful consideration" was given to the opinions of the Wedgwood and Kunzru committees to the extent of their validity in the altered conditions obtaining today.

Hardly two years have elapsed after the publication of the Report of the Kunzru Committee when the Railway Ministry feels convinced that its recommendations have outlived their validity and that change in the original scheme has therefore become inevitable. A scheme drawn by any expert committee must invariably involve a time element to be ultimately executed in practice and this must be conceded in the case of railway reconstruction programmes as well. But for obvious reasons the Railway Ministry has glaringly deviated from the clear and unambiguous recommendations of the Kunzru Committee which the Ministry itself appointed, and has devised a new scheme to fulfil their own insidious purposes to the detriment of national interest. Under such circumstances how can the people maintain confidence in the Government's utterances and activities? How can a better fate be imagined for the "Five Years" or "Six Years" plans when the ultimate fate of one, not less vital in its implication, is so miserable!

Shri Shastri has tried to meet the argument of the critics about the bottlenecks in wagon supply that the transfer of the Allahabad Division would involve, by saying that under the new but overall integrated Railway control, supplies of empties would be ensured not by penalising particular divisions, as before, but by a comprehensive regulation and adjustment of traffic throughout the Indian Railway system. But how such regulation and adjustment of traffic would be prevented by the retention of the Allahabad Division with the Eastern Railway is not intelligible to us. As it stands, the Eastern Centre will have to handle about 45 per cent of the total ton-mileage of all the railways. Consequently pressure will be heaviest on it. If the Northern Railway fails to handle the wagons timely and promptly, the movement of coal and other essential commodities will be hampered. Moghalsarai, as a terminus, will hardly be able to provide ample space for the empties. A slight laxity in duty on the part of the Northern Railway would jeopardize the working of the whole system causing immense hardships and dislocation of trade and commerce. The bottleneck that is already perceptible in the supply of coal wagons in the Eastern region provides a fac-

tual refutation of the hypothetical argument of operational efficiency offered by the Railway Ministry.

Shri Shastri observes that the interested public has been consulted before the actual implementation of the scheme and that it has received a general support in the country. The consent, however, has been given to the original scheme as envisaged by the Kunzru Committee and not to the revised scheme of the Railway Ministry. Almost all the chambers of commerce of importance in Calcutta, not to speak of the important newspapers, railwaymen and the public in general, have strongly criticised this change and demanded the authority to appoint an expert committee to go through the question anew. But all such representation and persuasion fail to exert any influence on a Ministry whose distorted concept of "public interest" is too parochial to admit of any arguments on a national basis.

As regards the Sealdah Division, Shri Shastri has pointed out that under no practical scheme all the riverine interchange points could be linked up with the Port of Calcutta within the framework of a single zonal railway and as such, that division has been left with the Eastern Railway, a Director, Railway Movements, having been stationed in Calcutta for co-ordinating Railway traffic in this region. But that would entail further difficulties as permission would have to be sought from dual authorities, one in Calcutta and the other at Gorakhpur.

Linguistic Provinces

"The Karnataka Unification Conference has passed a resolution urging the Government to take immediate steps for the formation of a United Karnataka State and to appoint a high power committee for determining the boundaries and allied matters. This is nothing unusual. In fact, it has become an annual feature not only in respect of Karnataka, but of all other areas claiming linguistic states. But what is unusual is that Mr. Masthi Venkatesa Iyengar, who is a retired official besides being one of the top-ranking writers in Kannada, has suggested a course of action which may be more helpful. He has asked that representatives of the linguistic areas of Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra should discuss points of difference over boundaries and other matters and try to work out solutions of these differences. One of the difficulties that linguistic patriots have been consistently ignoring is the existence of conflicting views and interests, as between the different areas. This is one of the factors which has delayed the formation of linguistic states, because obviously the Central Government cannot be expected to impose a decision from above. If earnest attempts are made to arrive at agreed solutions among the various claimants themselves, something more constructive will have been achieved, than the constant attempt to stir up passions."

The above editorial comment appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated May 15. Our Bombay contemporary is a confirmed opponent of the Linguistic Province idea, while we are for it. We have often discussed the complications of the problem, and have ever felt that the ill-assorted provincial and linguistic tie-up is a stumbling-block to progress. The remedy is what has satisfied Orissa.

While on the subject, it is interesting to recall how Lord Curzon stumbled on the Provincial boundaries re-drawing. Lord Ronaldsday's *Life of Curzon* quotes a letter of the Governor-General to the Secretary of State asking a few questions.

"If the boundaries of the C. P. (Central Province—Madhya Pradesh of today) were to be enlarged so as to include Berar, might it not be advisable to seize the opportunity of taking up the question of Provincial boundaries generally?"

"I am not sure that this will not be a proper occasion on which to examine the larger question of the boundaries of local Government or of some of them in general. Bengal is unquestionably too large a charge for any single man. Ought Chittagong to continue to belong to it, or ought we not give Assam an outlet on the sea? Is Orissa best governed from Calcutta? Ought Ganjam to be given to Madras? My own view is that C. P. will and ought to develop by sundry of these accretions into a Lieutenant-Governorship. But whether the time has come or is nearing, I cannot at present say."

The Hindu Code Bill

The *Harijan* of May 22 has the following very cogent comments and quotations on this highly controversial Bill. We agree with all the comments:

"The agitation against the Hindu Code Bill has fairly subsided now. To that extent it may be justly surmised that it was more a symptom of the election fever than any real or well-thought out opposition. That apart, one may well say that the time for a dispassionate discussion of the provisions of the Bill and necessary atmosphere for it is restored, and we may well avail of it now. In this connection the reader's attention is drawn towards a very valuable contribution that Justice Gajendragadkar of the Bombay High Court has made through his extension lectures* under the auspices of the Karnatak University last year. The learned judge takes a judicial view of the whole question of Hindu reform through the ages and adjudges the chief provisions of the Bill in that light. As he says in his introductory remarks:

"The questions posed by the Hindu Code are of great importance to millions of Hindus in this country and it is necessary that they should be

* *The Hindu Code Bill* : By Justice Gajendragadkar. Published by the Registrar, Karnatak University, Dharwar. Price Rs. 2.

considered in their proper perspective in the spirit of scientific inquiry. Dogmatic assertiveness would be clearly inconsistent with the spirit of scientific inquiry."

"He takes up the following four important changes that the Code Bill proposes: 1. Divorce and judicial separation; 2. Survivorship; 3. Daughter's share; 4. Woman's right over property; and says that

"I have taken these four topics for special consideration because I wish to emphasize the fact that the departures introduced by the Hindu Code on these four points cannot be condemned as being absolutely inconsistent with all the texts of Hindu Law. . . . Indeed, the principal point which I wish to emphasize is that the Hindu Code should be considered rationally and scientifically on its own merits. I have endeavoured to show that it is an illusion to entertain the belief that Hindu Law has never changed or that it is of divine origin. Hindu Law has changed from time to time, though the method adopted in introducing these changes was somewhat unusual. I have also endeavoured to show that during the British rule Hindu Law tended to be static and by reason of the infirmity from which the Courts suffered its further growth was inevitably arrested. Attempts were made from time to time to meet the crying need for reform on some special parts of Hindu Law; but the time has now come when the problem must be attacked boldly and fearlessly and the whole of the Hindu Law must be put on a rational basis. . . ."

"And he gives his opinion that

"It seems to me that it is the peremptory requirement of the present age that we must have a Hindu Code which is based on absolute equality amongst all Hindus, irrespective of their caste, creed or sex. . . . The only feasible way of bringing about this urgent reform is to legislate and if you legislate you must legislate on an all-India basis on such an important topic. . . . I venture to suggest that the days when texts had the final voice in such matters have long gone by, never to return. It would be totally unscientific and unreasonable to go back to these ancient texts to find out how we should regulate our daily life today."

"To those who object to the Bill on the plea of having a common Civil Law for all-India he replies :

"I think it would be very unwise not to support the Hindu Code on the idealistic ground that its provisions do not embrace all citizens alike. I apprehend this attitude may not expedite the final unification of all civil laws in the country, but would merely postpone even the unification of Hindu Law."

"And he concludes his argument with the following words :

"It is no exaggeration to say that . . . (the proposals contained in the Hindu Code) affect all of us fundamentally and it is our duty to consider them dispassionately and without entering into any heated or acrimonious controversies."

Zamindari Abolition in Uttar Pradesh

The Supreme Court judgement declaring the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act

valid and *intra vires* of the Constitution has set the stage for far-reaching agrarian reforms in Uttar Pradesh. It should be clearly realised that this is only the first step. No one can acquire land in the future in excess of 30 acres. The Act contains provisions against fragmentation and sub-division of holdings. But these are negative measures and will not bring about an agrarian revolution which people expect from the abolition of zamindari. The Government should initiate positive programme for replacing the zamindari system by the formation of co-operative farms to replace the present un-economic form of cultivation. The cultivator should be helped to reduce costs by the latest methods for increasing the yield of his crops.

New Forest Policy

India should have one-third of its total land area under forests, according to a new National Forest Policy announced by the Indian Agricultural Ministry on May 13.

The policy, stated in a resolution in a Gazette Extraordinary, lays down that as an insurance against denudation, about 60 p.c. of the land should be under forests in the Himalayas, the Deccan and other mountainous tracts.

The need for protecting forest animals, particularly rare species, is emphasised. 'Bird and animal life should be controlled by special laws, and rare forms preserved by setting up sanctuaries and national parks,' says the policy statement.

The policy is based on five permanent needs of the country. These needs considered 'essential,' are: checking denudation in mountainous region, soil erosion and the progress of the Rajputana desert; establishing tree-lands for ameliorating climatic conditions; ensuring grazing for cattle and fire wood; sustained supply of timber and other forest produces for industry, defence and communications; and maximum annual revenue in perpetuity, consistent with national interests.

The new policy stresses the need for making the nation 'tree-conscious' and commends the national 'Vana Mahotsava' movement which, it says, 'will not only arrest vandalism of cutting down valuable trees but also create the urge to protect them.'

Indian forests are classified as protection forests, national forests, village forests, and tree-land. Stating that the classification is merely illustrative but not mutually exclusive, the Policy Statement says: 'It has to be realised, however, that the country as a whole has a vast stake in the conservation of all forests, irrespective of their functions and ownership and, therefore, all of them should be administered from the point of view of national well-being.'

As regards the first consideration, the new policy

recognises that the needs of local population must be met to a reasonable extent, but 'national interests should not be sacrificed, nor should the rights and interests of future generations be subordinated to the improvidence of the present generation.'

The extension of agriculture to forest lands 'has resulted in general deterioration of physical conditions and must, therefore, be given up.'

The correct solution of the land problem is to evolve a system of balanced and complimentary land use 'under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least.'

Each State should set up a permanent organisation to deal with working plans, their compilation, revision and deviations, research and statistics.

States without a proper Forest Act should enact legislation at an early date on the lines of the Indian Forest Act.

A sinking fund should be created to secure for forestry freedom from the 'vagaries of annual budgets.'

Investment of a portion of the revenue in Government securities for this purpose is suggested.

This clear statement of policy is to be welcomed. But the Government's realization regarding "vagaries of annual budgets" has a wider significance. Can it persuade its financial advisers to give up this particular vagary and make grants to social institutions on long-term projects? The organizers thereof are in constant fear of interference by departmental busybodies. The tendency now is to increase the bureaucrats and starve the 'essential' services of their promised grants. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's grandiose scheme of 'social education' has foundered on the sudden blight of scarcity. And he has lost imagination that would have enabled him to scrap his departmental paraphernalia and trust to non-official initiative for giving shape to his policy. The new forest policy if it means anything, means State Socialism—the management of the State by 'managers'—bureaucrats. Burnham's 'Managerial Revolution' is seeking in India a new field for experiment.

Preservation of Wild Life

The undernoted news comes rather late in the day. Welcome as it is, knowledgable sources are rather pessimistic because of the lax methods followed heretofore :

"The West Bengal Government propose to tighten up measures for the preservation of wild life in the State, it is learnt. With this end in view, the State Government are now considering a draft Bill to replace the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act of 1912.

Meanwhile, it is stated, the five game sanctuaries established by the State Government have helped in

preventing the wanton destruction of wild life and in preserving some rare species of animals and birds. Four of these sanctuaries are located in the forests of North Bengal and one in the Lohian islands in the south-eastern tip of the Sundarbans.

In the Jaldapara sanctuary in Jalpaiguri District, the largest in the State, and in the Gorumara sanctuary the great one-horned rhino, which is a rare specimen found only in Bengal and Assam, is now flourishing after facing virtual extinction only two decades ago. Other animals which are being protected in these sanctuaries include elephants, tigers, wild buffaloes and deer. The State Forest Directorate are also considering a proposal to set up national parks where suitable species of animals and birds can be introduced."

The Ganges Barrage

The following piece of heartening news appeared in the daily press of May 15. We hope this portends a new outlook on the part of the powers-that-be :

"The construction of a barrage across the Ganga near Farakka has been found to be feasible, it is reliably learnt. The cost is estimated to be about Rs. 37 crores.

Investigations by Mr. Visvesvaraya, who has been deputed by the Government of India to report on the proposed barrage, are now complete and he is expected to submit his findings in a few days. It is also understood that the West Bengal Government has already approached the Central Government to take up the scheme and put through the work with the least possible delay.

The scheme is of all-India importance because it will afford facilities for navigation and irrigation and supply headwaters for the moribund rivers of West Bengal. It will also improve Calcutta port."

Relief Measures in Rayalaseema

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said at a Press conference at Madras on 16th May that the State Government was considering the levy of betterment fees in places where new works had been started.

Asked whether some of the irrigation projects in the State were being slowed down, he said that the matter was being looked into. There were hundreds of irrigation schemes to be executed both under capital and revenue heads. The Government was examining how much money it could set apart for these works and the funds that could be got from the Central Government.

Regarding relief measures in the drought-affected districts, Government had appointed Mr. C. A. Ramakrishnan as a deputy to the Famine Relief Commissioner. He would have headquarters at Cudappah—one of the worst-hit districts of Rayalaseema—and would personally speed up relief mea-

asures. 'His work will not be paper work but personal work,' he said.

Ordinarily no remission was granted to dry crops. However, because of the uncertainties of rainfall, Government was remitting the entire assessment where the damage was 75 per cent and half remission was given in areas where the damage to crops was 50 per cent. The total remission in the affected districts was estimated at about Rs. 62 lakhs. The collection of cess by local bodies had also been ordered to be suspended for the next revenue year.

The State Government intended to sink 13,000 wells in the current year in the drought-affected districts at an estimated cost of about Rs. 1 crore to provide drinking water. Additionally, the army had been asked to deepen 700 wells in Rayalaseema. Presently, 70 military lorries and 18 civil lorries were distributing water in the villages.

About 1,000 gruel centres had been opened by Government in Rayalaseema at a total cost of Rs. 34 lakhs. Three lakhs of people were receiving gruel in these centres daily. Able-bodied people were given employment in road and irrigation works undertaken in the region at a cost of Rs. 139 lakhs.

Regarding price of wheat, he said, the Madras Government was pressing the Government of India to effect a reduction. In this context one had to realise the difficulties of the Central Government also. It had to pay high price for wheat. He emphasised the need for popularising wheat in the South. He had found that the people here looked healthier now and he held this was due to the off-take of wheat during the last few years.

Indian Satyagraha for Voting Rights

"The Ceylon Indian Congress officially made an approach to all right-thinking persons and people of goodwill who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Ceylon to support them in their struggle to obtain elementary democratic rights for the Indians in Ceylon.

The official statement issued by the Congress headquarters on the launching of the Satyagraha emphasised, "Our struggle is not directed against the people of this country, as certain Government spokesmen have tried to make it out, but is intended to focus attention on the injustice that is being perpetrated by an administration dominated by a Party who seem anxious to reduce the strength of and eliminate, if possible, parties and groups which do not agree with their policies and programme. Nor is our struggle an attempt to vilify the people of Ceylon. But it is certainly intended to expose the machinations of a Government which is determined to deny franchise rights to a community which constitutes a tenth of the population.

"The Working Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress has been finally compelled to launch a campaign of Satyagraha in order to obtain voting rights for Indian settlers who have decided to become citizens of Ceylon so that the Ceylon Indian community would be able to participate in the forthcoming general elections to enable them to have elected representation in the next Parliament. The decision to start Satyagraha has been reached only after all efforts to settle this matter by negotiation have failed. The premature and unexpected dissolution of Parliament before the Privy Council has been able to pronounce its opinion on the validity of the recent laws that disfranchised the Ceylon Indian community is a clear indication that the U.N.P. Government is determined to keep Indians, who have settled in Ceylon and who wish to become citizens, without representation in Parliament.

"We wish to stress that we are not asking for anything that is impossible or anything that is unreasonable. What we want is that Indians who have made Ceylon their home and have expressed their desire to become citizens by making applications under the rigorous provisions of the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act shall be given the vote. These persons have been on the electoral registers from 1931. Their names were expunged in June, 1950 even before they could make applications to become citizens under a law the constitutional validity of which is now in question.

"Our earlier decision to boycott registration under the Indian and Pakistani Act was to protest against the humiliating and almost impractical conditions that have been laid down. This boycott was from August 1949, when registration first began, to April 1950, when the boycott was lifted. From April 1950 to August 4, 1951, the last date for making such applications, nearly 2½ lakhs of applications covering a total number of about 7½ lakhs were made by adults and heads of families. Up to date only an infinitesimal fraction of applications has been disposed of. The temporary boycott has not been the cause of any delay, nor of the disfranchisement. We, therefore, appeal to the conscience of the people of Ceylon to support our struggle and to bring pressure on the Government to remedy a grave injustice. We are convinced that our struggle is a struggle for civil liberties in Sri Lanka."

"The resumed emergency meeting of the Working Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress, formed a Council of Action to conduct the proposed Satyagraha movement with a view to securing franchise rights for Indians in Ceylon. The Working Committee has issued a directive calling upon all Congress District Committees to convene emergency meetings. The District Committees will consider a resolution appealing to the Ceylon Government to restore the franchise rights to Indians before the general elections."

The *Hindu's* Colombo correspondent sent on April 25 last the news of the first steps that Indians long resident in Ceylon took for the assertion and protection of their citizenship rights. On more than one occasion we have drawn attention to this world-wide grievance. Indians were tempted by local administration to emigrate and open out new lands and make them fit for profitable cultivation. The British Government in India added their own inducements anxious to be relieved of a portion of the huge idle population in India who had lost their occupations by the trading and manufacturing policy of the foreign Government. This was the genesis of the "Indians Overseas" problem. South Africa, and at present Ceylon high-lights it. And except for protests we do not find any means which can persuade these Governments to do justice to Indians.

Narsing Das Bengali Prize, 1951

We have received the following communication from T. P. S. Iyer, Registrar, University of Delhi :

"The University of Delhi has instituted a prize, called 'Narsing Das Prize for Bengali' from out of the funds donated by S. Narsing Das Agarwalla of Calcutta, Director of National Iron and Steel Works, through the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, Calcutta, in order to reward and encourage the writing of Bengali books and theses in Arts and Science. The prize of the value of Rs. 1,000 will be awarded alternately to Arts and Science subjects. The prize for 1951 will go to *Science*. In the absence of a suitable candidate in any year the award may be changed from Science to Arts and *vice-versa*.

"The award will be made to the writer whose published production is considered the best during the year of award by the Selection Committee. Authors, publishers and admirers of authors of books in Bengali in Science subjects, published within two years immediately preceding the 30th June, 1951, are invited to send eight copies of the publication for the consideration of the Committee before the 1st July, 1952. The publications should be sent to the Registrar, University of Delhi, Delhi."

Passports for Pakistan and India

The passport conference between India and Pakistan ended on May 19, without meeting the success it deserved. This, it is understood, was in the main due to the Pakistani Government's unsympathetic attitude towards travellers in the two Bengals.

Agreement between the representatives of the two countries was reached without much discussion so far as traffic between West Pakistan and India is concerned. But there was considerable divergence of views in the case of similar travel facilities between East and West Bengal.

Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, High Commissioner for

India in Pakistan and leader of the Indian delegation, it is believed, made a vigorous and spirited plea for the liberalization of travel facilities and advocated the opening of as many visa centres as possible in East and West Bengal.

Pakistan, it is understood, also asked for special facilities for its agrarian border population to which India readily agreed. In return, India, it is believed, asked for similar facilities for Indian businessmen and people with immovable property interests in East Bengal. But this suggestion was unacceptable to Pakistan.

According to Pakistani sources, the need for tightening up travel facilities was more pronounced in East Bengal, especially after the recent clashes over the languages issue. These aggressive acts, Pakistan said, were sponsored and engineered from outside Pakistan. The very idea underlying the introduction of the passport system, Pakistan sources said, would be defeated if travel facilities between the two Bengals were allowed to continue as now.

Pak Debt to India

There is a great deal of propaganda abroad about the dues of Pakistan from India. It is not so well-known therefore that immense sums are due to India from Pakistan, which we are perforce obliged to take in small dribbles.

"Official circles here anticipate certain amount of difficulties in regard to precise determination of Pakistan's debt to India, although they hope agreement will be reached at least on that part of the debt on which there is little doubt.

"On a rough calculation, Pakistan's debt to India is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 300 crores. The debt is to be paid in 50 annual equated instalments of principal and interest. The first instalment of the debt to India falls due in August this year.

"A conference of officials is likely to be held next month to determine the first instalment.

"The principle of such a conference has already been accepted by both sides. An Indo-Pakistan Finance Ministers' conference was last held here in May last but it ended without agreement on any major question. The only understanding reached was that another conference should be held in Karachi in August 1951 but no conference took place.

"As a part of the Partition Agreement, India undertook on herself the payment of entire liability. Pakistan's share of such liability constitutes the bulk of Pakistan's debt to India. The figure is yet to be determined. The *moratorium* of four years given to Pakistan comes to an end in August 1952 when Pakistan should start repayment of the debt in 50 instalments. A provision of Rs. 5 crores as the first year's payment has been made in Pakistan's budget for

1952-53. The figures of Rs. 5 crores is considered here as a 'gross underestimate.' India's estimate of Rs. 9 crores is taken to be 'more realistic'."

This was published in the papers in the last week of March last. Things have not proceeded much further since then.

Muslim Fanaticism

The following piece of news from Karachi need no comments :

"It is now learnt that a violent crowd of 4,000 persons tonight broke into a public meeting here of the Ahmadiya (Quadiani) sect, which was being addressed by Sir Zafrulla Khan, the Pakistani Foreign Minister.

The crowd burnt a restaurant, a motor garage, and a furniture shop, all belonging to the Quadiani sect.

The police used lathis and tear gas to disperse the crowd and 300 persons have so far been arrested.

Twenty-five policemen and about 100 civilians were injured, but Sir Zafrulla, who was strongly guarded by armed policemen was not hurt. He had addressed the meeting for nearly 45 minutes in spite of constant heckling.

This is the second night in succession that two groups of Muslims—Quadianis and non-Quadianis—have clashed. All police stations in the city have been alerted to prevent further disturbances and protect Quadiani property."

West European Defence

"With Soviet pressure and propaganda for German unification hanging heavily over the scene, the major emphasis in European capitals to-day is on completing the two documents needed to incorporate the Federal German Republic into the Western structure—the European Army Pact and the contractual agreements.

The two are interdependent. They are to come into force at the same time and the one is valueless without the others. The Germans do not wish to join the European Army unless they have 'Peace Pacts' which would virtually give them back their sovereignty. The French are equally unwilling to agree to 'Peace Pacts' unless Western Germany is brought at the same time into the Western Defence system.

Work on these two instruments is being pressed forward with redoubled haste in Paris and Bonn. The drafts are still incomplete and defective in many respects—as the German press keeps pointing out—but the general expectation is that they may somehow be got ready for signature within the next two or three weeks. This expectation, it should be added, is shared less confidently in French and British circles than in Washington or Bonn.

The main obstacle holding up the contractual agreements is financial in character. It was agreed at the Lisbon N.A.T.O. Conference that the German defence contribution should be slightly over ten billion marks this year. This figure has, however, to cover not only Germany's own expenses in raising the new Army, but also what have hitherto been called occupation costs of the Powers with troops in West Germany. The allocation of the total sum between these two heads is not proving an easy matter.

The Germans say that their own defence establishment will require between nine and twelve billion marks (depending on how fast the European Army is developed). They point out that while their troops may be few in number to start with, they must nevertheless bear the cost of training fields and uniforms and above all the initial investment in factories, for the production of arms.

If these calculations are accepted, there would be little or nothing left for the upkeep of Allied Forces stationed in Germany. This is said to cost about seven billion marks. The British argue that their economy cannot assume support of these forces and that any reduction in the German contribution will necessitate a corresponding reduction in the number of British troops and planes available. To resolve the dilemma, the Germans have proposed that they should pay their whole contribution to the Defence Pool and that the Pool should subsequently make payments to Britain and the U. S. for the maintenance of their forces in Germany. This suggestion does not appeal to the French, who feel it would only shift the burden of occupation costs on to France and the other E.D.C. countries."

Doctor K. S. Shelvarkar, the Madras *Hindu's* London correspondent wiring from that city on April 24 last gave us information that has become old today. A treaty with Germany has been signed giving her "sovereign status" within the limits of Western security. The problem of unification of East and West Germany eludes solution. Perhaps, another world war would intervene before it is solved.

"America's Strategy and World Politics"

Prof. N. J. Spykman is an expert on foreign affairs. In his book he has the following words :

"The statesman who conducts foreign policy can concern himself with the values of justice, fairness and tolerance only to the extent that they contribute to, or do not interfere with, the power objective. They can be used instrumentally as moral justification for the power quest, but they must be discarded the moment they bring weakness. The search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values; moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power."

Taking off the *purdah* of words, Prof. Spykman's

words do not differ much from Machiavelli's or our Chanakya's. But all prophets have said that even in the "quest for power" moral values are to have primacy of place in the human conscience. But the generality of us have not their patience, and in the search for "justifiable sense of security," we have been following policies that lead to wars.

The Kashmir problem, and India's general foreign policy, have followed this example. It is well while on the Opposition to oppose the Government. But the words return ineffective as they meet conditions that are more hard than the critics are aware of.

"Israel Works Towards Self-support"

The following taken from the *World Interpreter* is an illustration of what is going on in the Near East to put a completely deficient State on its feet by financial and technical aid from the U.S.A. It should be remembered that Israel, unlike many other democratic nations, is an example as to what a small nation can achieve by organised effort and an adamant determination to survive :

"Whether Israel will ever fulfill its self-appointed mission to serve as a light unto the nations, only time will tell. But here and now, there's a spotlight on Israel serving as a Pilot Plant for U.N. and U.S. projects, to demonstrate what can be done throughout the Mid-East region.

"When alarming reports of food scarcity in Israel first appeared in the U.S. press last fall, the Israel government decried them : 'Israel's population is not starving. It is simply eating less . . . because there is a will to bring in the largest possible number of refugees and immigrants, and to share what we have with them.' But if starving was certainly an overstatement, and eating less perhaps an understatement, the insufficiency of rations was an undeniable fact, which the government frankly faces in pressing for aid.

"The first shipment of U.S. grant-in-aid to Israel arriving last February, an emergency load of 9,000 tons of wheat and flour, was front-page news—now Israel had its bread ration for the month. (Incidentally, this front-page news appeared in a single-sheet paper, so acute, among other things, is the shortage of news-print).

"McDaniel's assignment is for at least two years, with a staff of about 30 experts in irrigation, industries, agriculture, communications, transport and fisheries. The total grant must be allocated by June, 1952, and spent by June, 1953. Other experts from the U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Education, Technical Assistance Administration, and the U.N. International Labor Office and Food and Agriculture Organization, at the invitation of the Israel government will also co-operate in various fields : production statistics, increased productivity in industry and agriculture,

water resources, soil testing, training-within-industry schemes, improvement of industrial design, social welfare service, and tax administration.

"Chief among the experts is Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, head of the two-year U. S. soil conservation program for Israel, designed as a model for arid areas.

"McDaniel's job should fit into an over-all program administered by Edwin Locke, Co-ordinator of Technical and Economic Aid for the Mid-East, with rank of Ambassador. The Mutual Security Administration's Mid-East Economic Aid section has allocated \$180 million to bring economic stability to the whole region.

"Counterpart funds, equivalent to the U.S. grant, are to be contributed by Israel and spent under joint U.S.-Israel control. These have been subject to long discussion, due to Israel's inflation and the fall of the pound on foreign bourses, and its fluctuating value inside Israel. Officially rated at \$2.80, the pound fell to an all-time low of \$38, when finally, last February 13, in a speech to the Knesset (Assembly) Prime Minister Ben Gurion announced the government's new economic policy based on a multiple exchange rate of the pound.

"A panoramic picture of Israel facing U.S. and U.N. experts today includes these factors: 1. General background of the big-power East-West cold war tensions; stockpiling and price-raising of all essential materials and resultant world shortages. 2. Israel's own local East-West tension; armed armistice with neighbouring Arab states, which refuse peace, threaten war, and impose highly effective sanctions by economic blockade. 3. Mass influx of Jewish refugees and immigrants from Arab and Mediterranean countries, over-doubling its initial (1948) population of 650,000 to 1,500,000 in three years, and resulting in serious economic, financial and psychological strains. 4. The country's limited and still largely undeveloped natural resources."

"Little Lands Look for Big Weapons"

These are evil days for peace-loving folks. We can well appreciate the troubles of small nations as shown in the following excerpt from the *World Interpreter* :

"Small countries that will not fall in line when the giants want them to, and have no armament industries of their own, are worried over defense. There are not many in this classification: Sweden is small, but has a first-class arms industry. Czechoslovakia has the same, and has also fallen in line. Denmark and Norway have thought it well to toe a line, too, but not the same one as the Czechs. The Republic of Ireland, unlike Denmark and Norway, was not occupied by an enemy in the war, and for two reasons has not fallen in line with anybody.

"The first ostensible reason is partition—a natural objection to falling in line with Britain while British troops are used to support the division of the country. But probably the desire for aloofness from wars between giants that it cannot even influence, is as strong a factor as any political or national one.

"So far as the British people themselves are concerned, the Irish people probably never had a more friendly attitude towards them.

"The Republic has not lined up and it cannot make arms. It asked the British government to sell it some, and the reply was, 'Certainly not, unless you line up.' It turned to the United States, which said: 'Certainly we'll let you have arms. You can have them for nothing just as soon as you'll line up.' Then it tried Sweden, to be told: 'Certainly, you can buy any that we have to spare, only we really can't spare any.' Or not much. Actually, Sweden did sell some.

"What then will a country like Ireland do if war comes? Religious influence will put her almost unanimously against Russia, but the religious and moral attitudes of America and Britain may not inspire much confidence in them as ideological comrades. And there may be no war, or only a far-away one, say in the Arctic or Pacific. If so, Ireland may just try to stay at peace. Disgraceful!"

Poorer, Britain Reduces Poverty

The following extract, which is highly illuminating, comes from the *World Interpreter*:

"Everybody must know by this time that England is a poorer country than she was in 1939, but that, by a paradox of history, fewer of her people are poor. Hitherto there has been very little precise information about this reduction of poverty, and the vague pronouncements of economists attached to different political parties have tended to cancel each other out. A new book by Seeborn Rowntree, dean of English sociologists, provides for the first time some intelligible figures.

"Mr. Rowntree is a Quaker and a capitalist, the owner of a big chocolate factory in York. In 1900 he made his *debut* as a sociologist by publishing a study of poverty in his own North Country city. He issued another study of the subject in 1936, and in October, 1950, he went over the same field once more.

"His latest inquiry might be put in another way. Between the year of his previous survey, 1936, and his new one, lay the war and the creation of the welfare state by the Labor Party. What difference had the coming of the welfare state made to poverty in York, a fairly typical English industrial city—although, being the seat of a cathedral, it had probably been richer in 1936 than most industrial towns?

"His findings are remarkable. Whereas in 1936, 17.7 per cent of the people of York were 'in poverty,' that percentage had, after five years of Labor rule, fallen to 1.66.

"(Other reports show that only 60 persons in Britain had incomes of \$16,800 or over, after taxes, in the fiscal year 1949-50. In Sweden, however, where the dominant party is Socialist, millionaires—in kroner—increased by 129 in 1951 as compared to 1950, the total numbering 914.)

"Mr. Rowntree's 'poverty line' is inevitably to some extent an arbitrary one. But he has taken minute care to compare like with like in the two periods, even to allowing for the increased price of a daily newspaper. The chief difference between 1936 and 1950 is, of course, the difference between unemployment and full employment, but the Rowntree survey shows that the welfare state could reduce the proportion of poor people to 10 per cent of the working class; under 1936 conditions, the proportion of the working class below the poverty line was over 31 per cent.

"The chapter entitled Heights and Weights of schoolchildren shows that social improvement since 1936 is not confined to the working class. Despite food rationing, children of the middle class show increases in height of half an inch and in weight of half a pound. There have been substantial increases in the heights and weights of working class children, but they have been less marked than might have been expected.

"One point which emerges from these figures concerning children is that Labor rule did not imperil the *welfare* of the middle classes, although it has reduced so very severely the amenities of middle class life."

Australia Faces Trade Restrictions

The undernoted news comment is from the same source and indicates further headaches for the British Chancellor.

"The Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference held in London early this year decided among other things that each Commonwealth country would have to live within its own income. Already, Australia is learning just what effect this is likely to have on the national economy. January figures on overseas trade, recently compiled, showed a trade deficit of some 53,500,000 pounds, which is the second highest monthly deficit ever recorded.

"For the first seven months of the present financial year, the trade deficit of 268,500,000 pounds compared with a surplus for the same period in the previous year amounting to 90,000,000 pounds. One unofficial estimate is that in the next financial year, Australia will have to reduce its imports by more than 100,000,000 pounds, and the Cabinet is considering a system of licensing imports, with heavy restrictions.

"Observers believe that among the imports to be restricted will be textiles, radio and electrical goods, motor cars, etc. Only goods essential to the national

economy will be unrestricted. This will affect British trade because Australia's deficit with the sterling area is about 80 per cent. of its total deficit."

Communist China

In view of our goodwill mission's tour in China the following extract from the *World Interpreter* is of interest. We hope our own observers will find matters better in a land which has been friendly for 2,000 years:

"What's going on in Communist China? It's important to know, but the question is so inflamed with emotions that if you talk about it, from any angle, you're likely to face a Congressional inquiry. Besides, China is so vast that even the few people who have been inside in recent months come out with reports that are often contradictory.

"It happens that I have a number of friends who are really well informed on China's background, and even on its more recent aims, successes and failures under Communist control. Some have been in China, not from the United States, but from Britain and India. From these observers I have had a modicum of impressions and descriptions.

"Some things are not at all shadowy. It is universally agreed that among the Chinese people—only a minority of whom are actual Communists or even understand what Communism is about—the refugee government of Chiang Kai-shek remains intensely unpopular. So far as support from his own people is concerned, Chiang is finished. One of the worst sins of his regime was graft. Have the Communists done better? There is one difference: top Red leaders really want to eradicate corruption. They are, however, finding it hard to do. For graft among their own officials, they have had to jail, pass new laws, purge, and execute.

"What is Russia's role? While the Soviet Union did not participate actively in a physical sense in the overthrow of Chiang, and the people wanted him to go, Moscow had an important intellectual part in the Red victory and its consolidation. You'd best discount the wild stories, most of them emanating in Hong Kong's rumor mills, about there being 60,000 Russian infantry troops, two regiments of artillery forces, etc., inside China. But there is no doubt that anti-aircraft guns have been sent in by Russia, both for use in Korea and to guard Manchuria. There are also unknown, but substantial, numbers of Russian technicians and officers to assist in military training.

"The biggest gains made by the Communist government of Mao Tse-tung have been economic. Only a third of the arable land has been affected by land reform, but nevertheless many thousands of peasants are profiting from the change. Taxes are very heavy, but the people are getting something for their money—better roads, schools, new industries. Rehabi-

litation lags in some respects because China desperately needs outside help, and Russia can't provide nearly enough. While the people as a whole do not necessarily approve of all that the government is doing, it has helped them enough so that they have a certain zest and a tolerance of the regime. In short, while the government rules by force in the last analysis, its hold does not depend completely upon compulsion.

"How brutal are the Communists? Here again, it is wise to separate wild rumor, or hostile propaganda tales, from what are the probable facts. Don't credit such nonsensical stories as the one given currency by certain usually well-balanced commentators, who have said that the number executed by last November was (exactly!) 15,672,050. The real number is undoubtedly far less, perhaps a tenth as many. But make no bones about it—there have been wholesale, and brutal, executions for nothing more than political opposition, or resistance to one program or another.

"Have the Communists remained the simple 'agrarian reformers' they were represented as being, by their own propagandists or by visitors in the early months of their rule? The answer is, they never were. They left many capitalist enterprises untouched, and they did not attempt to put through a wholly Communistic re-ordering of society. But that moderation was not fundamental to their creed. It best suited their purpose at the time."

Formosa

It is curious as to how the other Chinese Government carries on. The following extract from the *World Interpreter* gives the key:

"In Chiang Kai-shek's bailiwick, Formosa, there has been a halt to the worst of the inflation that threatened the island. But recent reports received from Taipeh, the island's capital, show that Chiang's economy is far from stable, and has been sustained through American aid. The note-issues increased by 50 per cent during 1951, wages lag far behind prices, and administrative efficiency is poor. Whereas E. C. A. supplies amounted in 1950 to \$20,000,000, the figure for 1951 was \$56,621,030; with military aid counted, it reached \$97,000,000."

Soviet "Great Projects"

The Five-year Plans of the Soviets' have become almost legendary. Even so the latest plans as revealed in the columns of the *World Interpreter* are staggering in their audacity and magnitude:

"Of the greatest importance to the whole world is the fact that Soviet Russia and its East European satellites are engaged in the construction of vast public works projects which captivate the imagination of the Communist-ruled peoples.

Many details about the plans, and about the pro-

gress thus far made, have been kept secret. From various European sources, however, plus analyses of the Soviet Press, *Worldover Press* has gathered reasonably trustworthy reports.

Expected to be finished this summer, and one of the most impressive of the projects, is the Volga-Don Canal. Once these key rivers have been united, great reservoirs, filled mainly with water from the Don, will prevent some of the disastrous drought that have long afflicted this region. Extensive afforestation will help keep water in the soil. From the standpoint of economic and military strategy alike, there will be a waterway connecting the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea, facilitating shipments of petroleum westward from the rich oil fields in the Caspian region.

The importance of this link is heightened because another canal is under construction, to join through a new route the Danube River and the Black Sea. Sizable vessels will thus be able to traverse the Danube from Central Europe to the Black Sea, thence to the Don, from there to the Volga, and from the Volga into the Caspian Sea. More: a canal is also projected, though its completion is several years in the future, just north of Czechoslovakia, which will join the Vistula and the Oder, connecting the Black Sea with the Baltic.

Along the Volga, tremendous hydro-electric plants are to be completed within a few years. One of these will be located at Kuibyshev, about 500 miles southeast of Moscow. Its production will triple that of the famous Dnieprostroi Dam north of the Black Sea, which was considered one of the world's marvels before Hitler destroyed it during the war. The output of current will come close to three-quarters that of the gigantic American T.V.A. Moscow will use more than half its ten million kilowatt hours, while most of the rest will be used for great irrigation systems.

Farther south on the Volga, near Stalingrad, a big dam will not only provide irrigation, but will enable Soviet engineers to raise the level of the Volga itself, which is often too low. A higher water-level will permit some of Russia's largest ships to go up and down the river, furthering the distribution of vital materials for the Soviet economy.

From the days of Peter the Great to 1957 is a long time. Peter wanted to launch irrigation projects on the Amu-Darya River, which extends northwesterly from Afghanistan to the Aral Sea. Communist Russia is taking up Peter's idea, going at it far more ambitiously, and plans to finish the job five years from now. Central to the scheme is the Turkmen Canal, projected by a 1950 decree. This will furnish water for a dry region, provide 300,000 kilowatts of electricity, and link up several areas now lacking waterways. These areas, be it noted, are not far northeast of Iran.

The 'great projects,' of which the foregoing are not all, have met many technical problems, but no

longer are Soviet developments relying on American or other outside experts, and the equipment is being produced in Soviet factories instead of being imported. Some of the projects have lagged for lack of manpower, and there is evidence that on some of them, slave labor has been used.

What relation do these projects have, if any, to the possibility of an offensive military move by Moscow? With the world as it is, that question is bound to be asked. It should be noted that most of the works, and these in general the biggest, are far back from the borders of the non-Communist European countries. Even the projects going on in the satellite states, such as Bulgarian works in Thrace and the Dobrudja, the new Arges-Bucharest Canal for water supply in Romania, and similar constructions in Hungary, are primarily industrial and agricultural in their aims. Those who know the projects best are not inclined to attribute to them any offensive military purpose.

They will, however, immensely strengthen Soviet economic, and in a secondary sense, military power. They will raise Soviet production of food, goods and machines to previously undreamed heights.

Russian Criticism of British Rearming

Each nation of the opposing war-like blocs is growing under the load of armament expenses. As such sympathy from opposing camps has a flavour of its own, as is shown in the following comments in the *World Interpreter*:

"The official English-language paper of the Soviet Union, *News*, is sorry for the British people. 'A country of 50 million inhabitants,' it says, 'that spends 4,700,000,000 pounds on armament within three years—nearly a hundred pounds per capita—cannot have a sound economy, a healthy budget, or a high standard of life.' A study of this sympathy, in relation to the USSR's arms expenditures, is instructive.

The Soviet Union is going to spend on armament during the next year a sum equivalent to 10,178,570,000 pounds. Taking the figure for the British that is given by *News*, it would mean that Britain's outlay for a single year would be about 1,566,666,666 pounds. Russia's population is four times that of Britain, so if Russia were spending only at the British rate, on a population basis, its arms cost would be 6,266,666,666 pounds—whereas it is actually spending per annum some 3,911,903,334 more than the British. Each person in Britain, according to the *News*, is spending on arms about 33 pounds. But in the U.S.S.R., each person is spending about 50 pounds."

Communist Illusions

During Napoleon III's short and sabre-rattling empire, Karl Marx wrote a book containing considerably more wisdom than in *Das Capital*. He did not find the causes of revolution in economic factors.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it . . . under circumstances directly found; given and transmitted from the past . . . specially in epochs of revolutionary crisis they conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language."

Raymond Aaron, one of the intellectuals of France, adds to this. Explaining the policy of the present rulers of the Soviet Union he says :

"Stalinism does not represent the revolt of the sovereign people, it claims to stand for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The psychological effect on fellow-travelling circles is the same. It is taken for granted that Stalinism implies the political victory of a Christian principle. At the same time, Communists are pictured as applying to our industrial civilization the old principle. 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.'

"Collective ownership of property, economic planning by the state, spontaneous activities of the masses in carrying forward a revolution—these concepts of Marxism, more or less formalized, have retained a seductive power among our intellectuals even after thirty years of Bolshevism. In the eyes of Merleau-Ponty, they remain above philosophical criticism. If history should give them the lie, if the proletariat happens not to 'become the human race' and does not accomplish its revolutionary destiny, Merleau-Ponty would still not conclude that Marxism was wrong. In his view, it would be history which had gone wrong. At the end of his life, Trotsky suggested a line of thought closely approaching this. If the proletariat failed to accomplish the mission assigned to it by history, then Marxism would remain a sort of paradise unattained and the world would slide into barbarism. That the efforts of the Marxists to realise false ideals or attain inaccessible goals might be one of the causes of the descent into barbarism—that line of reasoning never touches the minds of our philosophers. . .

"What is the lesson which we are to draw from the upshot of Stalinism? The sociological lesson is that a directed economy with collective property does not necessarily lead to the liberation of man. Or, perhaps, they lead rather to a regime of oppression. The political lesson is that the campaign methods used by a party have more influence on its action than the ideas which it proclaims. Violence tends indefinitely to extend itself. A party assumes absolute power under pretext of transforming the social order and ends by creating a system in which a minority exercises a despotism as a matter of necessity. The lesson in philosophy is that the notion that the heroic deed of a group can reverse or radically change the course of human events is a supreme illusion. Revolutions are sometimes inevitable, but they are almost always misfortunes. They destroy irreplaceable goods.

Their gains could have been won at less cost. The history of the world does not present a rational process. It does not reveal to man his vocation. It does not dictate his morality. If one turns history into an absolute, gives it a definite objective in the form of an absolute value posited on the horizon, one has, innocently, fallen victim to a trap of Machiavellianism."

The above is taken from the *New Leader* of New York. It will enable our Indian "pinks" and "rid" to cultivate a new sense of history and reality, and find that the slogan of "Revolution for ever" makes no sense other than blood-shed.

Yemen Challenges the Powers

Liberty is a very potent stimulant to those who appreciate it, as exemplified by the little State of Yemen. We give the following from the *World Interpreter* as an example to those who fail to realise the quality of freedom :

"Yemen, the little Arab country near the mouth of the Red Sea, has recently been standing up to the world's great powers like a Moslem version of David fighting a whole group of Goliaths. The issue has been a possible Security Council action on Tunisia's bid for greater self-government within the framework of French rule. The French had broken off negotiations and had detained the moderate Tunisian leader, Bourguiba, with consequent riots.

Fifteen Asian and Middle Eastern nations took up the diplomatic battle for a Security Council hearing on the Tunisian case which will have a strong bearing on the peace and security of the entire North African area. These nations are: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Yemen.

Even before the Fifteen had drafted their appeal, Yemen, at the end of February, announced formally that the attitude of the U.S. would determine whether or not the case of Tunisia would be heard. Knowing that official U.S. opinion was being sounded out quietly in advance, Yemen sought to bring out favorable American opinion before too late.

The driving force behind this unorthodox and audacious diplomacy is Dr. Adam Tarcici, who has been Political Adviser to the Yemen Foreign Office for four years, and is now in New York as his country's delegate to the United Nations. Born in Lebanon, and graduated from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1940, Dr. Tarcici was sent to Yemen as head of a Lebanese cultural mission. Yemen's King Saif-el-Islam Ahmed urged him to take up permanent work for the Yemen government; so in 1945 he moved to the picturesque capital at San'a, where he served the government three years as cultural adviser before joining the Foreign office."

Hugo—A Controversy

The world celebrates this year the 150th anniversary of Victor Hugo, one of the greatest writers of France. But his homeland is bitterly divided about his heritage. The Left claims the author of *Les Misérables*, *Cromwell*, and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* as its own, and so does the Right.

The Left stresses the fact that, after the Revolution of 1848, Victor Hugo joined the Constituent Assembly, animating the revolutionaries' fervor with his eloquence; and that, after the reactionary coup d'état of 1851, he left France and stayed abroad as an exile for nineteen years. And the Right recalls that, on some points at least, he did not see eye to eye with the Commune of Paris in 1871, even though he defended the partisans of that second revolution of his life-time when they were being suppressed by the military.

Consequently, France today has two Victor Hugo Anniversary Committees: the one formed by well-known authors of the Left, supported by his only living great-grandson Jean Hugo; the other formed by famous *hommes de lettres* of the Right, who have secured the patronage of the President of France.

In our own country Rabindranath has been claimed as a Rightist or a Leftist, according to the political inclination of the living contestants. And his glory is that he is both and above both as Hugo, Goethe and Tolstoy were.

An English Lady Recalling the Past

Lady Clayton's name is not wholly unfamiliar to us. Her husband started life in India, drifted to Arabia during the first World War, and his lady has tried to recall the past. In an U.S.A. weekly, a review appears of this book; a quotation is made which we share with our readers, as it is amusing to-day giving voice to the inner sentiments of the old-style 'Anglo-Indian' bureaucrat, civil and military.

"Nationalism, as catching in the Middle East as measles, clamoured in a newspaper racket that gave public life the feeling of a hornet's nest; and it surprised me to see how often the good men of both sides found and liked each other through the torrent that washed about them. Between 1929 and 1932, when her independence and entry into the League of Nations were achieved, Iraq reached a climax of invective and inaccuracy only equalled in Egypt and India. It was not deep-seated, but was irritating like a nettle rash, and was carried on in an outer frame of older, more sporadic but more perennial troubles, of tribes, floods, Kurds and Assyrians."

But the disgust with this region of Asia has not induced her people to shake its dust off their feet. They stick on it like leeches. Why?

Iqbal Day

The last week of April last was celebrated as "Iqbal Day" by numerous admirers of the great Muslim poet. The *Sonar Bangla* of Dacca had certain articles depicting the character of his genius. It must not be forgotten, however, that with all Islam's cosmopolitanism, Iqbal was the poet of Islam during the last 40 years of his life. To the Maulanas and Maulavis he appeared as a *kafir*.

"*Zahide Tung Nazar ne miyhe kafir jana*

Aur kafir yah samjahate hain Musalman hoom

main."

[The bigoted religious Maulavi branded me as an unbeliever. But look at the irony of the situation that the unbelievers denounce me as a Muslim.]

The writer of *Hindusthan Hamara* lived to be the prophet of separatism.

The world today honours him, because ever so often he transcends the narrow concepts of race and religion and appeals to the progressive mind by his dynamism of thought. He uses Arabic and Persian phrases, no doubt. But who can resist the call to "desperate deed" as Rabindranath wished his people to be roused to.

"It behoves thee to go back to the Arabs:

Thou hast gathered roses from the garden of Persia,

And seen the spring-day of India and Iran.

Now, taste a little of the heat of the desert

Drink the old wine of the date!

* * *

Build a nest on the high mountains

A nest embosomed in lightning and thunder,

Loftier than the eagles' eerie,

That thou mayst be fit for Life's battle,

That thy body and soul may burn in Life's fire."

Nazrul Day

Another Bengali poet, Kazi Nazrul Islam, a paralytic whose golden tongue has lost its use, did in the hey-day of his youth utter the same desperate call to duty to man and to the motherland.

Steeped in Islamic thought though Nazrul was, he was no less a student of his Hindu neighbours' ideas and ideals. To this we owe "The Ode to Partha":

"O thou charioteer of Kurukshetra!

Blow, blow thou your Panchajanya conch-shell

trumpet.

Chase away our hearts' weariness, our hearts' weariness!

Put courage into the hearts of the men and women who are afraid.

Strike hard on idleness of spirit and its littlenesses."

To the martyrs to our freedom's cause, Nazrul sent this benediction:

"Those who sang of the victory of Life standing on the scaffold

They stand disembodied by our side to embolden us to make the supreme sacrifice.

Today is the nation's testing time, its call to Freedom . . ."

KASHMIR WITH THE LID OFF

The Sheikh Spoiling for a Fight

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms . . ." —SHAKESPEARE

THIS is not, let me confess, the first occasion that I am writing about Kashmir in these columns: nor, with the Sheikh Sahib in his present obliging mood, is it likely to be the last. What, at the beginning, had been a pellucidly clear issue has, with the passage of time, been made to appear as intricate as a Chinese puzzle; and the longer it takes to be settled the more, needless to say, will it be made to appear so. Unforeseen complications have arisen and confusion has become worse confounded. The unabashed self-interest and the utter narrow-mindedness of the Western nations have obfuscated the original transparency of the problem. The whole affair, by now, well-nigh stinks to heaven and in any other country but our own those responsible for such monumental bungling would have been put in their places long ago. In ours, however, they still flourish like the proverbial green bay tree. We have allowed ourselves to be played on by them as on a stringed instrument.

SLOGANS AND SHIBBOLETHS

I should have imagined that at least on the Kashmir question our people would have screwed their courage to the sticking place, thus inducing the authorities to pay more attention to their opinions than they had been wont to do in the past. I know that the vast majority of them feel very strongly about it and that they are chagrined that their point of view is not shared by their *soi disant* leaders. They are convinced that these leaders have not, on any issue that has confronted them since their "taking over" from our alien rulers, displayed even that minimum of prescience that is expected of them in the formulation of their policies. The suspicion is rapidly gaining ground that they have rarely, if ever, placed the interests of those over whose destinies an inscrutable Providence has ordained that they should preside above everything else and that, far from that being the case, they have been callous to a degree in the discharge of their sacred obligations towards them. What they have been preoccupied with, on the other hand, is certain stock slogans and shibboleths which they have been exploiting for all that they are worth.

PLAYING TO THE INTERNATIONAL GALLERY

It is evident that if they have been working to a programme it is only the programme of their own

pet notions and fantastic theories which, apparently, age cannot wither nor custom stale. Macaulay, it will be remembered, severely castigated those who, in his day, were so myopic as to put Party before State. Imagination boggles at the thought of what vitriolic expletives, had he been living now, he would have employed with respect to our new "Ma Baps" who have consistently put the aforementioned slogans and shibboleths of theirs before that highest of all democratic ideals, the greatest good of the greatest number. The tragedy of tragedies is that even the Kashmir question has been no exception to that general rule. Playing to the international gallery on every conceivable occasion has been their main concern since coming into power. They have not realised that this incessant obeisance to world opinion—with scant regard for the over-riding interests of their own country—has done us infinite harm in the past and, unless checked in time, will continue to do us incalculable damage in the future as well. The Kashmir issue is a flagrant instance of our Government's insane obsession with what other nations may think of any particular action of theirs. The people's will has not counted, nor, perhaps, if the truth is to be told, have their own innermost convictions.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S INFLUENCE

In addition Pandit Nehru appears to have been unduly influenced by Lord Mountbatten—much as he had been unduly influenced by him earlier on the equally crucial subject of partition. With the passing of days it is becoming increasingly clear how disastrous the Nehru-Mountbatten combination has been to our hapless country. One does not need to be inordinately clairvoyant to guess who, in a famous Wodehousian phrase, was the gin in that ginger-beer. It was a case of Mary's little lamb all over again. Lord Mountbatten led and Pandit Nehru simply followed. I have no wish to appear to be the least little bit uncharitable, but the impression one gathers when one reviews recent history is that our beloved Panditji contented himself, more often than not, with playing second fiddle to his illustrious friend.

THE MAN WITH A MISSION

Lord Mountbatten, let us never forget, came out to India with a mission. Any political adole-

scent could have discerned the nature of that mission and the reason for that particular selection. Lord Mountbatten had, in other fields, earned the reputation of being the man who got things done. He was a live wire. There was no difficulty that he could not overcome. He had a flair for finishing his work before its appointed time. The corollary naturally followed that he would not let anything or anyone stand in his way. His mission was the vivisection of our thrice-hallowed land. He came to it like one possessed. His irruption in our midst was like the blowing in of a mighty rushing wind. Quite a lot obviously depended on his hustling everyone to such an extent that none would have sufficient leisure to sit back and think. He did not have sufficient leisure to sit back and think himself. And the partition was completed before people could realise what was confronting them. In the process he rode roughshod over his terms of reference. *His terms of reference had provided for the peaceful exchange of population before the actual "surgical operation."* He would, however, have no truck with such a humane proposition. It might delay the putting through of his noble mission. The essence of his success, as he conceived it, was that not only should there be no available delay but that, as far as lay in his power, he should complete his mission ahead of schedule. And that was how partition became a *fait accompli*. We woke up one fine morning and discovered that the precious geographical unity of our beloved Motherland, about which the late Lord Wavell himself had waxed unusually eloquent in his celebrated address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta in December of 1943, was as dead as the dodo.

THE PANDIT SELLS THE PASS

But it would be well to remember that Lord Mountbatten was not the only villain of the piece. He had an enthusiastic coadjutor in Pandit Nehru. If Pandit Nehru had withheld his consent to that dastardly act there would have been no partition and Lord Mountbatten would have had to return to England with his mission uncompleted—a sadder, if not a wiser, man. Nor was there any overpowering necessity for Pandit Nehru so to oblige him. It was open to him, as a patriotic son of our country, to tell Lord Mountbatten that all was up with his mission and that he had better go while the going was good. But he did not. He chose, instead, to sell the pass. Nor was he in the least apologetic about it. He said "Yes" to the Viceroy without so much as consulting his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee. Nor had he the gumption to moot the point about a plebiscite on the issue. The man who could think of plebiscites where no question of plebiscites could normally arise disastrously failed to think about it on the one occasion where he

should have gone all out to press it on the architect of partition. If Lord Mountbatten deserved to win the first prize as regards that historic event Pandit Nehru deserved no less to win the second prize for having valiantly supported him in his arduous task. Our future Prime Minister gaily informed the A.-I.-C.C. meeting that had been hastily convened in New Delhi in June or July of 1947 that the responsibility for partitioning the country was "solely his." He threw his chest out while saying it; and was loudly cheered by the audience for that highly meritorious deed.

KASHMIR

Pandit Nehru offered similar collaboration to Lord Mountbatten in the matter of Kashmir. He signed on the dotted line just as he had done earlier in *l'affaire* partition. It was said of someone that he did not touch anything that he did not adorn: it can be proclaimed with equal truth about his lordship that he did not touch anything that he did not disfigure. The story of Kashmir, like the story of pre-partition days, would have been other than what it is if Lord Mountbatten had not strutted on the Indian political scene just then. Here also he seems to have had a mission: nor did he fail to put it through. He was behind almost every crucial decision. The hapless Maharaja of Kashmir's rather nerve-racking indecision about accession, it now transpires, had been influenced by no less illustrious a personage than the noble lord himself. Lord Mountbatten took the view from the very beginning that Kashmir stood apart from the other States. And that was at the bottom of the initial indecision of the Maharaja, the withholding of military assistance to Kashmir until after accession, the gratuitous tacking on of a promise that there would be a plebiscite subsequently to finalise the accession or otherwise, and the appeal to the U. N. Nor was that all. As Portia said:

"Tarry; there is something else."

When the U. N. sidetracked India's complaint about Pakistani aggression and concentrated its attention on the conditions for the plebiscite and appointed the Kashmir Commission it was Lord Mountbatten who persuaded India to accept it—by "*India*" meaning, of course, *Pandit Nehru*.

A DIABOLICAL RUSE

It appears from Mr. Campbell-Johnson's book, *Mission with Mountbatten*, that it was possible even that Lord Mountbatten wished the Maharaja of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan and that the Maharaja had just enough courage to mark time with a Standstill Agreement. While India never exerted any pressure on the Maharaja to accede to it Pakistan, it should be noted, continuously turned the heat on him to link his lot with that country and, in spite of the Standstill Agreement, applied economic sanctions

against Kashmir with a view to coercing him to do so. It is possible also that Lord Mountbatten, being the astute politician that he is, set his heart on a plebiscite because he hoped that the solid Muslim majority in Kashmir would unhesitatingly plump for accession to Pakistan. The facts seem to be that Lord Mountbatten, while perhaps not openly advising the Maharaja to go over to Pakistan, yet contrived, by sundry subtle ways, to convey such a hint and that his insistence on a declaration that the accession to India was only temporary and was subject to a plebiscite to be held when the alarms and excursions ceased was a diabolical ruse to let Kashmir merge with Pakistan ultimately.

(Incidentally it may be mentioned that even after the Maharaja's accession to India Lord Mountbatten and the British military authorities discouraged, on professional grounds, India's sending her troops to Kashmir. Fortunately the Indian Cabinet overruled their objections—with what salutary results we have since had occasion to see). According to Mr. Cambell-Johnson this suggestion about a plebiscite was not welcomed either by the Maharaja or by the Indian Cabinet. As usual, however, Lord Mountbatten was able to persuade them, *malgre lui*, that was the best course in the circumstances. Mr. Johnson himself has no doubt that the Maharaja's accession was absolutely legal and that there was no point in trying to paint the lily or to throw a perfume on the violet. But Lord Mountbatten chose to think otherwise and by inducing the Maharaja and the Indian Cabinet to toe the line to him in that matter not only encouraged but, in a manner of speaking, instigated the late Quaid-e-Azam to doubt the validity of that accession. His last act in the series was the appeal to U.N. My readers will not fail to notice that both as regards partition and as regards Kashmir the role played by Pandit Nehru was the abject one of passively agreeing to whatever suggestions happened to emanate from the fertile brain of Lord Mountbatten: he appeared to have had no mind or will of his own. When the Kashmir issue came to the forefront Lord Mountbatten was not the Viceroy but the Governor-General; yet he was the real ruler even then and Pandit Nehru, though even then he was the Prime Minister, occupied an inferior position. The story is not without a moral.

I have written at such length on the subject of Lord Mountbatten's double mission because I am convinced that it throws not only a revealing but also a lurid light on the occurrences in our country during the last six years and not least on the Kashmir imbroglio.

JOLTS FROM FRIENDLY QUARTERS

I have written that with the passage of time the Kashmir issue is becoming more and more complicated.

The initial complication, I need hardly stress, arose out of our benign Government's taking it to the U.N. merely to satisfy the private whim of an ex-satrap. Since then the complications have multiplied a thousandfold. But these have been exclusively the doing of the U.N. We had asked for them. By now we are rather used to these than otherwise; and perhaps we should be feeling that there was something seriously amiss if the U. N. stopped throwing its weight about and making the gruel "thick and slab." Habit makes one inured to disasters. But these disasters, for the most part, come from outside. It is when they come *from within* that we receive the jolts of our lives. For some time now we have been receiving such jolts as far as Kashmir is concerned. It is those whom we have been regarding as our friends and even as our brothers who have stabbed us in the back. No U. N. Commission and no U. N. Mediator has administered such a rude shock to us as Sheikh Abdullah, the uncrowned King of Kashmir, has recently been doing. The Sheikh has admirers galore in India, but I have a hunch that their serried ranks will be becoming appreciably thin ere many summers pass.

"COCKING A SNOOK"

If I am not mistaken he has, of late, been modelling himself on the lines of our own beloved Panditji. The Pandit's popularity, surprisingly enough, persists in spite of his irritating theatricalities, which are many and varied. Personally I detest them "more than somewhat," but I cannot deny that there are still many who adore him notwithstanding these serious blemishes. I am not so certain about the durability of Sheikh Abdullah's popularity. Mere tantrums do not make a politician. The Sheikh will do well to think again. Biting the hand that feeds him is decidedly not the way of building up an enduring fame. "Cocking a snook" at India—however "secular" it may be—is also decidedly not a way of building up an enduring fame. A State may be "secular" and yet be in a position not to stand any nonsense from any one least of all from a trusted friend. But, of course, no hard and fast rules can be laid down on this interesting and instructive theme because, since this huge globe of ours began spinning on its axis, there has, so far, been only *one* "secular" State—to wit, our own—and *any number* of persons who have conceived it their life's mission to "cock a snook" at it with impunity. Still, on principle no difference should be made between "secular" and "non-secular" States in this matter and I hold that "cocking a snook" is bad in itself, quite irrespective of against whom that supreme mark of disrespect is being directed. No one—not even a Sheikh—ought to take undue advantage of our State's reputed "secularism."

On April 10 at a place called Ranbirsinghpura,

13 miles from Jammu, Sheikh Abdullah addressed a meeting and, while doing so, dropped a veritable bombshell. It has fluttered many Central Secretarial doves and Pandit Nehru himself was compelled to issue a delicate warning to his *chela* that that sort of thing had not been expected of him of all people. But before coming to that I should like to make it clear that there was nothing out of the way in that speech since, during the last two years or so, he has been harping on the same theme off and on—with more or less emphasis as it suited him.

THE PARIS VISIT

The recent statements of Sheikh Abdullah in London and in Bombay as well as Mrs. Kusum Nair's *verbatim* report of her interview with him published in the *Times of India* of February 15 are not a little revealing inasmuch as they are nothing less than unmistakable pointers to the shape of things to come. The Kashmir issue is fast assuming a "new look" and it is high time we began taking notice of the more remarkable changes in its visage. Sheikh Abdullah is the undisputed ruler of Kashmir and what he says (and when he says it) are on that account invested with an importance beyond the ordinary.

The Paris visit appears to have mellowed him to an extraordinary extent and his tributes to the U. N. and to its representative and the expression of his unlimited confidence in both are in striking contrast with some of his previous challenging utterances.

Probably the years with him, as with Wordsworth, have brought the philosophic mind and we see the former "fiery particle" burgeoning before our eyes into a sort of Brother Cheerybyle. Only the sky is the limit for his present benevolence towards the world organisation. That is all, doubtless, to the good, but some of us still remember his scorching invective of an earlier day with respect to that organisation no less than his violent antipathy to Dr. Graham's setting foot on Kashmir soil. But perhaps it is no use recalling old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago.

RESURRECTION OF AN OLD IDEA

But two or three serious points emerge from his recent published views. One is what seems to me the resurrection of an old idea of his that gained wide currency a year or so ago. In a mood of unconcealed impatience he virtually cried, "A plague on both your Houses" (that is, India and Pakistan), and eagerly plumped for an "independent" Kashmir. That fairly took the breath away of even the staunchest of his supporters and the result was that in due course he had to issue a flat denial of that report. A sufficient amount of oil having thus been poured on the troubled diplomatic waters, the affair was nearly forgotten and events resumed the even tenor of their ways.

But now the Sheikh comes along and makes a statement in London on the eve of his departure for India that, in his opinion, "more might have been achieved towards a settlement if the U.N. had paid greater attention to the wishes and aspirations of the people of Kashmir." "Expanding" his views to "the measure of his intention," in Walter's Pater's beautiful phrase, he proceeded to say that "it sometimes seemed to him that the objective of the U. N. was to satisfy India and Pakistan rather than the people of Kashmir."

The question naturally arises since when he has been nursing such a gnawing grievance against India. Another question that similarly arises is what separate status, after its Instrument of Accession in October, 1947, whereby it legally became a limb of India, Kashmir possesses apart from India. If one proposes to talk of grievances the boot, I am afraid, is bound to be on the other leg.

It is, however, not considered "good form" to talk of certain matters in our country and I could have wished that just as we, on our side, have been submitting to that self-denying ordinance without any undue fuss those in Kashmir had also been submitting to it with the same uncomplaining meekness. It is not always easy to follow Sheikh Abdullah's intricate processes of thought, but is it not possible that by employing the words that he did he was merely reviving his earlier idea of a thoroughly "independent" Kashmir that, for some reasons, had, shortly after being mooted, to be put in cold storage?

LET US KNOW THE TRUTH

We, Indians, are by now pretty well fed up with the inexpressibly tortuous course the Kashmir dispute has taken in the U.N. councils and have no longer any illusions either about the outcome of that dispute or about the benefits that India stands to derive from even that limited accession of that State to it which Pandit Nehru, in the plenitude of his wisdom, has deemed sufficient—unlike in the case of the remaining States where the accession is complete and where there is no hocuspocus of any kind.

TWO VOICES

Kashmir leaders have, of late, been speaking in two voices and not all of them share the views of Sheikh Abdullah. There is Mr. G. M. Sadiq, for instance, who has been incessantly holding forth on the subject and not in a pianissimo key, either. He boldly asks India to take the case out of the U.N. and he shares the suspicion of M. Jacob Malik of Russia that the Western nations have been making of Kashmir a pawn on the international chessboard in the interests of their "cold war" strategy. Mr. Sadiq opines also that India would be committing a tragic

mistake if she were to withdraw her troops from Kashmir.

According to him, that would be an open invitation to the tribal hordes, with the active connivance of Pakistan, to overrun the sacred soil of Kashmir once more. It is evident that the divergence of opinion between Sheikh Abdullah and his colleague on this matter is very wide indeed and the gulf dividing them nearly unbridgeable. The former, as I have pointed out above, complained in London the other day that the U.N. has been consulting the views only of India and Pakistan and not of the people of Kashmir. May I politely enquire from him who represents the views of the people of Kashmir more correctly: himself or Mr. Sadiq? Or do the people of Kashmir think differently from both?

Further, now that there seems to be some talk about the creation of an "independent" Kashmir again, how does Sheikh Abdullah propose to reconcile it with an earlier conviction of his that that creation is not feasible alike in the context of the existing East-West tension and in that of the inexorable economic factors that govern the world today?

THE WHEEL COMES FULL CIRCLE

I have endeavoured, in the foregoing paragraphs, to relate the stage-by-stage development of Sheikh Abdullah's views with respect to the position of Kashmir *vis-a-vis* India. He had toyed with the idea of complete independence, then gave it up as a bad job owing, presumably, to lack of the requisite encouragement from persons higher up, and recently began resurrecting it again for reasons we are not in a position to guess. Though opinion on this is not unanimous in Kashmir, as evidenced by the statements of Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the Sheikh has been able to secure the support of Mirza Afzal Beg, Chairman of the Basic Principles Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly who, speaking on March 24 in Jammu on a motion on the Assembly's first winter session, asking for four months' extension of time for the presentation of the Committee's report, declared that "the Jammu and Kashmir State would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union." The Kashmir Premier himself stated unequivocally in the Constituent Assembly on March 29 that "neither the Indian Parliament nor any other Parliament outside the State has any jurisdiction over our State." He proceeded:

"Certain organisations of landlords in the State have argued that our Constituent Assembly is not a fully sovereign body. *No country—neither India nor Pakistan—can put any spoke in the wheel of our progress.*" (My italics).

THE SHEIKH WAXES COMMUNAL

It was but a step from this to his historic address on April 10 at Ranbirsinghpura referred to above by

me which has rattled to no small extent even such a staunch supporter of him and of his policies as Pandit Nehru himself. There is no doubt that it is a landmark in Indo-Kashmir relations. From now on things cannot be the same as before between India and Kashmir unless (which is very problematical) our Prime Minister musters sufficient courage to pull up the Sheikh Sahib and to put him in his place. Our objections to the latter's extremely provocative speech are many, but the principal one is that it was so unashamedly communal. For all the "secularism" that he spouts he can never forget either that he is a Muslim or that the majority community in Kashmir is Muslim. His communalism breaks out like a rash over the whole body of his oration. He speaks as a Muslim to the Hindus of India, but with a difference. While he keeps prominently in his mind that the Muslims of Kashmir, as the majority community, must be the privileged citizens of that State he is not concerned to remember that what is sauce for the Muslim majority goose in Kashmir is sauce for the Hindu majority gander in India as well.

The Muslims ever since India began flaunting her "secularism" before the entire world, have missed no opportunity of lecturing Hindus on the evils of communalism. That is "rich," as Mr. Squeers would have said. It would appear that what is merely "secularism" for a Muslim is rank "communalism" for a Hindu. It is, for instance, "secularism" for a Muslim if, on the strength of his forming part of the majority community, he drives the Hindus in his State from pillar to post and generally harasses them to the top of his bent. The point is that it is supposed to be the most natural thing for him to do in the circumstances—the circumstances, that is, of his forming part of the majority community. It comes within the ambit of "secularism." Not so, however, with the poor Hindu. Where he belongs to the majority community he should not only not harass the Muslim minority community but should be careful to be on his best behaviour towards it. He should not even mention the word "Hindu" either by accident or by design.

DICTATING TERMS TO INDIA

I think the time has come for us to indulge in a little plain-speaking on the subject. Sheikh Abdullah charges India with being communal. He dictates terms to India. Unless the last vestige of communalism is shed in India Kashmir's accession to India, he insists, must be of a severely restricted nature. The question arises since when he has become the cock of the walk in Indian affairs. The point is not whether communalism is rampant in India. It is not, as it happens. But it is extraneous to the issue. The point is: "Where does the Sheikh Sahib get off? What is his *locus standi*? And what is 'communalism'?" Are

we Hindus—even in India—to efface ourselves completely and make way for the Muslims? Does he pretend to be “secular” when he says in that speech of his at Ranbirsinghpura:

“I would like to warn those who talk lightly of Kashmir’s complete accession to India in all subjects that they are fanning the fires of conflict once again. *For instance, if there is no special status for Kashmir in the Indian Constitution how can we go to the Muslims in Kashmir and convince them that India does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of Kashmir?* I am not saying India will interfere in our affairs. But there is something called sentiment which has to be recognised. We have acceded to India in defence, foreign affairs and communications and not in other subjects because we want some kind of autonomy for ourselves in internal matters. Now some people here and in the Indian press have started questioning our very fundamental right to shape our destiny in our own way. *They do not tell us what will happen to Kashmir if there is a resurgence of communalism in India and how we are to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow up Kashmir.*” (My italics).

THE PANDIT TO BLAME

To be fair to Sheikh Abdullah he is not entirely to blame for this *faux pas*. The blame must be laid at the door of our beloved Panditji. It was from him that the Sheikh caught the contagion. After all it will never do for us to forget that the Sheikh is a *chela* of the Pandit. He not only apes the Pandit’s tantrums but copies his slogans as well. It was our Prime Minister-cum-Congress President who, if I may be permitted to say so,

*“Broke the silence of the seas
Amidst the farthest Hebrides”*

by embarking on a raging and tearing campaign against what he was pleased to call “Hindu communalism” during the recent elections. That was his principal contribution to the gruelling contests in which the Congress was engaged; and it paid that organisation handsome dividends in the end. The electorate—or a very large section of it—implicitly believed the stories that the Pandit put about regarding the manifold sins of “the Hindu communal bodies” and routed them to its heart’s content. But the end does not justify the means and the means employed by him, as he must have known himself, were detestable in the extreme. *The mud that he hurled at these bodies has stuck.* The Muslims—of Pakistan as well as of India—have not been slow to take advantage of it; and the Sheikh Sahib has but brought up the rear of that imposing procession. Had Pandit Nehru—with the object of scoring off the rival parties—not stooped so low as to spread such wanton lies about “Hindu communalism” the ground would have been cut from under the feet of Sheikh Abdullah to deliver his

April 10th ultimatum to India—for an ultimatum it undoubtedly is.

STIRRING A HORNETS’ NEST

Even as it is the Sheikh’s speech has shaken the country from end to end and one wonders how tremendous our reaction would have been if it had dropped out of a clear sky, as it were—I mean, if Pandit Nehru’s malicious propaganda against the Hindus had not preceded it. But now the Sheikh Sahib can well take shelter under the Pandit’s capacious umbrella. We can but hope that the latter has realised, even at this admittedly late hour, what a hornets’ nest he has stirred. He has been doing nothing else of late than playing into the hands of the Muslims here as well as across the border and he could not have done more for Pakistan if he had “tried with both hands,” as Humpty Dumpty would have put it. Most Muslims are communal as the sea is salt and it is but natural, they being what they are, to spring at any chance to be “agin” the Hindus. But these considerations, of course, have never weighed with the Pandit in the past and are not likely to weigh with him in the future either,—although there is a ray of hope that they may in view of his delicate hint to Sheikh Abdullah that his speech did not “amuse him.”

THE SHEIKH RETURNS TO THE CHARGE

Apropos of this delicate hint it would be well to bear in mind that it does not, in its turn, seem to have “amused” the Sheikh Sahib: for if it did he would not have dared to return to his previous charge, as a dog returns to its vomit, in his later speech at Hazratbal, five miles from Srinagar, on April 18. Reiterating his complaint about “Hindu communalism” he declared:

“People in India cannot say that in West Punjab alone Muslims killed non-Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs of East Punjab committed worse atrocities on Muslims.”

Now, this question needs looking into a little. Does the Sheikh Sahib really intend to convey that we on our side should meekly submit to Muslim atrocities and that we should not retaliate at any time and place? Is the blame to be laid at the door of those who begin atrocities or at the door of those who, when the ball of atrocities has been set rolling by someone, just courteously return it over the net? The law itself says that the punishment should fit the crime. *The whole point is that Pakistan has not received the punishment from India that fits its crime.* If it had it would not have dared to repeat its sanguinary performances so very often. That there is no communalism in India on the Hindu side is amply borne out by the fact that the 40 millions of Muslims in India are as safe here as the Muslims of

Pakistan are there. Can it be said that even now the Hindus of Pakistan—the few that are still allowed to be there, that is,—are equally safe?

MINORITIES' CONDITION IN EAST BENGAL

Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, Member of the Pakistan Parliament from East Bengal stated in Karachi on March 18 that the position of the minorities in Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan, was "exasperating." He suggested that the Pakistan Government should enter into an agreement with the Indian Government for "a speedy but peaceful exchange of population." Speaking during the debate on the Finance Bill in Parliament he said: "As days pass we (minorities) feel more and more depressed." Addressing Pakistan's Prime Minister he proceeded:

"What is the good of keeping these ten millions of human beings (minority population in East Bengal is placed at around ten million) perpetually under such a nerve-racking sense of insecurity, uncertainty and helplessness under such an unrelenting pressure of an administration armed to the teeth with unrestricted power of law or absolutism or whatever you may call it? Won't it be more honest and human to tell us that we are not wanted here? Or, better still come to an agreement with the Indian Government and let there be a speedy but peaceful exchange of population."

TURNING THE SEARCH-LIGHT INWARDS

My point is that Sheikh Abdullah does wrong to the Hindus of India when he lectures to them on "secularism." If he wishes to hold forth on the subject he should address his thought-provoking remarks to Pakistan: they are wasted on India because we have so much of "secularism" here that we can afford, for instance, to export quantities of it to the Sheikh Sahib himself and to his Kashmir. *For what he has been doing in Jammu can, with no stretch of imagination, be called "secularism."* Since he has been ranting so much on it he would do well to turn the search-light inwards and re-examine his and his officers' actions there "... with calm of mind, all passion spent." The harassment that the minorities in Kashmir have been receiving at his and their hands ought to put to shame any government that professes to be civilised. If he is so very much convinced about the rightness of his conduct why is he fighting shy of instituting an impartial enquiry into the happenings there recently? The students' strike, as a matter of fact, was merely an excuse for him and his minions to come down with a very heavy hand, indeed, on the Praja Parishad Party, which is Hindu and which has all along wished for the accession of Kashmir to India to be complete. *The testing-ground of "secularism" is Kashmir, not*

India; and the test has already failed miserably. Had I had sufficient space at my command I could have quoted extracts after extracts in proof of the "leonine violence" of the Kashmir authorities in Jammu during the past few months. But I have not and so can but touch the fringe of the subject.

Some time ago Sheikh Abdullah accused the virtually deposed Maharaja of Kashmir of acting secretly in league with Pakistan and plotting against his (the Sheikh's) regime in Kashmir. The Maharaja promptly denied the foul accusation. Sheikh Abdullah asserted in reply that he had evidence in his possession to prove it. *But so far that evidence has not been forthcoming. After this he is a fool who takes the Sheikh's charges seriously.*

As for the so-called complete independence of Kashmir the final word has been said by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, a retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who asserted a short time ago that "the sovereignty of Kashmir ended with accession." And as for Kashmir not acceding to India completely unless "communalism" is eradicated here to the Sheikh Sahib's fullest satisfaction, our reply should be that when Kashmir acceded to India no such condition had been laid down and that that is not at all pertinent to the issue. The Sheikh will be well-advised, in the vulgar phrase, to keep his breath to cool his porridge.

THE THIN END OF THE WEDGE?

It was only the other day that Mr. Gopalswamy Ayyangar had been impelled to advise the leaders of Kashmir to be a little more circumspect in their utterances. Apparently this adjuration did not apply to the topmost leader of them all. Or, perhaps, Sheikh Abdullah's ventilation of his views is by way of "cocking a snook" at the distinguished Minister of States. Be this as it may, it is all to the good that he has at last, casting discretion to the winds, decided to come out into the open and to stake all on an undisguised challenge to India. It is a moot point, however, whether under the conditions now prevailing, India will be prepared to take up the challenge. One wonders what tests he chooses to apply in the matter of satisfying himself that, to adopt his own picturesque idiom, "the grave of communalism has been finally dug in India." One wonders also whether, at the hectic pace at which he has of late been going, the time may not arrive when he will be disposed to consider it feasible, in the light of this same "communalism," to switch over Kashmir's at present semi-demi-hemi accession to India to an unqualified accession to Pakistan—all the more so as, obviously, he moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform.

SOIL PROBLEM IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.COM.

The importance of the study of the Indian soils cannot be over-emphasized specially when agriculture forms the predominant occupation of the majority of our countrymen. The agriculturists, horti-culturists and the forest officers are all in a way connected intimately with the question of the soils. For unless the nature of the soils is properly understood, it is not possible to derive maximum of the produce from the soils.

For our purpose we can divide Indian soils into two types : (1) Soils of the Indo-Gangetic Plain, and (2) Soils of the Peninsular India.

(1) SOILS OF THE INDO-GANGETIC PLAIN

Indo-Gangetic Plains have the alluvial soils which are more fertile. They occur in the greater part of Northern India between the foot of the Himalayas and the northern slopes of the Vindhya and extend in a narrow fringe round the coast line of the peninsula, increasing in width from the Western Ghats or the tableland of Central India. Territorially they cover the greater part of Sind (now in Pakistan), northern Rajputana, East Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, East and West Bengal, half of Assam and of the East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna and Tanjore districts of the Madras Presidency. The whole of the vast Gangetic Plain comprises nearly 300,000 square miles whose width varies from 300 miles in the west, to 90 miles in the east, while the depth as far as can be ascertained exceeds 1,600 feet below the ground surface.

These soils are derived mainly from the debris brought down from the Himalayas or from the silt left by the old sea which has not retreated. These soils are deficient in nitrate and humus, but they are rich in potash, lime and magnesia. The percentage of phosphoric acid in the oven-dry soil varies from .005 to .02, and in humus it varies from .08 to .09. The percentage of potash varies between .1 and .35 while that of lime is less than 1.0.¹ These soils are of marvellous fertility, consisting of heavy rich loams producing under irrigation splendid crops of rice and sugarcane. In fact a wide variety of Rabi and Kharif crops is grown.

These soils differ in different parts of the country in physical texture and chemical properties. In Northern India, it is dry, porous and in some places

sandy, giving rise to the crops not requiring the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots. In Bengal, it becomes more compact, less coarse and moist where rice, jute and sugarcane are largely cultivated, while in the Peninsular India it is actually clayey and dark in colour.

The alluvial soils may be further divided into newer alluvium and older alluvium. The former is found on the level plain above the flood level of the main rivers and their tributaries. They contain clay in admixture with particles of quartz and mica and become a loam or sandy loam; while the latter soil is confined to terraces and the flood level plains of the rivers. It is composed chiefly of sand, silt, mud and clay. In the bed of the channel, usually sand and sandy loam occur but on the adjoining flat ground both fine loam and clayey loam are to be observed.

The *deltaic soils* of the Ganges and the Indus are more or less a continuation of the alluvial soils of the valleys, with the only distinction that they are richer in humus content. Owing to the repeated bifurcations of the soils some soils are very humid, almost water-logged. During flood fine fertile silt is deposited. These lands, therefore, are very favourable for paddy and jute cultivation especially in the deltaic lands of the Ganges.

The *alkaline soils* are to be found in certain parts of the northern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, East and West Punjab, and Rajasthan, which have been rendered uncultivable due to impregnation of saline and alkaline compounds in the upper soils. These soils are called *reh* or *kallar* in U.P. and the East Punjab respectively, while such land is known as *Usar* or *Kallar* land. These soils occupy lands in the districts of Saharanpur, Mathura, Aligarh, covering over 5 million acres in U.P. and nearly 300 square miles in the Punjab. Similarly large land areas are subject to salinity of sea water in Bengal, Gujarat and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The plant food and the calcium content differ greatly within these deposits. The percentage of oven-dry alluvial soil varies from .03 to .103 of nitrogen, .3 to .7 of potash, .03 to .13 of phosphoric acid, and .3 to 2.0 of lime.² The salt is transported in solution (consisting of carbonates, sulphates of calcium and magnesium) by the Himalaya rivers, which later on percolate in the subsoil of plains. This salt goes

1. Baljit Singh : *Whither Agriculture in India*, p. 24.

2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.

on accumulating in the areas of arid climate and insufficient surface drainage; during the dry seasons the soluble salts are sucked up in solution by capillary action to the surface and are deposited there in the form of white efflorescence. The alkaline soils are deficient in calcium and nitrogen and are highly impervious.

The soil in Western Rajasthan owes its origin to wind and hence, it is largely wind-blown soil consisting of sand which is sterile but wherever water is available from deep wells for irrigation some cultivation particularly of bajra and barley is carried on.

(2) SOILS OF THE PENINSULAR INDIA

The Peninsular India is the most ancient land-mass of India and hence, its soils are very old and fully matured. These soils show a great variation in their texture, structure, moisture and humus content. These soils are divided into three types viz., (a) Red Soil, (b) Black Cotton Soil and (c) Laterite Soil.

(a) *Red or Crystalline Soils* have been derived from the crystalline or metamorphic rocks and are believed to be of sedimentary origin. These soils are characteristic of tropical regions. Their red colour is due to the presence of ferric-oxide. It happens that during the capillary action the iron oxide is precipitated after the evaporation of water. These soils cover an extensive area in the Peninsular India comprising the whole of Madras, Mysore, South-East of Bombay Presidency and extend through the east of Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh to Orissa and Chota Nagpur. Northward the red soil area extends into the greater part of the Santal Parganas and the Birbhum district of Bengal, Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, and the Baghelkhand state of Madhya Bharat, the Aravallis and the eastern half of Rajasthan.

In these widely-dispersed tracts, red soils differ greatly in consistency, depth and fertility. On the uplands the soils are poor, thin and gravelly, sandy or stony and light-coloured, on which food crops like bajra can be grown. But on the lower plains they are rich, deep and dark-brown or black-coloured fertile loam on which under irrigation can be produced excellent crops. Red soils are rich in potash and lime. The percentage of phosphoric acid in the oven-dry soil varies from .005 to .02 and in humus it varies from .08 to .09. The percentage of potash varies between .1 and .35 while that of the lime is less than one.

(b) *The Black Cotton Soil or Regur* is the name given to this type of soil because of its colour and its suitability to the cultivation of cotton and is endowed literally with inexhaustible fertility. It

extends over the greater part of the Bombay province, inner parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar, Berar, Madhya Bharat, and the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddappah, Coimbatore, Salem, Tinnevelly, and also Madras.

The black cotton soil has been divided into two main varieties viz., the black soil associated with the Deccan Trap and the black soil of Madras. These soils are highly retentive of moisture and extremely sticky when wet and rich in chemical properties.³ These soils are highly argillaceous and contain a very high proportion of calcium and magnesium carbonates and are also fairly rich in iron, lime and aluminium. The nitrogen content is very low, .02 to .05 per cent, phosphoric acid .08 to .2 per cent, potash varies from .8 to .15 and that of lime is between 1.0 to 7.7.

In the dry season the damp soil contracts producing the wide deep fissures which house scorpions and snakes. This soil is so rich in plant food that cultivation has been carried on here for thousands of years without the use of any sort of manure. The greatest fertility of the soil occurs in such parts where its greatest depth is about 20 feet. Near the margins and on the slopes the soils are thin and the rocks underlying it generally appear on the surface.

(c) *The laterite soil* is a porous clayey rock found on the summits of the basaltic hills and plateaus of Madhya Bharat, along the Eastern and Western Ghats and in Assam. The distinguishing feature of these soils is their acidity. These soils vary in quality. On the higher level of the hills and the plateaus they are exceedingly thin and gravelly with little power to retain moisture. On the lower plains and in the river valley they are dark, heavy loams and clays which readily retain moisture and produce good crops. These soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime but humus is present in quantities decidedly better than in most other Indian soils, while the nitrogen content in oven-dry soil vary from .01 to .04 per cent, their marked acidity is due to almost total absence of lime and magnesium.

Thus it will be apparent from what is given below how widely even the plant food and calcium content of the four main soil types differ among themselves:

Alluvial Soils: Nitrogen .03 to .103; Potash .3 to .7; Phosphoric acid .08 to .13; and Lime 3 to 210.

Regur Soils: Nitrogen .02 to .05; Potash .15 to .8; Phosphoric acid .08 to .20; and Lime 1.0 to 7.7.

Red Soils: Nitrogen .005 to .02; Potash .1 to

3. P. N. Banerjee: *Indian Economics*, p. 10.

4. *Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Corps and Soils Wing of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India* (1936), p. 231.

.35; Phosphoric acid .08 to .09; and Lime less than 1.0.

Laterite Soils: Nitrogen .01 to .04; Potash .1 to .4; Phosphoric acid .01 to .08; and Lime less than 1.0.

THE PROBLEM OF SOIL EROSION

The cutting away of the soil particles either by rain or strong wind currents is called soil erosion. Several agents like the sun, the rain, running water, sea waves and the wind are responsible for the denudation of the land. Heavy rainfall or rainwater, if it is not properly controlled, has a tendency to run off the surface which percolates into the soil towards the drainage lines after washing away the most valuable and fine particles of the soil and a large part of the organic matter. Soil erosion is caused by many factors. They may be briefly discussed here.

(1) *The concentration of rainfall*: During the rainy season when heavy rainfall beats down on the surface of the earth and loose particles of the soil, the formation of deep ravines is an established fact. The more concentrated and intensive the showers the more forcefully it will strike the surface and the greater will be the run-off erosion.

(2) *The general slope of the ground*: On a steeper slope the soil is washed away much more rapidly than on a gentler slope. On the steeper slopes landslips and landslides due to percolation of water and the instability of slopes owing to gravity will be common and frequent. In places where the ground is flat, the erosion has more pronounced effects as in the peninsular parts of India particularly in C.P. and Bundelkhand than in the alluvial plains of the Ganga. In the plains owing to the flatness of the surface the fine soils are washed away, without being noticed, from every part of the surface of the fields.

(3) *The nature of the soil*: It also affects soil erosion. Light open soil lose more silt than heavier loams. Heavy black cotton soils, which swell up when wetter, are probably not denuded as rapidly as the lighter soils found in the peninsula. The dry tracts are also affected by the water which rushes over them. Again, the soft shale and sandstone erode more readily than limestone and granite and hence erosion is greater in the Siwaliks than in the Gurgaon Hills (Delhi). The silt carried by water also aids in soil erosion. By abrasion or friction it increases both lateral and vertical erosion, i.e., both on the sides and on the bed stream. The greatest loss due to soil erosion occurs when the ground is bare of vegetation.

TYPES OF SOIL EROSION

The soil is chiefly eroded in two ways, viz., by sheet erosion and gully erosion.

(1) In sheet erosion the soil is eroded as the

layer from the hill slopes, sometimes slowly and insidiously and sometimes more rapidly. Such erosion is the result of the reckless felling down of the timber, over-grazing and shifting cultivation or the improper terracing of flat fields. Sheet erosion is more or less universal on all bare fallow lands on all uncultivated lands whose plant cover has been thinned out by grazing, fire or other misuse; on all sloping cultivated fields and on sloping forests and scrub jungles whose natural fertility of soil has been reduced by heavy grazing, clear felling of trees or burning.⁵

(2) In gully erosion the water forms small rivulets which wash away the soil from gullies. First, there is the main ravine and then side rivulets form lateral gullies. The phenomenon once started, and if not checked, goes on extending and ultimately the whole land is converted into a 'badland topography.' Gully erosion is more common (1) where the river system has cut down into elevated plateaus so that feeders and branches carve out an intricate pattern of gullies; (2) in relatively level country wherever large blocks of cultivation give rise to concentration of field run-off; and (3) besides these two types there is also wind erosion which works havoc in sandy parts of Western Rajputana and Western U.P. leading to a great waste of cultivable land and producing nothing but sand-dunes. Roads, railways and other works frequently divert natural drainage and concentrate it so that serious gullying results. In India, it is common in Siwaliks, the Jamuna and the Chambal rivers of U.P.

CAUSES OF SOIL EROSION

What takes Nature hundreds or even thousands of years to manufacture man can and often does destroy almost overnight by haphazard land use and improvident husbandry. Jacks and Whyte have rightly remarked that

"Cultivation, deforestation or destruction of natural vegetation by grazing or other means unless carried out according to certain immutable conditions imposed by each region may so accelerate denudation that soil, which would normally be washed or blown away in a century, disappears within a year or even within a day."⁶

Failures of rain, floods, depopulation and loss of cattle caused by famine and pestilence, disturbances caused by war and interference with or change in the natural drainage system have had their deleterious effect on our soils at some time or other. Soils and forests grow gradually. Even in favourable conditions a soil layer of suitable depth requires about

5. N. P. C.'s Report on Soil Conservation and Afforestation, p. 73.

6. *The Rape of the Earth: A World Survey of Soil Erosion*, p. 20.

a hundred years for natural growth and generally it takes longer. A forest cannot be created in less than thirty years. But both may be and have been lost in an incredibly short time either as a direct consequence or injudicious interference by man or indirectly from his neglect or lack of knowledge or of supervision. A hill-top capped with a magnificent forest harbouring flora and fauna of inestimable economic and aesthetic value soon becomes a bare piece of rock through shifting cultivation or uncontrolled grazing or other unsound methods of land utilization. A flourishing farm if deserted soon becomes a ruin and it takes long to refashion it to its former state of productivity where this happens to be at all possible. Even frequent changes of human management or their lack of interest have a serious effect on the soil. Let us examine these factors in some detail.

(1) DEFORESTATION

The chief agency of soil erosion is man who helps erosion by changing the vegetation-cover. But the destruction of forest-covers by deliberate human interference leads to increased run-off of rain water and its diminished seepage and storage in the soil. The decomposing forest litter is no longer replenished by fresh falls of leaves or decaying roots and plant remains, and the soil organic matter and other plant nutrients gradually diminish. The structure of the soil suffers; the run-off increases, loosens the soil and transports it; deposits nearer the scene of destruction and finer particles go to make the streams turbid to be deposited far away. The increased run-off especially after heavy downpours comes in sudden rush and often gets blocked in the silted streams. The water develops power enough to cause devastating floods.

Forests have been ruthlessly and continuously destroyed for the supply of timber and fuel for increasing population and shifting cultivation. In a natural forest the roots of the trees go deep into the soil and penetrate into the cracks and interstices of the rocks which they help to rend apart. There is also an undergrowth of bushes, shrubs, grasses and annual herbs which drop their leaves and decay to form a mat of humus which covers the soil. The force of rain is broken by the leaves of trees and the carpet of vegetation; while surface covering of soil and the humus soak up the rain water like sponge and let it sink into the ground to emerge later on in springs and streams. When rain falls gently the whole is absorbed; in violent storms, when the rate of precipitation is greater than the rate of absorption, the flow of storm-water over the surface of the soil is impeded by the soil covering and the violence of the floods in the streams is lessened. The roots of the trees, bushes and herbage are intertwined to form a great net which binds the soil together and keeps it in place.

(2) DESTRUCTION AND OVERGRAZING OF PASTURES

Permanent grassy areas also afford some check in the actual erosion of the soil. A properly managed, lightly grazed pasture might form a permanent protection to the soil because it provides an efficient cover for preventing erosion and reducing run-off inasmuch as it covers the surface of the ground, protecting it from the direct impact of the falling rain-drops and thus keeping the pores of the soil open and capable of receiving excessive amounts of water. But whenever there is over-grazing as has been the case in the rainier parts of India where grasslands are lushed with monsoon grass but in the hot season when the sun is fierce and the growth of grass stands still there is lack of herbage; as the teaming herbivora pushed by hunger graze the pasture bare to the bone the soil becomes uncovered; as the grass over-grazed becomes worn and thin, rain-drops begin to fall directly on the soil puddling the surface and clogging up the pores with mud, infiltration into the soil is reduced and the run-off of the water increases. All this invariably leads to a deterioration in botanical composition and an increase in the growth of weeds as well as to an increase in the area of bare ground. This over-grazing has done much harm particularly in the western Himalayas and the foothills and eastern Rajputana.⁷

Besides over-grazing, grazers are permitted to lop trees for fodder provided that the trees are not lopped to death, but in practice the trees are lopped right to the top. Due to frequent cutting of thorn branches for fencing and lopping of trees for fodder, deforestation gradually occurs and it becomes a fruitful source of soil erosion. The combination of present unrestricted grazing and browsing of local animals often accompanied by seasonal grazing of nomadic herds of buffaloes and flocks of sheep and goats, and lopping in an arid climate (western Rajputana and the contiguous portion of eastern Rajputana) is more than what hardy species of trees can stand and, therefore, it is disappearing from a landscape already devastated by erosion.⁸

(3) SHIFTING CULTIVATION

Man's ruthless destruction of the forest for shifting cultivation has also decreased the area under forest. Shifting or Jhumming cultivation is chiefly practised by the primitive tribes for raising food for them. According to this system of farming, a patch of forest is selected. Its trees and bushes are then cut and burnt down on the ground in order to clear room for a field. The ground is, then, lightly ploughed and the seed is sown broadcast and raked into the

7. H. C. Glover : *Soil Erosion*, p. 8 (Rp.).

8. R. P. Singh : "Soil Erosion in Rajputana" in *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 105.

soil, at the first fall of the rains, which is immensely fertile owing to the wood ashes and accumulated humus. After two or three years' crop the soil is exhausted so that the crops are so poor as not to repay the labour of cultivation, and then another felling takes place and the first is abandoned. The woods are set on fire annually to improve and open out the grass for pasture, or to facilitate bear hunting. Such a type of nomadic cultivation is known as *Taungya* in Burma, *Jhum* in Assam, *Podu* and *Dahya* in Central Provinces, *Khil* in the Himalayas, and *Kumari* in the Western Ghats.⁹ All these wasteful ways of subsistence are being followed on a much larger scale in the States of Sirohi, Mewar, Dungarpur, etc., (all in Rajputana), as the forest tribes of Bhils and Todas and Meenas find it more and more difficult to live by robbery and being pent up within their own wilds are compelled to draw their food from the soil.¹⁰

(4) FAULTY METHODS OF CULTIVATION

Faulty methods of cultivation and ploughing of instable slopes have resulted in millions of tons of the most fertile soil of India being carried down the rivers and deposited uselessly in the sea.¹¹ When the virgin land is ploughed and naked soil is exposed to the rain, the loss of the fertile soil of the fields is enormous, particularly on the steeper slopes, and the crops produced grow poorer and poorer in each succeeding year until the land soon becomes unculturable and is left fallow. The potato cultivation in the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, where the rows run straight up and down hill, causes an abnormal rapid loss of soil; elsewhere the fields are ploughed without regard to the prevailing slope and the soil is lost which might have been preserved by ploughing along the contours.

Only the better and more easily manured fields near the villages, particularly the rice fields, are properly terraced and levelled and represent the results of many years of unremitting soil. But where the cultivated fields are neither terraced nor have embankment the soil erosion is immense, so that the rain falling on the unprotected soil pours down the slopes gathering speed as it proceeds until it sweeps away the soil from the terraced fields below. Huge weirs, broken bunds and ruined fields in the Rawalpindi division of the Punjab bear witness both to the industry of individual zemindars and to the failure of their neighbours to act in co-operation with them and to terrace every field within the catchment area.

SOIL EROSION IN INDIA

India's fertility is unfortunately slipping away from her. Soil erosion is the greatest single menace

facing Indian agriculture today. Examples pertaining to such a state of affairs are not far to seek. Recent investigations have shown that in the bare fallow fields in the foothills of Northern India (except properly levelled rice land) a single storm leads to the loss of soil at the rate of 1½ tons per acre; while in the Bombay Deccan there is a loss of 133 tons of soil per acre per year from a field of jowar. In the face of rapid scouring of the soil, the improvement of soil, the improvement of crop varieties or introduction of chemicals are more or less a drop in the bucket of productivity. Such scouring is specially acute in India along the Himalayan foothills and sloping grounds throughout northern India, in parts of Madras, the Bombay Deccan, and other provinces including Madhya Pradesh, Chota Nagpur, and Madhya Bharat.

There are no statistics of the extent of the which is affected by soil erosion but at a low estimate according to Sir Harold Glover, erosion is seriously lowering the productivity of million acres.¹² It has been estimated that amount of soil lost by erosion ranges from 1 to 1½ tons per acre in different parts of India.¹³ It has been further held that every year one-twentieth of an inch of the top fertile soil is washed away by the rains in India.¹⁴

Along most of the bigger rivers soil erosion has led to the formation of a vast and intricate network of fissures and gullies and the loss of invaluable agricultural land so that soil erosion is responsible for 8 million acres of ravine lands in the United Provinces, for the man-made desert between Rajputana and the U.P., which is now intruding its thirsty tongue into the south-western districts, is also responsible for the partial filling up of the reservoirs and choking of irrigation courses in the Punjab and U.P.

Without the co-operation of the village panchayats in the control of grazing and improvement of natural grasslands, many fertile lands in India would share the fate of the *Brabhumti*, once flowing with milk and honey, but stripped entirely of its vegetation-covering, now a cattle-made desert extending over several hundreds of square miles in the heart of the world's most fertile plain.¹⁵ In fact, the villages which were once surrounded by valuable fertile fields now lie in a network of useless gullies¹⁶ carved out of the soft mud of the Jamuna river by uncontrolled drainage with the result that thousands of acres of good cultivable land have been and are annually lost to cultivation.

12. H. Glover : *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

13. J. Russel : *Report on the Work of Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 61.

14. *The Villager's Guide Calendar*, 1941, p. 132.

15. N.P.C. *Report on Population*, pp. 54-55.

16. A. Howard & L. C. Howard : *Development of Indian Agriculture*, p. 13.

9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, p. 25.

10. *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 23.

11. H. G. Glover : *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

Less striking but even more serious losses of soil have taken place by the actions of floods in the Chambal and other rivers flowing through Gwalior, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh.

The intensity of gully erosion can best be judged from the fact that in the Jamuna-Chambal basin the amount of soil eroded is estimated to be equivalent to the removal of 12 cusecs or $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of soil per second day and night without stopping for the last 1000 years.¹⁷ The damage caused to the soil by ravines can be comprehended by the examples of extensive wastelands in Agra, Mathura and Etawah districts. The ravines of the Jamuna and Chambal form almost a compact mass with the extreme width of 70 miles and breadth of 13 miles in the centre. In Agra alone there are about 120,000 acres of land.

The Himalayan rivers, which had built up the plains of the Gangetic Valley, have cut deep channels in the plains which they originally formed, actually erode gradually, but continuously carry away the silt which they once laid on them. Not only this but at each bend the concave bank is being eroded, while the opposite bank receives a new alluvial deposit to fill up the void left by the receding river.

The wastage in the Etawah district as a whole has been estimated to be not less than 11 cubic feet of soil per second, equivalent to a steady outflow of earth in a stream 13 feet wide and 2 feet deep flowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour. It has been ascertained that the processes of erosion and ravine formation commenced within the last 400 years.¹⁸ It is in the Chambal-Jamuna tract that the tangle of wild and sterile ravines sloping from the uplands to the river banks shows its worst features. As far as can be seen one meets here a labyrinth of rugged ravines and green valleys covered with acacia jungle, every prominent bluff showing the ruins of some robber stronghold. This has been for centuries No Man's Land occupied by wild Rajput tribes, robbers and raiders by profession, who settled on the flank of the Imperial Highway through the Doab and were a thorn in the side of the Mussalman administration.¹⁹ It has been estimated that the total area of such desert-like and inhospitable ravines in the U.P. alone is between half a million and a million acres.

Similarly the barren and uncultivated areas in Oudh contain many large trees whose roots are entirely laid bare by unchecked sheet erosion, and

more than a foot of the soil has been carried away in the course of about 200 years.²⁰ Other cases of the same kind abound in Fatehpur Sikri, and tahsil of Agra, as also in many parts of Bundelkhand.

Along the banks of the Chambal in the States of Dholpur, Karauli and Kotah one finds thousands of acres devastated by soil erosion. There are ravine lands adjoining most of the Indian rivers but the Chambal is the worst offender in this respect. Many thousands of acres of cultivable land have been destroyed and the ravines continue to cut back into plateau cultivation. Mr. A.P.F. Hamilton has correctly described the unreclaimed country along the lower course of the river (Gwalior State) as a sea of brown ridges and troughs with a few browsed relics of the desert species.²¹

In this territory land has been "hopelessly cut up into winding and tortuous ravines some of which are so big that they can hide whole armies." That they actually shelter gangs of intrepid dacoits is an undoubted fact. Far from being suitable for cultivation the land dessicated and barren is hardly fit even for pasture. These ravines are the most glaring and tell-tale example of the gully type of soil erosion and havoc wrought by it.²² The absence of protective vegetation and the flow of water from the high plateau to the river has caused this complicated network of ravines.

Gully erosion is also noticeable in the rolling uplands of Burdwan division. In many places the accumulated top soil has been washed away and the sub-soil exposed due to sheet washing. In Lower Bengal bank erosion is serious along all the major rivers and the loss affects urban areas as well as cultivable lands to an alarming extent.

In Behar also both sheet and gully erosion do immense damage the main cause being uncontrolled grazing and faulty field cultivation.

In Bombay, as regards dry areas with less than 40 per cent of rain, run-off measurements taken for black cotton soil cultivation at Sholapur confirm the loss of 133 tons of soil per annum from well-tilled fields.

Even in great alluvial plains of India where at first sight the ground seems to be perfectly flat damage is considerable. The land surface near the Jamuna and its tributaries provides the ideal conditions "for gully erosion." In consequence of these conditions the Jamuna basin provides one of the finest examples of gully or ravine formation in the world. The banks of the Jamuna and its tributaries are now so completely drained that the greater part of

17. Dr. Thair Rizvi : *Presidential Address of the Section of Geography and Geology to the Indian Science Congress, 1941.*

18. R. K. Mukerjee : "Broken Balance of Population, Land and Water" in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, 17th Conference No., 1934, p. 256.

19. Crooke : *North-Western Province of India*, p. 26.

20. S. L. Agarwal : "Soil Erosion in U.P." in *Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. XI, p. 78 (July, 1930).

21. A. Hamilton : "Chambal : Ravines Reclamation Scheme" in *Indian Forester*, Vol. 73, No. 3, p. 99.

22. Chaturvedi : *Economic Survey in Kotah Village*, p. 52.

the areas has become almost destitute of vegetation.²³ The left bank of the Jamuna has lost vast areas of land owing to the formation of the mischievous network of ravines which produce little more than a crop of grass during the rainy season.

In Northern India vast expanses of deep alluvial soil of exceptional fertility have been converted into valueless ravines. These ravines cut backwards into the arable fields and have already destroyed hundreds of thousands of acres of very fertile cultivation and are extending daily.²⁴ In the Siwaliks and the outer Himalayas the ravines are hundreds of feet in depth and it is by no means uncommon to see abandoned homesteads poised on the edge of a chasm where a farm or a village once existed.²⁵

With increasing soil erosion the area gets drier and drier and as the wind breaks the trees, and hedges and grass cover vanish, the area becomes more liable to dust and storms. Wind erosion is generally found in the desert area of the Punjab, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kotah, Jaipur and Bharatpur in Rajasthan.

In the dessicated area of Rajasthan the wind erosion has removed as much as six crores of maunds of soil per square mile in certain places during the last hundred years. The hot dry winds sweeping across these deserts or semi-deserts dry out even the meagre rainfall which they receive. At Jodhpur which gets about 13 per cent of rain the surface evaporation is about 7½ per year, a terrible state in an area of scanty rainfall.²⁶

According to Wad, there is always an encroachment of wind-borne sand on the arable lands of Rajputana as well as sorting out of finer particles by wind from field surfaces leaving the soil less retentive of moisture and its surface poorer in plant food.²⁷ In many instances this blown sand has been deposited in transverse valleys amongst the hill ranges and seems to encroach slowly over the entire land. Many a farmstead has been absorbed in an advancing tide of wind-blown sand. Crops in many parts of Western Rajputana are frequently damaged by sandstorms. Major Erskine writes about Bikaner that high winds often cover the sown fields with a layer of sand and thus prevent the germination of the seed; or by carrying away the light soil leave the young plants exposed and cause them to wither up,²⁸ and on grassland areas the superior

grasses are frequently choked or burnt up by hot dust-laden winds, which smother near-by vegetation, bury fences and block roads and railways.²⁹

The condition of the engines of the trains which come from the desert tract is well described by Webb in these words: "The engines which come through from the desert beyond was patterned on the windward side of its long boiler-casing with clinging tawny sand."³⁰

As a result of the disturbance of the delicate ecological balance of flora and fauna by overgrazing or other misuse in many portions of Western Rajasthan the advancing dunes (which are known as *Tibbas*), no longer bound by the pebbles and adopted vegetation, threaten the people of Kishangarh and Western Jaipur States.³¹ Sand is blown from the north-western districts of Jodhpur State. Similarly in the Jodhpur "land is being out of action progressively and the same cause is behind the dust content of the air experienced during the hot weather of the last years."³²

Interesting and reliable evidence of the pace of dessication in the Punjab has been furnished by Major W. Wright of the Survey of India. According to him, the desert conditions are steadily advancing north-eastward out of Sind and Rajputana in the direction of the two great cities of Lahore and Delhi at the rate of half a mile.

In the desert fringes of the southern districts extending from Delhi to the Indus and beyond there is a belt of low rainfall where the average is from 5 to 12 inches. Not only is the rainfall very low but is exceedingly erratic ranging from nothing at all in one year to floods in the next. In the east these conditions are found in Hissar, Gurgaon and Feroz-pore and in the States of Faridkot and Bikaner and in the west (which now falls in Pakistan) in the districts of Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Shahpur and Mianwali; beyond the Indus similar conditions are confined to Dera Gaji Khan and Ismail Khan (N.-W. F. P.), all in Pakistan. Even the low and erratic rainfall of these areas adds appreciably to the damage initially caused by wind erosion. North of the desert fringe are to be found large expanses of unirrigated plains and slightly rolling uplands with considerably better rainfall of about 18 to 25 ins. (such are the districts of Jullundhar, Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak in the east and in the west the enormous stretch of uplands flanking the Jhelum Salt Range and extending through the districts of Gujarat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock). In this zone the movement of sand is more localised

23. D. L. Shah: "Prevention of the Extension of Erosion in Ravine Lands" in *Agriculture and Livestock in India*, Vol. IX, Pt. V.

24. H. Glover: *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

25. H. Glover: *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.

26. *Indian Information*, Vol. 14, (1943), No. 36.

27. Y. D. Wad: "Soil Erosion and Its Control in Central India and in Rajputana" in *Agriculture and Livestock in India*, Vol. IX, p. 537.

28. Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 342.

29. R. P. Singh: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 102-103.

30. A. W. T. Webb: *These Ten Years*, p. 50.

31. *Jaipur State Five Year Plan*, p. 30.

32. *Stamp Committee Report*, p. VI.

but is still a serious handicap for agriculture. The sand is usually derived from the nearest open torrent bed where soil-eroded rainwater from the neighbouring uplands has been dumped and another source is the main river channels. From both these sources the sand is whipped up by the hot summer winds and carried a considerable distance. According to MacLagan Gorrie, sand from the Markanda torrent bed in the plains of Ambala district has practically buried villages two miles from the east bank.

EFFECTS OF SOIL EROSION

Soil, washed from the hillslopes, fallow lands and meadows, fills reservoirs and clogs irrigation courses and stream channels. Agriculture, irrigation and navigation are all affected. The denudation of the mountain slopes, the undue increase of cultivation on the hill sides and the seasonal concentration of large flocks along the travel routes leading to the high slopes of the upper ranges, have brought about a measured loss of soil and water. In the Punjab, soil erosion has increased the load of silt derived from the Jamuna and Gujarat foothills which is carried by the Jhelum river. The increase of the run-off and loss of soil in the less adequately covered hill-slopes of the Tehri-Garhwal region will similarly result in the partial filling up of the reservoirs and the clogging of irrigation ditches before long.³³

1. HEAVY FLOODS IN THE RIVERS

In India as the population has increased the plough and the axe have ascended the hill-sides, the destruction of the forests in the catchment areas of the rivers and their tributaries has caused rapid run-off and erosion leading to the deposit of an increasing mass of debris on riverbeds in low lands thus increasing the damage from floods. The Goghra, the Gandak, the Kosi, the Sone and the Subarnarekha, the Ajaya, the Damodar, the Tista, the Padma and the Brahmaputra, the Mahanadi and the Godavari—all bring flood which is in large measures due to deforestation in the hills. The increasing severity and frequency of floods in recent years in Bihar, Assam, Orissa and Bengal are due to man's invasion of the cradle of streams and trees. A great deal of soil belonging legitimately to these territories is now at the bottom of the Bay of Bengal. The evil of the extension of the ravine lands is not confined to the U.P. and the Punjab but extends to the Bengal and Sind Deltas where the removal of the soils of whole valleys by denudation has led to the silting up of the riverbeds and the meandering rivers. The reclamation of swamps in Oudh, the eastern districts of U.P., Northern Bihar and Assam has also forced an exceedingly heavy run-off. It is estimated that the

Ganges now carries to the sea eight times the quantity of silt carried by the Mississippi, and that from a catchment area of one-third the size.³⁴

2. LOWERING OF SUB-SOIL WATER LEVEL

As a result of torrential rainfall the water rushes violently along the drainage lines without being soaked by the soil which has resulted in lowering of the sub-soil water level so that the water level of the wells has gone down causing hardships and inconveniences to the agriculturists in a numberless ways. Water level has thus increased in the Hoshiarpur and Jullundhar districts of the Punjab and in the Etawah, Agra, Mathura and Jalaun districts of Uttar Pradesh.

3. WATER-LOGGING AND DECREASE IN CROP YIELDS

Again, water-logging is always often associated with erosion which causes a great loss to the available nitrogen and destruction of the prosperity of the sub-soil resulting in the low yield and poor quality of the produce.

The soil erosion leads to abandoned regions, run-down communities and wandering agriculturists. The evils that have been enumerated above are not the creation of one year or a few years but of decades and therefore, soil erosion has been justifiably called the "creeping death."³⁵ Its effects are not confined to the land but man suffers as well.

In wind erosion the larger soil particles have a cutting effect on tender plants; on grassland areas the superior grasses are frequently burnt up by the hot dust-laden winds. The effect of sand drifting and blowing on the inhabitants of these tracts is extremely depressing and demoralising. The tracts seriously affected by these present a desolate sight inasmuch as such soil has been blown away from the fields and the scanty water supplies have been choked in many cases.

Thus, the combined effects of the various phases of sheet erosion, gully and bank erosion, and wind erosion, can be summarised as follows:³⁶

- (1) Increasingly severe and sudden floods.
- (2) Longer intervening periods of drought affecting canal efficiency.
- (3) Failure of underground supplies affecting water table level, wells and springs leading to uncertainty of irrigation supplies.
- (4) Raising of riverbeds by sand deposits leading to catastrophic changes in river courses and blocking of navigable channels and harbours.
- (5) Reduced crop yields from eroded crop fields owing to loss of top-soil.
- (6) Reduced area of cultivation due to gully and bank erosion.

CONSERVATION OF SOIL RESOURCES

To check soil erosion and to regain the lost

33. National Planning Committee Report on Population, p. 55.

34. Op. Cit., p. 56.

35. H. Glover : Op. Cit., p. 4.

36. National Planning Committee Report on Soil Conservation and Afforestation, pp. 74-75.

fertility a fight must be put against the forces of Nature and against the activities of human beings. Sir John Russel has suggested the following remedies :

- (a) Afforestation of the top slopes,
- (b) Putting the upper slopes into grass,
- (c) Ploughing along the contour lines instead of across them, and
- (d) Bunding or terracing.

CREATION OF PROTECTIVE SURFACE

If all the rain water were absorbed by the ground upon which it falls soil erosion would be reduced to a minimum. Hence, a protective surface may be created mainly by afforestation and controlled grazing. The National Planning Committee suggests that a minimum of about 20 per cent of the land area should be covered by forests.³⁷ But this does not obtain in many provinces excepting Central Provinces and Assam. Even the existing forests are ill-distributed and are not easily accessible in many cases. Hence, they should be more evenly and uniformly distributed over the entire land. Villages and minor forests should be established to secure this uniform distribution. Trees of economic importance for fuel, fodder and timber should be similarly planted wherever possible.

This will certainly conduce to a diminution in floods and soil erosion losses, a more even supply of water in streams and rivers, conservation of moisture in soil and colder summer temperatures.

CONTROL OF GRAZING

Control of grazing is also necessary. For this purpose the forests may be opened to grazing by rotation after a period of 3 to 5 years and in certain seasons along with a proper classification of cattle for purposes of levy of differential or favoured rates and exclusion of others like goats which cause damage.

CONTROL OF WATER

Reduction in the volume of water deserves two measures: the construction of small tanks to collect water on the slopes and the construction of reservoirs to divert surplus water of the flooded rivers. Tanks, ponds and bunds have for ages served the purpose of conservation of rain water and have an important place in irrigation and also in plans of soil conservation. More systematic attention requires to be paid to rehabilitation of the existing tanks, ponds and bunds where desirable and to excavation of new ones.

Every small catchment of even 2 or 3 acres of hilly land should be used as a trap for water so that whatever escapes from it is guided by means of *diversion ditches* into the fields on either side of the natural drainage channel. If these small catchments

are already so eroded that the water rushes down in an uncontrollable flood the use of small check dams at frequent intervals will help to reduce the force of water. At a suitable point in the channel where a slightly larger check dam or bund can be built, the water may be caught and led out through a masonry or spillway and from there onwards round the hillside into a ditch which must be graded so as to give a slight fall and ensure the passage of this water out into the fields.

On the plains bunding at small distances across the sloping fields is preferable to bunding at the bottom of the fields. By creating bunds along contours the rapid flow of water is prevented. Time is allowed for water to soak into the soil. Bunding prevents the loss of fine surface soil and increases the moisture-absorbing capacity of the land and increases the yield of crops.

BENCH TERRACING

What has been written above applies to the slopes on which it is possible for a reasonable amount of labour to make each field into a saucer which can hold comfortably all the rain which is likely to fall upon it. But in the higher hills (as in the Himalayas) and in the other ranges of Central and South India it is not economically feasible to do this. Wherever there are old established settlements on hilly lands, some form of bench terrace (or strip cultivation) has been evolved to check the loss of soil. The best example of complete bench terracing is seen in the hill rice cultivation, where the ruling factor is the retention of water for long periods in each field.

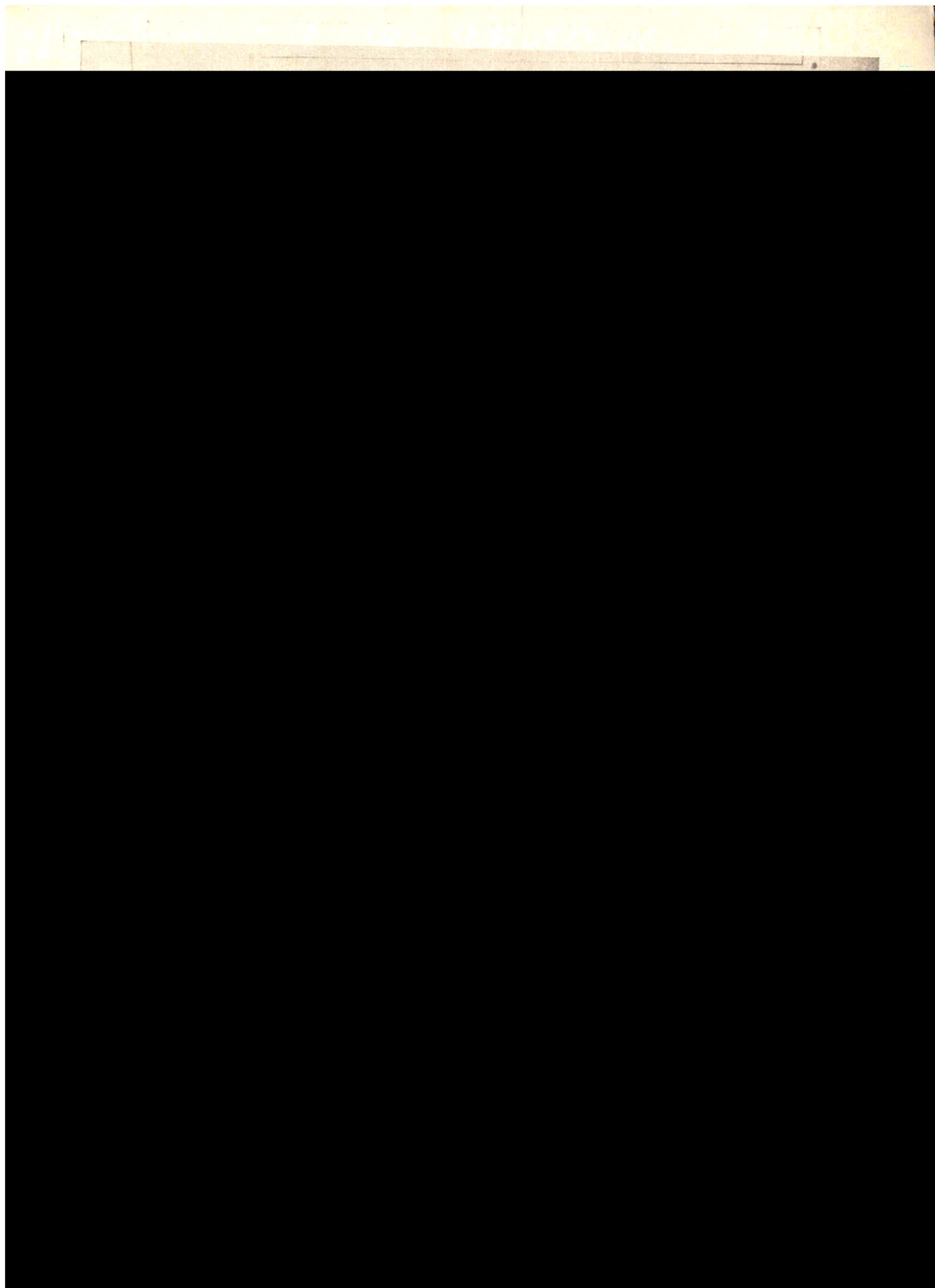
Where a fairly broad field is wanted stone terrace walls are essential but where a narrower field will serve the terrace walls can be built up of turf or grassy banks which, if properly maintained, are much more absorbent than stone walls. With good turf banks maintained without bulges and with the ploughed land properly levelled between them, such land is not likely to develop gullies because there is little run-off.

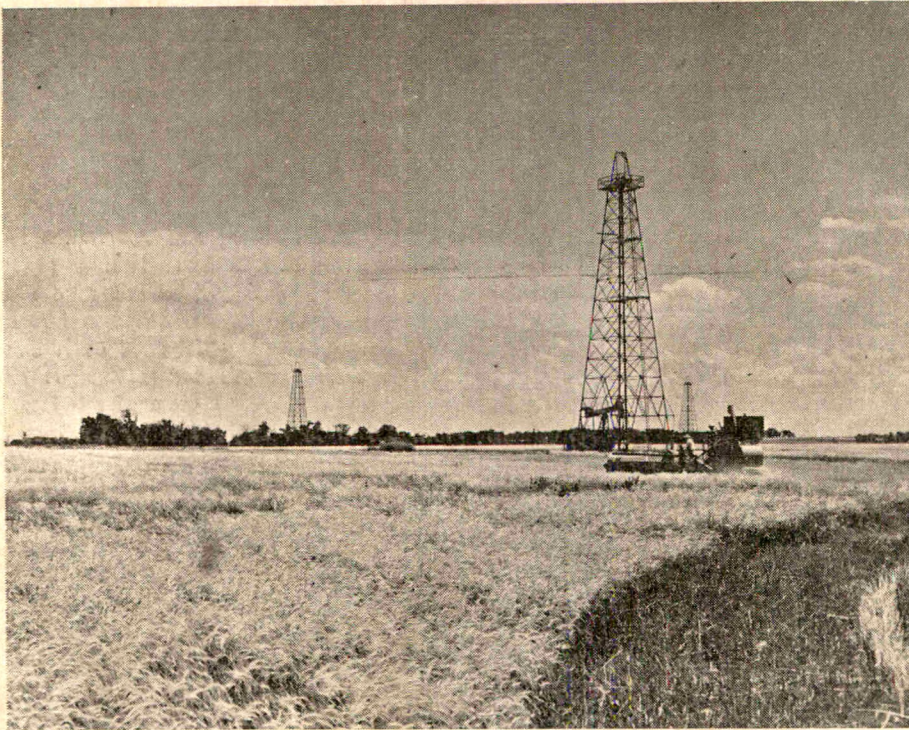
Measures that should be taken to repair and prevent the damage done by erosion may be summarized and classified under five heads :

(a) *Economic* : (1) Removal of whole villages precariously perched on ravine tops or seriously threatened by gullies (all hamlets situated in badly eroded or threatened areas should be moved in an orderly manner to new lands, for the prevention of fresh destruction of cultivated areas and village sites in and around the critical slopes), (2) Plantation of village groves in the interior that will relieve the pressure of grazing in the eroded areas, (3) Provision of wells and tanks that will also remove the need for concentration of human and livestock populations.

(b) *Agricultural* : (1) Prohibition of cultivation

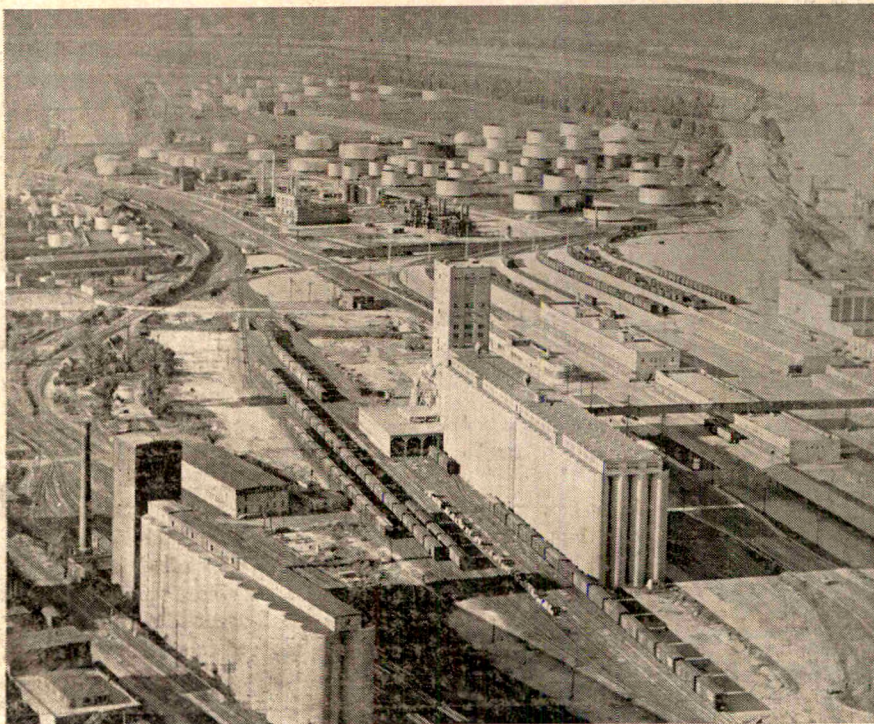
37. N. P. C.'s Report : Op. Cit. pp. 30, 48.





Petroleum derricks pump up their rich treasure from beneath a Kansas
field of waving grain

Courtesy : Kansas State Parks



An aerial view of petroleum refineries and grain elevators in Kansas, a
State in the American Midwest

at and around the gully fingers and on steep and fairly steep slopes, (2) Terracing of the slopes, ploughing and planting along contours, (3) Strip cropping on moderately steep slopes, (4) Cultivation of soil binding crops and fodder plants like small peas, jowar, bajra, gram and other legumes, clover, guar, alfalfa, berseam and various leguminous fodder; and exclusion of erosion-inducing and soil-depleting crops, such as tobacco, cotton, maize, arhar, potatoes, etc., (5) Planting of wind break, (6) Introduction of mixed farming.

(c) *Veterinary*: (1) Closure of badly eroded areas to grazing by cattle, sheep and goats; (2) Improvement and regulated grazing of pastures, Complete prohibition of goat-keeping, (4) Reduction of the livestock population.

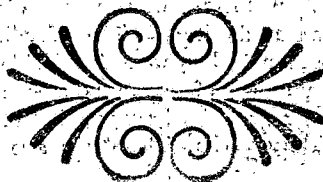
(d) *Agroforestry*: (1) Establishment of forest trees and reforestation of eroded or threatened areas, the trees being selected with reference to their growth, value as fuel and timber and rate of decomposition from leaves, (2) Establishment and improvement of defensive grass plantation in threatened areas the grasses being selected with reference to their quick growth under dry conditions, edibility for cattle and soil-stabilizing qualities.

(e) *Mechanical*: Construction of terraces, bunds, contour trenches and discharge channel ways. Various kinds of heavy earth-moving machinery, such as bulldozers, tractors, tanks, terracers and sub-soilers may be utilized for easy and quick reclamation of large areas of ravine territory and in this connexion mechanical units that have been demobilized may be utilized as is proposed recently by the Punjab Government.

Most of these objects aid and overlap one another and an attack on all fronts has greater chances of success than isolated and piecemeal measures. Ravine Reclamation Panchayats should be organized for dealing with each particular eroded area that requires individual treatment or specific and appropriate control measures in which the peasantry as a whole must be educated and induced to participate. The working plan for erosion control would be to compute carefully for each single village unit in an eroded area its total needs of firewood and pasturage. The proper allocation of land uses according to soil and topographic and vegetative conditions is integral to any erosion control

plan and this requires the co-ordination of the various sciences of the soil and of life.

In the planned strategy against erosion steady team-work is essential. The economist will work out the total needs of the rural community in terms of crop, fuel and fodder and in relation to the aggregate land available for different uses for the longest duration. He will also seek remedies for tenurial conditions under which a large section of the agricultural community is forced into methods of land use which exhaust the soil. The agriculturist will introduce contour bunding, trenching and strip-cropping in place of erosion-inducing farming methods and reduce erosion to a point where losses are equalled by 'soil-building' practice. Where gullies have begun to form, the forester will be there to plant, at the heads of both the critical slope and the areas above and below it, trees that grow rapidly and that have quick evaporation from their leaves, as also soil-binding and drought-resisting grasses. The restoration of severely eroded cultivated lands to the permanent protection of trees or grass, is, in fact, the major step for the prevention of fresh gullying. The forester and the ecologist will have to work side by side. The ecologist will select the nutritive and drought-resistant grasses for stabilization and pasture improvement through rotational grazing, reduced grazing and mixed grazing. The livestock population will no doubt have to be drastically reduced in the ravine territory; but the selected superior beasts that will remain can be nourished by regulated grazing in carefully managed pasture lands which, in erodible slopes, will take the place of cultivation for the protection of soil. The ranger will be aided by the veterinarian who will show the methods of disposal of superfluous and uneconomical cattle and wasteful goats. Finally, the administrator will enlist the co-operation of the peasantry organized in Ravine Reclamation Panchayats for the control of grazing and regulation of agricultural practice. The conservation of soil and the conservation of water which are intimately associated with each other, together touch the entire field of man's exploitation of the earth and thus a rational programme involves the highest amount of co-ordination of uses of trees, grasses, soils and waters in the background of his population, pressure and standard of living.



I

Food is the basic need of man and on assured supplies of adequate food depend the progress and the prosperity of a country. The problem of agricultural development in general and food production in particular has been the subject of enquiry of many commissions and committees set up by the Government of India since 1942. These committees have all left valuable suggestions for the execution of food and agricultural development plans. But the problem is still left unsolved. After ten years of investigation and experiments it is now time that a scrutiny of the results claimed by the Central and Provincial Governments in their food production drive should be fully examined. Adequate and reliable data on the results of the food drive are not available. We, however, propose to examine the results of the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal against the background of an all-India plan.

FOOD PRODUCTION CONFERENCE.

The Government of India, in April 1942, called a Food Production Conference with the object of concerting measures for the increased production of foodgrains in India. The measures recommended by the Conference may be summarised as follows:

(i) An increase in the area under food and fodder crops by—

(a) bringing new land, including fallow land, under cultivation,

(b) double cropping and

(c) diverting land from non-food crops to food crops.

(ii) An increase in the supply of water for irrigation by the improvement and extension of the existing irrigation canals, the construction of additional wells, etc.

(iii) The extended use of manures and fertilizers.

(iv) An increase in the supply of improved seeds.

GREGORY COMMITTEE

The Food Grains Policy Committee was appointed in 1943 first with H. D. Vigor as Chairman. Mr. Vigor fell ill and was succeeded by Sir Theodore Gregory. The Gregory Committee said that during the Great War No. 1 and also in the present war until the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, there was no shortage of food in India. When, therefore, the course of the war against Japan made it clear in the spring of 1942 that India would be temporarily cut off from Burma, her main source of supply, India was confronted with a problem, which was indeed unparalleled in her recent history. The first step taken by the Government of India was to

call a Food Production Conference of representatives of Provinces and Indian States, which met on the 6th April, 1942. The comprehensive recommendations made by it were embodied in a series of resolutions which formed the basis of the Grow More Food Campaign initiated by the Government of India in the summer of 1942.

The following were the principal recommendations of the Gregory Committee:

(1) Government should encourage scale distribution of improved seeds.

(2) Steps should be taken by Government to promote the production of compost from soil and town refuse.

(3) Assistance should be afforded industrialists for the importation of plant and all other ways such as the giving of technical advice for the manufacture of Ammonium phosphate to the extent of at least 350,000 tons a year.

(4) The Government of India should urge upon the Provinces and States to promote with all energy and expedition such irrigation and drainage schemes as promise quick results.

(5) The Committee welcomed the assurance given by the Government of India that action had been initiated in regard to the importation of tractors and other agricultural implements and their parts.

FAMINE COMMISSION

In 1943 the Bengal Famine came and the acuteness of our food deficit was realised at a very great and painful cost. After the famine was over taking a toll of half a million lives, the Woodhead Commission was appointed. The Woodhead Commission laid great stress on the Food Production Conference of 1942. The Commission declared that the Grow More Food Campaign did not produce the anticipated result.

Extension of cultivation had not been adequate. The chief reasons why cultivable waste land could not be brought under the plough were enumerated by the Woodhead Commission as follows: (i) Lack of water, (ii) lack of drainage, (iii) unhealthy conditions, chiefly due to malaria, (iv) deep-rooted grasses and weeds, (v) low fertility of the soil, (vi) salinity and alkalinity, (vii) liability to damage by wild animals.

The Woodhead Commission admitted that these were formidable difficulties and could not be overcome in a short time. Irrigation canals involved heavy capital outlay and could not be built in a day. There was also a limit to the rate at which wells, tube or open, could be constructed. Land covered

with jungle could not be brought under cultivation without labour and capital. Deep-rooted grasses could not be eradicated without the assistance of tractors. The draining of marshy lands was frequently an expensive and technical matter. Unhealthy tracts presented problems of peculiar difficulty.

THE SECOND FOOD-GRAINS POLICY COMMITTEE

In 1947 a Second Food-grains Policy Committee was appointed with Sir P. D. Thakurdas as Chairman. This Commission had been asked to examine the present position in regard to grains in India and the prospective position in the next five years in the light of considerations of production, procurement, imports, distributions and prices. This Committee examined the main planks of Food Production efforts between 1943 and 1947 which were: (a) a switch-over from cash crops to food crops, (b) intensive cultivation of existing cultivated lands through better irrigation, better manures and better farming practices, (c) extensive cultivation by bringing under cultivation current fallows or cultivable waste land including old fallows. Intensive cultivation took the form of raising the yield from the cultivated acreage by (a) provision of irrigation facilities, (b) supply of manure, (c) supply of improved seeds, and (d) supply of better implements and other miscellaneous measures.

This Committee clearly stated that no large-scale or systematic effort was made to survey, to locate and to bring under cultivation new land from old fallow, weed-infested land or cultivable waste land. Only very recently a small beginning had been made in the U.P. and the Central Province to plough up new and kankar-infested lands. The Committee also admitted that no easy and dependable method was available to assess accurately the increase in the foodgrains production resulting from the Grow More Food Campaign. The Thakurdas Committee, therefore, examined the question whether the Grow More Food Campaign of the past five years, i.e., since the recommendations of the First Food Production Conference of 1942 provided the basis for the programmes undertaken by the Central, Provincial and States Governments in the following five years, had resulted in a definite increase in the foodgrains production and if so whether it had afforded relief to the supply position and reduce the imports requirements of India. Nevertheless, after careful examination of the matter the Committee came to the conclusion that by and large the Grow More Food Campaign did not produce the results aimed at. The measures which were undertaken were doubtless in the right direction but the objectives were too diversified. The effort was inadequate and in most areas the necessary vigour and drive was lacking. The

Committee also stated that the restriction of areas under jute and cotton had not led to corresponding increase in the production of food crops. In their opinion, if definite results were to be achieved, a radical revision in the present food production policy and machinery was called for.

The Thakurdas Committee said that Indian food economy was exposed to a number of risks, the principal of which were:

- (a) The total average production of cereals was short in relation to the total cereal requirements of the existing population;
- (b) the annual cereal production was not a constant average quantity but fluctuated widely once in three years;
- (c) there were certain chronic deficit areas commonly called the famine tracts in different parts of the country.

The total imports into India from Pakistan and other countries were calculated to be about 2½ million tons.

There was general unanimity amongst experts, said the Committee, that agricultural development in India had not been commensurated with the potential resources and that there was considerable scope for increasing the foodgrains production.

The Committee admitted the need for large-scale multi-purpose projects for increasing food production and reducing the absolute dependence of Indian Culture on the monsoon. For the chronic deficit areas a special rehabilitation programme was recommended by them embracing increased irrigation facilities and dry farming methods.

But the Committee laid great emphasis on the need for intensive cultivation. They said that the yield per acre of principal food crops in India compared very unfavourably with the yield per acre in other countries. They suggested the following methods for intensive cultivation:

(1) *Irrigation*: Out of the total areas under food crops of 170 million acres only about 33 million acres or about 20 per cent was irrigated. The rest depended on monsoons for water supplies. Apart from major irrigation projects a number of minor irrigation methods could be adopted such as (a) open surface wells, (b) tube wells, (c) lift irrigation and pumping installations, (d) clearing of old tanks, (e) bandharas, and (f) drainage cuts.

(2) *Manures*: (a) Farm yard manure, (b) village and town compost, (c) green manure, (d) oil cakes, ammonium sulphate and bonemeal, were the principal organic and inorganic manures which had been tried. The main deficiency in Indian soil was that of nitrogen but the view was now growing that if inorganic manures like ammonium sulphate were used extensively, then a combination of nitrogen and phosphatic manures was essential. The

Committee's view on the six principal types of manures was as follows:

(a) *Green Manure*: In their view extension of green manuring should be undertaken on the maximum extent possible and necessary supplies of seeds and inverting ploughs arranged for. This manuring is required once in three years and even in the year of manuring a second crop can be grown with advantage.

(b) *Farm Yard Manure*: On the basis of the present number of cattle the total quantity of farm yard manure is estimated at 800 million tons green weight, 160 million tons dry weight, capable of giving 8 lakh tons of nitrogen per year. Of this about 20 per cent is wasted on the farm, 40 per cent used as manure and 40 per cent as fuel. So long as equally cheap and handy alternate supplies of fuel are not available to the rural population, efforts to release this quantity for manure will be unsuccessful.

(c) *Night-soil, Village and Town Compost*: There is considerable scope for expanding their use. A major difficulty is the prejudice against using any compost made of night-soil.

(d) *Oil Cakes*: The total production of oil-cakes in India is estimated at 17½ lakh tons. Of this 2½ lakh tons are castor cake, the balance of 15 lakh tons are available for the purpose of cattlefeed and manure. Exact figures are not available showing the actual quantities used for manurial purposes. The overall cattlefeed supply position has a direct bearing on the quantities of oil-cakes available for manurial purposes.

(e) *Bonemeal*: On the basis of the present cattle strength the total quantity of bones available for crushing is estimated at 1 million tons a year. In the past about 2 lakh tons of bones were crushed primarily for export purposes. The experts are of the view that a combination of bonemeal and ammonium sulphate will prove very beneficial and an increased use of bonemeal will be economic if together with larger crushing capacity ancillary industries for the manufacture of glue and gelatine are developed.

(f) *Ammonium Sulphate*: One ton of ammonium sulphate and one ton of oil-cakes used together are capable of manuring 20 acres of irrigated paddy land and will give 76 additional maunds of paddy. The total irrigated acreage under paddy alone is estimated at 20 million acres and will require one million tons of ammonium sulphate and one million tons of oil-cakes.

(3) *Improved Seeds*: Experiments on the use of improved varieties of seeds had shown that improved seeds raise the yield per acre by about 10 per cent. Not much progress had been made in the direction of bringing larger areas under principal food crops under improved varieties of seeds. In the course of evidence submitted to the committee they were told

that under the Grow More Food Campaign the seeds distributed under the subsidised Seed Distribution Programme were often ordinary seeds purchased by the Governments from the open market at a premium and resold to the producer on a subsidised basis.

EXTENSIVE CULTIVATION

The agricultural statistics of India report about 88 million acres as culturable waste land. No systematic effort had been made in the past to survey these areas with a view to determine the exact extent of the land which could be brought under cultivation with certain initial capital expenditure. Experts agreed that a rapid survey of these lands may show that there will be little or no difficulty after the initial capital expenditure and equipment is envisaged in securing between 5 to 10 million acres of land suitable for wheat and rice production.

The Committee said that their investigation supported the conclusion arrived at by many expert committees in the past that there was considerable scope for increasing foodgrains production in India by intensive and extensive methods of cultivation. Taking into account all the factors the Committee came to the conclusion that the country should set itself the goal of increasing foodgrain production by 10 million tons annually within the shortest possible time.

The Committee claimed that they were convinced that if an all-sided effort was made to mobilize the potentialities of development it could not be difficult to reach the target within a reasonable short period.

The Committee felt that the provincial Governments should make special efforts in the following directions:

(a) Supply of concentrated organic manures such as oil-cakes, to irrigated areas under food crops. The Committee recommended that export of oil seeds except in the form of oil should be banned so as to conserve the supply of oil-cakes for manurial purposes;

(b) Multiplication and distribution of improved seeds on a large scale;

(c) In areas where sub-surface water supplies are known to exist, a maximum number of tube-wells should be sunk;

(d) Fertilisers made available to Provincial Governments should be used for increasing foodgrains production particularly in irrigated rice areas.

The main planks of the Foodgrain Production Plan which the Committee recommended were:

(a) Multi-purpose projects.

(b) Intensive cultivation of lands already under cultivation, and

(c) Rapid reclamation of suitable blocks of cultivable waste lands of all types.

(To be continued)

LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"BEFORE man parted for this earthly strand, while yet upon the heavenly verge he stood," wrote the poet Matthew Arnold, "God put a heap of letters in his hand, and bade him write with them what word he could . . ." The poet then went on to describe how often the letters had been turned over. At one time they formed the word Greece, at another the word Rome, and so on. All the way down the ages man has been spelling something. Indeed often, in the widely sundered civilizations of the past, quite different words were forming. But what word is our own age spelling? Does anyone know?

This question posed itself the other day as I was passing the newspaper sellers near my office. Day after day, for months past, the posters have proclaimed that we live in an age of violence. The figures for breaking and entry, as robbery is called, are double what they were before the War. Always, somewhere, there has been a robbery—and robbery on the grand scale. For present-day thieves for the most part are not the old familiar underdogs who resorted to crime in order to live. Those belonged to the era of unemployment. The modern kind are men of brains and energy who draw up carefully timed operations and get away with booty often running into thousands of pounds. Why do these men, with talents that society could use, prefer instead to make war on society? The obvious answer is that they can make so much more by robbery. And yet, at what a price. No peace of mind. No self-respect. No 'honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,' to quote Macbeth's famous catalogue. It is hard to believe that men will wittingly throw away all these intangibles for the sake of the biggest safe that was ever cracked!

If we asked these men what word the age was spelling, I suppose the answer would be—cynicism. One of the definitions of cynicism is contempt for human nature. Contempt for human nature may be a very arguable proposition but it does not alter anything. (Except for the worse. There was a broad streak of it in Puritanism). The men who have altered history for the better are those whose pity was immense. Some such men there are still and one of them is the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett. I wonder what people in India think of his recent denunciation of the petrol bomb. This bomb, says the Archbishop, "when used over a wide area . . . burns up almost instantaneously all life and buildings within it. There is little possibility of escape for man or animal." And he asserts that "Christianity should demand the outlawing by international agreement of the use of weapons so horrible and destructive to all who come within their

range . . ." Had he ended thus, it might have been just another statement of principle. But in his closing words he swept the enemy—and one's duty to the enemy—right into view. The Christian Church, he said, should call upon all nations to pledge themselves to refrain from the use of weapons which indiscriminately destroy 'those for whom Christ died' as if they were worthless flies.

It certainly is a memorable protest and I for one hope it will prevail. I am not impressed by the argument that Russia would use the bomb in any event—and that for us to abandon it would merely be to expose ourselves to attack. One cannot take expediency for a guide. It is a sign-post that leads nowhere.

Yielding to expediency, in fact, was the beginning of the present be-devilled state of world affairs. When during the War we threw in our lot with Russia, in spite of her aggressions against Finland, Poland and the Baltic States; when later at Yalta we left all Eastern Europe in her power, it was done in the name of expediency. But we did not achieve anything by it. Russia was amazed at our abdication. She never expected to gain so much and so easily. But for us it was the old story of 'he who sells his soul to the devil never gets the price.' Russia remained indifferent as ever to the general plight of the world and there followed her long series of vetoes in the United Nations Assembly.

The United Nations is the biggest disappointment of the post-war world. What a mistake it was to domicile it in America! Reason and sentiment set the League of Nations at Geneva. It was perpetually neutral and it had atmosphere. All down the ages Geneva had been a haven for poets and reformers and other voluntary and involuntary exiles. Also, the setting was lovely. Harassed envoys could 'lift up their eyes unto the hills' whenever they felt in need of help. The League Council used to meet four times a year, the Assembly in the autumn; all the year round Geneva stayed in the midst of things. But how many of us could tell how often the United Nations hold their meetings, or even if at any given moment a meeting is being held?

It is depressing to read in the *Daily Mail* a description of the United Nations' new headquarters. The building cost \$65,000,000 and it feels like 'a super-colossal hotel containing everything but guests.' (Irrelevant but not irreverent query: What would it have been like if the Pope had invited the United Nations to use part of the Vatican as its headquarters?). There are hundreds of offices and scores of lounges, but at present all is quiet. It mostly is, so

the guide, unless there is a crisis. Strange comment! Wars are raging in Malaya, Korea and Indo-China. Egypt and the Middle East and Japan are in an unhappy temper. And yet apparently nothing is going on at the United Nations. In the old days at Geneva, in times of crisis, some committee or commission was always investigating and reporting and right on the spot.

It is tempting to digress on the subject of this enormous empty shell of a headquarters. Vast buildings have gone to our head. We pile up Government offices and we pile up blocks of flats. And parallel with this, bureaucrats grow callous in their entrenched positions and families disintegrate in the noisy agglomeration of their rabbit warrens. Public expenditure, when it comes to building, does not seem to march with private well-being.

But to return to the United Nations. It is very unfortunate that, as a consequence of Russian intransigence, the ideal of co-operation between the nations is dropping out of sight. The world is splitting along the lines of Russia and her satellites and America and the rest. Why do we allow this to happen? The other day, as part of the city column of the newspaper, a column which few people read, appeared the news that the International Wheat Council is meeting in London. No information was added as to where this Council is to be found and who exactly are its spokesmen. Yet we were told that it represents both producing and consuming countries. In other words, and about a matter so vital as our daily bread, surely the whole world! "Economics, currency and politics," said the City Editor, "all come into the matter." Of course they must . . . Here if anywhere, one would have thought, was a chance to remind society of the interdependence of the various parts of the world. But that was the first and last we heard of the International Wheat Council.

Foreign affairs indeed have become very dull. Co-operation is no longer the word that politicians are trying to spell. The magic word is Containment. To contain Russia has become the object. Are we succeeding in that object? Judging by a broadcast which the Prime Minister made, the other night, we probably are. He did not use that word but he feels that fear of another world war is so great, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that such a war will, in fact, be averted. Please God, he is right. Yet at best this is a very negative hope since presumably the Iron Curtain will remain as before. Was there ever before in history this utter lack of any means of bringing two sides together? Russia seals herself off and surrounds her territory with a wire which no one can cross: It is said that Joshua with his trumpets blew down the walls of Jericho. But were he alive today to pulverise that wire with his breath, he would still be confronted with the Russian mind which tolerates such a devil

wire . . . We have got to get behind that wire somehow or at least to persuade the Russians that it need not contain the Poles and the Czechs and their other enforced associates. Recently I read somewhere—though I cannot for the moment recall where—a heart-rending description of Polish Communists, enthusiastically greeting their Russian 'comrades' with the clenched fist salute, only to be met with a blank indifferent Russian stare. . . .

Mr. Mors, an official of the International Labour Office which still functions at Geneva, is evidently of Mr. Churchill's opinion that war may be averted. He has been warning Governments that they should get busy now on employment plans if mass unemployment is not to follow when rearmament comes to an end. It would be a good thing if our own Labour Opposition, which up till now has devoted the principal part of its energies to the mere obstruction of Government measures, were to turn its attention instead to this imminent and appropriate business. The Labour Party in this Parliament have been a great disappointment. It is bad luck for them—and for the country—that Sir Stafford Cripps is no longer there to bring them down to realities. They know as well and better than the Government—whom they left to unscramble the eggs—just how desperate is our financial plight. Were they now in office they too would have to take equally drastic steps. Yet they have turned every such step into an opportunity for making party capital. They won the municipal elections on the strength of their outcries against the cuts in the food subsidies. They pledged themselves this week to remove the charges which the Government is imposing for certain of the health service items. And yet if they can read the arithmetic of our balance of payments—and they certainly can—they know that they are in plain terms egging the country on into bankruptcy. In his recent broadcast Mr. Churchill recalled that when this Government first took office they were anxious to conciliate the Opposition. They hoped that, just as the Tories had supported the late Government in times of international crisis, so the Labour Party might support the present Government in the no less serious crisis in our domestic affairs. This, one might remark, is a novel departure in our politics. In such circumstances one might have expected the Tories to seek a Coalition. Did they fly that kite?

Labour, however, judging by its conduct in Parliament would have declined to join in a Coalition. There is a general feeling in the country that the party leadership is passing from Mr. Attlee to Mr. Bevan. Mr. Churchill in his broadcast, in common with other members of the Tory front bench, was at pains to emphasise this. Mr. Bevan certainly is setting the pace. He seems obsessed with the idea that the Health Service must be 'free.' The proposition that anything can be free, except the sun and the moon

and the stars, is of course an illusion. Everything has got to be paid for at some stage. But it is an illusion that is spreading. One day a Labour member asserts that all the Public Schools should abolish their fees. Another day two hundred men are dismissed as redundant from a clock factory and the rest go on strike and demand that the factory shall go on paying wages to the two hundred until suitable employment is found for them. (This in a country which provides state insurance pay in times of unemployment). The dangers inherent in this illusion are manifest to all but those who refuse to look beyond their own noses. The seller's market is passing and we are getting back into a world of keen foreign competition. How can the

price of our goods compete with the price of goods abroad, if included in our price are all these extra charges? There is also the invisible but far greater danger. It is a dreadful defeatism to grudge another man a different kind of education or to expect the State to take all the hazards out of existence. To let the State take over so much of the ordering of one's life is to have no life at all. As the Dean of Windsor told some boy scouts the other day: "It is like providing a lift that will take you up to the top of Mount Everest. It spares you all the danger. But do you think it's worth getting there at all if it's as easy as all that?"

Westminster, London, 5th May, 1952

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HEALTH EDUCATION AND SANITATION

By M. J. FERREIRA, M.D., M.P.H. and O. J. SILVA, M.D., M.P.H.

"Sanitation is a way of life. It is the quality of living that is expressed in the clean home, the clean farm, the clean business and industry, the clean neighbourhood, the clean community. Being a way of life it must come from within the people; it is nourished by knowledge and grows as an obligation and an ideal in human relations."—*The National Sanitation Foundation*.

Nothing could be more realistic than this guide to good living, nothing more true than our need to know, really know, what can bring it about. But this knowledge is more than mere information. It comes only when we have understood the full meaning of some information, accepted it and then become one with it. Only when we are fully convinced of the truth and utility of something we hear or see and when this becomes part of our own way of life can we hope for success. And success in this case means the voluntary everyday use of that which we were meant to learn.

At one time and in line with our professional duties, we came upon an experience which deeply impressed us as a fine illustration of just this intangible thing that must come "from within the people." It may show how valuable health education can be for the public and how permanent its results will be if the proper methods are used to arouse personal interest and thus induce personal knowledge.

It happened in 1949. That year we decided to select "Hookworm and Sanitation" as the subject for our next educational film. We wanted realism in this film and accordingly went to a real life situation to get that ragged appearance, poverty and overcrowding found in all parts of the world where poor people live. Our search among country folk in their own habitat was soon rewarded with the selection of a typical underprivileged family who had everything we were looking for in our fight to root out such squalor.

Their hut was in disrepair and steeped in filth; their habits of sewage and garbage disposal were most primitive. The people were sad and discouraged, the children dirty and sickly. In its misery, ignorance and neglect this family was a true picture of thousands like it. It was exactly what we needed to show how in so many ways the people's living habits pre-dispose them to illness, suffering and early death.

Then we began our work. In a development of the plot we took shots of pre-arranged situations within this background, using as "stars" all members of this family and showing them how to act "naturally" and without makeup. Needless to say, during this work we had to explain hundreds of details in order to get the right action. Though our goal was and continued to be the production of educational material that would be used for thousands of families, we started in spite of ourselves to pay attention to a new factor that presented itself. The family began to change its attitude of complete apathy, and to become more and more interested in our work, to the point where everything we were doing was carefully observed and questioned with countless "whys." By the time two weeks had passed and our work completed, every member of that family had become part of the act and joined in the fun.

But during this period we also had changed their environment. We had cleaned the house, built a privy, boiled and safe-guarded their water supply;

we had promoted facilities for bathing and laundering and provided a net to protect the newborn against flies and mosquitoes. Finally, we had also taken them all to the health post, there to be tested, examined and treated.

A few weeks later, when our filmstrip was ready for distribution, we had the idea of giving a special show for our stars. Our surprise was really great when we found upon our return to their hut that the changes we had created just for the film had actually been incorporated by the family into their own habits and customs. They were no longer "actors" playing a different and unnatural role but red-blooded human beings living a new way of life as their own way of life. It was a much better way from the old way they had started to shed, a way of dignity, decency, happiness and health.

After we finished our show we were repaid by the words of the "old man" who was earnestly trying to explain what went on inside of him: "We were blind all these years when we did not see but from now on life will be different."

It was all very moving but we had also been enriched by an experience that had taught us something of value. Even the small village as a whole had been shaken up by the event, after it had been shown our information and not just passively exposed to it once or twice. As if a magic wand had touched everything in that village, knowledge in its most permanent form had begun to seep into the minds of all the inhabitants. No film, book or pamphlet or even course could have achieved so much in so little

time as did our actual indoctrination-and-participation-in-living.

Our own conscious experience was doubtless similar to many other identical but unknown or forgotten times when teaching was possible through demonstration and exemplification. It is to those nameless incidents and hard-won private victories that humanity owes its constant progress, today as in the past or in the future.

Slowly but surely, through proper education humanity goes toward a higher standard of individual and community living, fulfilling what can be rightfully considered as an ideal in human relations.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr. Manoel Jose Ferreira: Graduate in Medicine, 1919; Graduate in Public Medicine, 1920; Director Public Health of the State of Rio de Janeiro, 1932; Professor Hygiene at the Faculty of Medicine, State of Rio, 1925; Director of the Faculty, 1931; Technical Advisor of SESP (Co-operative Service between US and Brazilian Governments), 1951.

Dr. Orlando Jose da Silva: Graduate in Medicine, 1937; Graduate in Public Health, Harvard University, 1944; Yellow Fever Service (Rockefeller Foundation); Malaria Control (Gambian Eradication in Brazil); Special Service of Public Health (Co-operative Service between US and Brazil); Director Health Education Division, Servico Especial de Saude Publica, Rio de Janeiro.

World Health Organization, Regional
Office for South-East Asia, New Delhi,
World Health Day, 7th April, 1952

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SOME REMARKABLE TERRACOTTAS FROM TAMRALIPTA

By PROF. PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

TAMRALIPTA, the ancient city-port of Bengal is too well-known to Indologists. It was once a great commercial emporium as well as a cultural centre in East Asia connecting the sea-routes between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. On various grounds scholars locate this city in the region of Tamruk in the Midnapore district of Bengal. The international character of Tamralipta has been attested by the glowing descriptions of this city, which are to be found in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* and in the writings of Ptolemy,¹ Pliny, Fa Hian, Hiuen Tsang, Itsing and others. The information which can be gathered from different ancient Indian and non-Indian texts shows that the city probably flourished even at the time of Buddha (6th century B.C.—5th century B.C.).

Tamralipta acquired great reputation during the days of the Imperial Mauryas (c. 321 B.C.—187 B.C.) and the Guptas (c. 320 A.D.—c. 510 A.D.). Possibly, it declined as a port since the days of the Palas due to the growing shallowness of the river Rupnarayan and some other topographical as well as political factors.²

Very recently, I have discovered a large number of antiquities (chiefly consisting of terracotta figurines and pottery fragments) from the region of Tamruk, and they have been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The terracottas collected by me are extremely interesting and many of them stylistically belong to the Maurya-

2. B. C. Sen : *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Chapter II.

T. H. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

1. McCrindle : *Ptolemy*, 1927, pp. 167-68, 170.

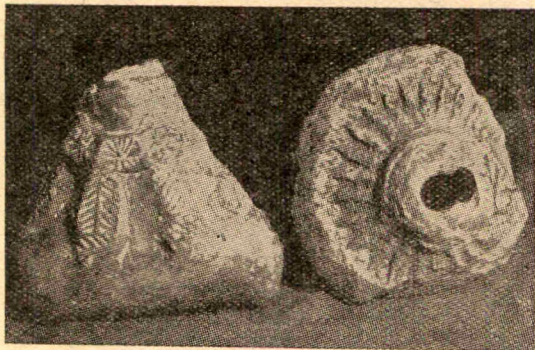
Sunga period.³ The terracotta figurines are wonderful in execution, and their delicate pattern forms a class by itself. Even the terracottas of the Peshawar

preserves the same mysterious smile, which may also be noticed on the faces of many Maurya and Sunga *Yakshi* figures. The figurine shows all the characteris-



during the early 15th century. The fact, however, that it comes from Khan Mahi, only some two or three miles North-east from Sar Dheri, and in the centre of the chief terracotta producing area of Western Gandhara, and that its clothing and ornaments are essentially Indian, preclude its being an importation from Europe. The fact also that winged figures are not uncommon in Gandharan art serves to place it in the period suggested."

However, in this connection, it cannot be ignored that the few ancient Indian winged figures which have been discovered are not all of foreign (i.e., Western) origin or influence. In December 1949,



Pl. IV. Fragment of a decorated figurine and a miniature 'chakra'

the present writer collected a winged female figure in flying attitude from Kausambi, the ancient capital of the Vatsas. On stylistic ground it may be assigned to the 1st century B.C. It has been already pointed out that the winged figure from Tamralipta may be assigned without hesitation to the 2nd century B.C.—1st century B.C. Now it is difficult to trace Yavana or Greek influence on such winged figures of the Maurya-Sunga epoch. About the Western influence of the *Angel of Khan Mahi*, D. H. Gordon himself remarks: "It is not wise to presume such influence before C. 50 B.C." The Tamralipta figurine probably suggests that the current notion about the Western influence on the ancient Indian winged figures is not sound. We are almost certain that this winged figure from Tamluk is independent of any European influence. It may certainly be presumed that the motif is totally Indian as also the style. By closely studying this terracotta figure, it also seems that the *Angel of Khan Mahi* and the fairy of Kausambi might have been influenced, to some extent, by the art of Tamralipta of Maurya-Sunga epoch. (It is not improbable that the terracotta art of Gangaridae (Bengal) spread to Kausambi and Gandhara during the rule of the Imperial Mauryas, and of the Sungas whose capital Pataliputra was in East India.)

No. 2 (Pl. II first from the left) is a miniature earthen vase with grey complexion. It has been un-

earthed by a peasant from under a good depth while digging. It is probably of high antiquity.

No. 3 (Pl. II second from the left) is the small fragment of an ancient pottery. Its design is highly interesting.

No. 4 (Pl. II first from the right) is a small ram with dots on the back. Its face is a bit mutilated. The figurine was unearthed from a great depth while digging a tank a number of years ago. It is difficult to fix its approximate date. That it is ancient,⁶ there is no doubt about it.

No. 5 (Pl. III) is the head of a decorated toy ram. It is represented as wearing precious necklace and other fine ornaments. Its lower portion is cylindrical, the exact significance of which is not understood. It has been very recently unearthed from a depth of about 12 feet while digging a tank in the Parbatipur locality of Tamluk. The pattern of the necklace and the general style of the head indicate its high antiquity. On stylistic grounds it may be roughly dated in the Gupta age. This figure is very important, because so far as I know such a figure is not found in any other part of India. Other three similar figures have been found at Tamluk, two from Abasbari locality and one from the same tank of Parbatipur which has yielded the above terracotta.⁷



Pl. III. Ornamental head of a ram

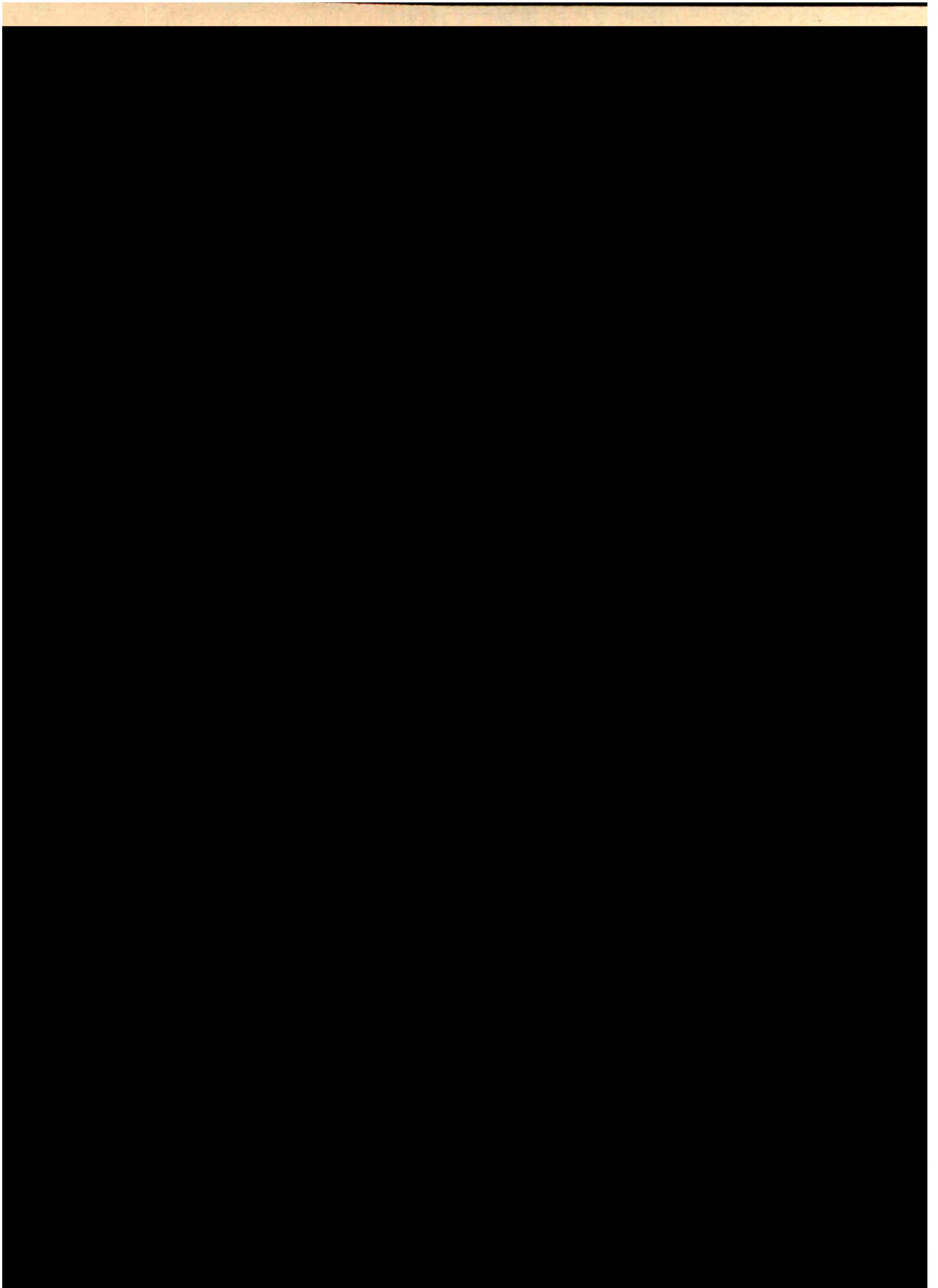
No. 6. (Pl. IV first from the left) is probably the fragment of a figurine, with same cylindrical base as No. 5. It resembles the neck of the lamb as described above, and a study of the figure will show that the animal represented here had a long neck. The style of decoration points to an earlier date than that of No. 5.

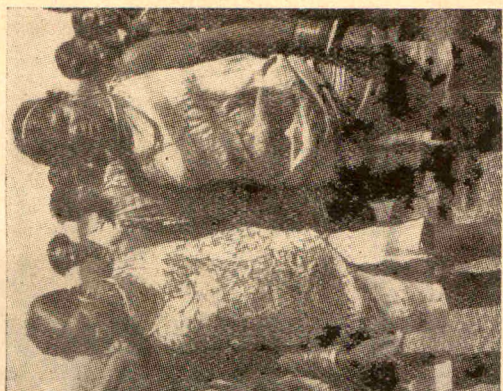
6. The animal figurines found in and around Tamluk may be compared with the similar animal figures yielded by the different sites of Western Gandhara viz., Sar Dheri, Kula Dheri, Sari Bahlol and others.

7. One of these is a very mutilated piece. It has been presented by me to the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University. For a description of this piece, see, my article "Some Newly Discovered Terracottas from Tamralipta" in *Calcutta Review*, February, 1952. The other rams belong to the author's collection.

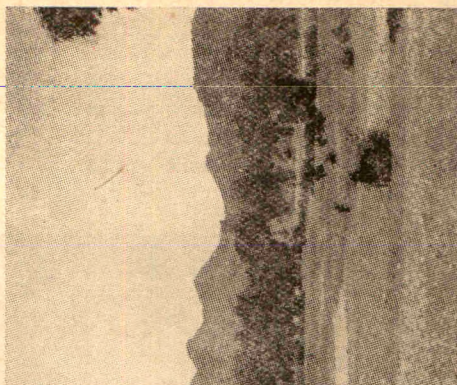
No. 7. (Pl. IV. first from the right) is a toy B.C. The graceful pose of the figure and the general wheel greatly resembling the well-known *Asoka* style make it comparable with the famous Oxford *Chakra*. It might be even the wheel of a toy clay cart. I have collected a good number of such fragmentary terracotta *chakras* from Tamluk. Most of them have been presented to the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University.^s







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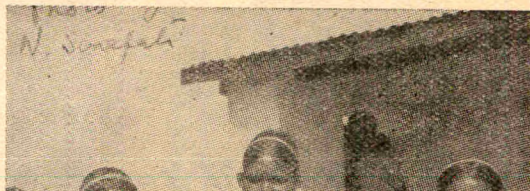


out on the way to Kalyansingpur

like the bear, snake, or tiger and are thus indicative of a totemistic origin.

In Gadaba society descent is in the male line. The units referred to above are exogamous but marriage within the *bonso* does happen at times. Marriage takes place after the attainment of puberty. The institution of boys' and girls' dormitories obtains among the Gadabas and the unmarried boys and girls


The Gadabas call themselves *Kadami*. They call their language *Gudab*, from which the name Gadaba is apparently derived. Theirs is an Austro-Asiatic language which is agglutinative and generally monosyllabic. Each word is doubled, like *bong-bong du du*, which means "I am keeping." Some Gadaba words are: *Bulu*, mango; *sas*, tamarind; *keranga*, paddy; *biti*, salt; *bandi*, cow; *gissingi*, fowl; *budubui*,



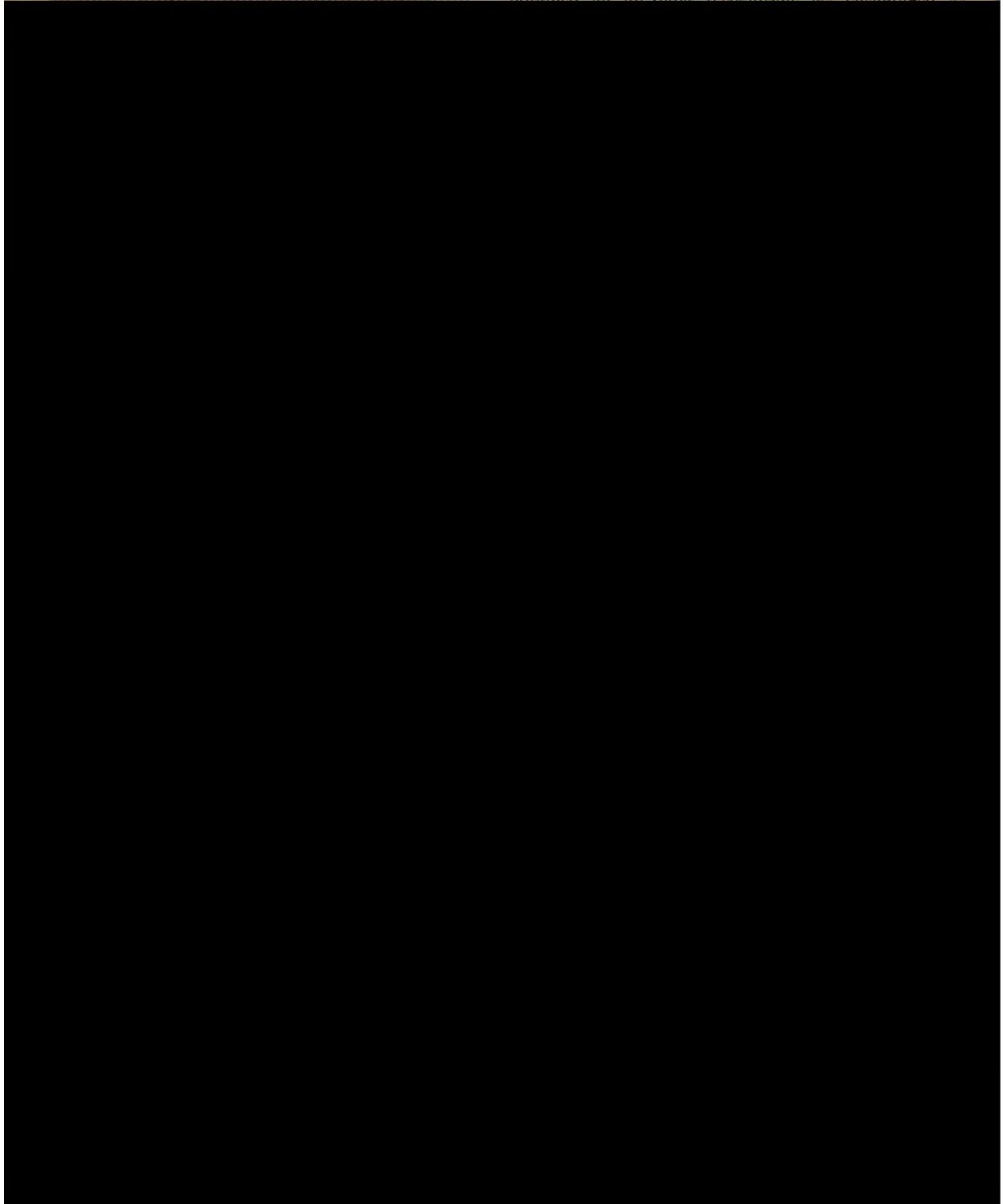
A YOUNG PAINTER OF PROMISE
Debnath Mukherjee

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE facilities for small exhibitions in our one-man shows of their works at 1 Chowringhee Terrace for shows and in groups in Calcutta and in Bombay are three successive years, marking progressive steps in the



Indian artists, if only to save themselves from the alluring slavery of the European "isms." Debnath in his last show (March 1952) has revealed some astonishing and distinctive powers, both in vision and technique, which deserve to be known beyond his narrow circle of admirers in Bengal. He has already obtained an all-India recognition as encouraged by



to France in 1801. In 1803 Louisiana was purchased from France by the United States and soon American explorers were setting out on expeditions to determine the size and content of the new acquisition.

In the years 1804 to 1806 the expedition to Oregon on the Pacific Coast headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark furnished much information about the western country. The expedition of

back and forth over the plains for many years, and the Kansas country was traversed by thousands of traders, gold seekers, and emigrants for a good many years before 1854.

The 1850's were marked by a mighty movement of people from the eastern seaboard to the newer States extending down the center of the United States from the Canadian border on the north to the Mexican border on the south. European immigrants also made their way westward, many settling



STUDIES ON AGE AT MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

By A. C. NAG, M.Sc.,

Department of Statistics, Calcutta University

IN India, the over-all rate of growth of population has been rather high in recent decades. This high rate is made responsible for prevailing poverty. People are anxious to know whether the rate will remain at this high level in future also. But it is difficult to estimate the over-all birth-rate without obtaining a knowledge of birth-rate in different sections of the population because birth-rate is different in different communities, nay in different sections of the same community. Further, if it is desired to locate the factors responsible for this rapid growth, the over-all rate which is the resultant of many factors will not help us much. It is necessary to isolate the factors and study their influences on birth-rate. This may be done by comparing the birth-rates of different homogeneous sections of the population, each section having some special feature. I have made a few sample studies for this purpose. The present study is one of that series.

This study is based on families residing in villages. The villages have been picked out from different districts of West Bengal. The families selected are mostly (over 90 p.c.) Bengali Hindus and belong to the middle class of the society. Particulars collected include among other things (a) the ages of the head of the family, his wife and his children and (b) the duration of his married life. In case of living members the present age has been recorded and in other cases the age at death and calendar year of death have been recorded. The age that would have been attained at present by those members who are now dead has been computed by adding the number of years elapsed since death to the age at death. In cases where a man has married more than once each marriage has been considered independently for the purpose of this study and children by different wives have been treated separately.

In rural population the age at marriage among girls is very low as compared to that in urban population. A comparison of fertility obtaining in these two kinds of population is expected to reveal the influence of early marriage on birth-rate provided the families selected are more or less alike in all other respects.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age at marriage is an important factor in population studies because the risk of conception may be

reasonably assumed to start from the date of marriage provided the girl has then attained puberty. Table I shows that about 70 p.c. of the marriages in villages used to take place before the girl attained her fifteenth birthday. In recent years, i.e., in the last decade, this percentage has come down to 50. The reason for this shifting of the age at marriage on the high side will be discussed later in connection with "Age-difference of the Couple." In all studies hereafter on fertility, the effective age at marriage has been taken as 14 last birthday whenever a marriage took place at an younger age.

Table I
Distribution of Mother's age at Marriage
———Marriages*———

Age last birthday at marriage	No. of Recent cases	P.C.	No. of Old cases	P.C.
12 and below	360	14.0	721	34.8
13-14	950	37.1	718	34.6
15-16	743	29.0	427	20.6
17-18	326	12.7	148	7.1
19-20	104	4.1	36	1.7
21 and over	80	3.1	25	1.2
	2563	100.0	2075	100.0

INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND FIRST DELIVERY

In my earlier investigations information about the age at marriage was not collected. Direct comparison of this age (i.e., at marriage) is not therefore possible between rural and urban population. A study of the interval between effective marriage and first delivery has however made an indirect comparison feasible. As voluntary postponement of motherhood by artificial methods is totally absent in villages for want of knowledge and availability, the rural population is best suited for a study on the distribution of the above interval. Table 2 shows that this distribution remains practically the same whether the marriage takes place at a very young age or at a more advanced age. A comparison of the age at first delivery may therefore be expected to disclose the special features, if any, of the age at marriage.

* In about 7 p.c. cases duration since marriage was not recorded.

Table 2.

Interval between effective marriage and first birth							
Age last birthday at marriage	Interval in years :						
	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total
Below 16—							
Number of cases	170	570	823	422	219	291	2495
Percentage	6.81	22.85	32.99	16.91	8.78	11.66	100.00
16 and over—							
Number of cases	58	195	284	119	72	100	828
Percentage	7.00	23.55	34.30	14.37	8.70	12.08	100.00

AGE AT FIRST DELIVERY

The result of this investigation in regard to distribution of mother's age at first delivery is then compared with that of another investigation made by me on middle-class urban Hindu population. Only marriages of recent years have been compared. The table below shows that 61 p.c. of first deliveries took place before the mother attained her 18th birthday in villages as against 33.7 p.c. in towns. So girls get married later in towns than in villages.

In one of my previous studies it has been shown that the average age at first delivery depends also on social and financial status. In the intellectual section girls get married rather late. This is due to the spread of higher education in that section.

Table 3.

Distribution of mother's age at first delivery
—Population—

Age last birthday at first delivery	Rural:		Urban:	
	Recorded deliveries	P.C.	Recorded deliveries	P.C.
17 & below	903	61.0	379	33.7
18—22	522	35.3	623	55.3
23 & over	54	3.7	124	11.0
	1479	100.0	1126	100.0

AGE-DIFFERENCE OF THE COUPLE

Due to economic conditions the boys now marry late. This is the main reason why the average age at marriage has gone up among girls. In my study on Insured population I have shown that age-difference of the couple varies widely from province to province but within a province there is a favourite age-difference. The age-difference was less than 4 years in half the marriages in Bombay and between 5 and 9 years in 55 p.c. marriages in Bengal. In this rural population also, 60 p.c. marriages have the age-difference, 5 to 9 years. Table 4 shows that the age-difference of 5-9 years is equally favourite with the intellectual group (*i.e.* Insured population) as with the general mass (*i.e.* rural population) but the next favourite is 0-4 years in the intellectual class and 9-14 years in the rural class.

In one of my earlier studies it was disclosed that the age-difference had narrowed down in the intellec-

tual class as from the last to this generation. Similar trend is not so prominent in the rural population; the distribution is similar in recent (where the duration is less than 10 years) and old marriages in villages. As higher education among girls has not become so popular in villages as in towns and as villagers are slow in adopting any social change, it is quite natural that age-difference has not appreciably narrowed down in villages.

Now that the age-difference has remained stationary in some cases and has narrowed down in others, it is easy to see that late marriage among boys is responsible for late marriage among girls.

Table 4.

Distribution of marriages by age-difference of the couple

Age difference : (in years)	Recent		Old*		Insured :	
	No. of marriages	p.c.	No. of marriages	p.c.	No. of marriages	p.c.
0—4	443	17.3	425	17.7	769	25.8
5—9	1559	60.8	1374	57.4	1679	56.4
10—14	491	19.2	514	21.5	447	15.0
15 & over	70	2.7	81	3.4	83	2.8
	2563	100.0	2394	100.0	2978	100.0

INTERVAL BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE BIRTHS

We have seen that in villages a very large percentage of girls get married before attainment of puberty or shortly thereafter. Procreation thus starts earlier in girls' life in villages than in towns, and the fertility curve is likely to be different in shape in Rural and Urban population. In order to have an idea of the difference in shape it is necessary to know the effect of the early and the late marriage on the spacing of successive motherhood. It appears from Table 5 below that the spacing between first and second births is not materially affected by the age at marriage. So, a rise in the age at marriage is likely to shift the peak of the fertility curve to a higher age of the mother. This is in fact noticed when a fertility table of an urban population is compared with that of a rural population.

Table 5.

Interval between First and Second Births

Age last birthday at marriage	Interval in years :						
	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total
Below 16—							
Number of cases	79	785	418	214	109	123	1808
Percentage	4.4	43.4	27.6	11.8	6.0	6.8	100.0
16 and over—							
Number of cases	33	237	132	62	32	36	532
Percentage	6.2	44.5	24.8	11.7	6.0	6.8	100.0

* Those marriages where duration since marriage was not recorded have been treated as "old marriages."

FERTILITY ACCORDING TO MOTHER'S AGE

Fertility prevailing in a community is affected by mortality, i.e., by maternal death and widowhood. If the fertility in two communities is to be compared it is necessary to calculate the gross fertility rates by eliminating the effect of mortality before making the comparison, as otherwise the difference in mortality may mask, partly or wholly, the difference in fertility. The adjustment for mortality has been made by exposing a woman to the risk of conception for half a year only in the year of death or widowhood on the assumption that deaths are uniformly distributed over each year of age. The following table has been prepared after adjusting the "Exposed to Risk" figures in the manner mentioned above. Table 6 shows that fertility at first increases with the age of the mother and then diminishes, the maximum fertility occurring in the neighbourhood of age 21. In preparing this table it has been assumed that the earliest age for first delivery is 15 and that the age for menopause is 45. Figures for column (5) have been obtained by multiplying the rates of column (4) with the corresponding group-intervals. The total fertility works out at 5.079. This means that if a married woman is exposed to the risk of conception from the beginning to the end of the child-bearing period, 5.08 children would be borne by her.

Table 6.

<i>Birth-rate according to mother's age</i>				
Age last birthday	No. of years exposed to risk	No. of births	Birth rate per year	Birth rate in age-groups
17 or below	18077	2642	.1462	.4386
18—22	15173	4272	.2816	1.4080
23—27	9055	2179	.2406	1.2030
28—32	4242	789	.1860	.9300
33—37	1847	204	.1104	.5520
38 & over	601	47	.0782	.5474
		10133		5.0790

The above results agree with those of the "Weaving Survey" made by the Indian Statistical Institute. The total fertility among weavers was 4.97 and the fertility was maximum at age 20.8. It may be mentioned here that the rural and the weaving population are similar, particularly in regard to age at marriage. But in the intellectual (i.e., insured) population where the average age at marriage is higher, the fertility reached its maximum at a higher age (i.e. at age 25) and the total fertility also worked out at the higher figure, 5.75.

The above findings indicate that in those sections of the population where marriages at a very early age are prevalent, the women are less prolific than in

other sections where the girls get married a bit late to evade very early maternity, in spite of the fact that a wife in the latter section starts reproduction with a handicap due to late marriage. How this happens may be realised from a study of table 7 below. It gives the average number of children borne by a mother analysed according to her present age. In this tabulation a mother has been included in an age-group provided she bore at least one child in that age-group. The mothers of the rural sample have been compared with the patients of a Maternity Home* in Calcutta where over 85 p.c. of the cases are middle-class Bengali Hindus. The Table reveals that the average number of children borne by a mother is slightly less in urban than in rural area so long as the mother is below 22 years, say. But when the mother further advances in age this average number is substantially higher in urban than in rural area. It may be mentioned here that in only 24.5 p.c. of the first-birth cases, the mother was below 18 years of age in that maternity home. It thus appears that when procreation starts early in a girl's life it also ends early.

Table 7.

Distribution of average number of children according to the age of the mother

Mother's age last birthday	Average number of children :	
	Rural population	Urban population (Hospital)
18—22	2.093	2.007
23—27	3.337	3.380
28—32	4.558	5.270
33—37	5.334	6.652

BIRTH-RATE AND FATHER'S AGE

Father's age is equally important in population studies as mother's age. The following table (Table 8) has therefore been prepared on the lines of Table 5. As before, the birth-rate at first increases with the age of the father and then it diminishes, the maximum rate appearing at age 32 nearest birthday. Assuming that a man does not become a father before age 19 and that procreative power ceases on attainment of age 55, the number of children that may be expected of a man comes to 5.75, ignoring mortality. Thus in a hypothetical population where there is no death a man produces more children than a woman. It is however difficult to say whether this relative position is maintained in actual circumstances, because mortality within the reproduction period is likely to be higher among men than among women. It may be remembered here that the reproduction period starts and also terminates at a higher age among men than among women.

* Ramakrishna Sishumangal Pratishthan.

Table 8.
Birth-rate according to father's age

Age last birthday	No. of years exposed to risk	No. of births	Birth rate per year	Birth rate in age-groups
22 & below	23916	1608	.0672	.2688
23-27	18612	3432	.1844	.9220
28-32	11837	2831	.2392	1.1960
33-37	6528	1507	.2309	1.1545
38-43	3046	548	.1799	.8995
44-47	1152	154	.1337	.6685
48-54	577	53	.0919	.6433
		10133		5.7526

CONCLUSION

We now compare the results of the few studies made on fertility rates of Bengal. The Insured (*i.e.*, intellectual) population and the Urban population exhibit higher fertility rates than the Weaving population and the rural population. The fertility curve, also, reaches its peak at a higher age in the Urban and the Insured population than in the Rural and the Weaving population. It has been shown above that this shifting of the peak is caused by the Age at Marriage; the peak appears at a low age where immature maternity prevails. The above findings thus indicate that the total fertility is low when the peak appears at a low age, *i.e.*, where immature motherhood is prevalent. The study, made above, on the distribution of First Deliveries according to age of the mother has revealed that the proportion of first deliveries occurring before age 18 of the mother is much smaller in the urban population than

in the rural population. It is also evident that this feature will be present as between the intellectual and the Weaving Class as the girls marry late in the former class due to spread of education among them. So, the low fertility among the rural and uneducated class may be explained by prevalence of immature motherhood among them. As expected, the total fertility figure for Bengal as a whole is higher than that for rural areas but lower than that for urban areas. The modal age of the fertility curve of Bengal also lies between the modal ages of the rural and the urban areas. It has been shown above that the practice of marrying girls before the attainment of puberty or immediately thereafter is on the wane even in villages. This social change is better for the nation because immature motherhood ruins the health of the mother; but it is likely to accelerate the rate of growth of population particularly, when mortality is showing a downward trend. Unless this increasing birth-rate is checked through education on family-planning, it may not be possible to feed the population in future even by increasing the production of food.

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LIFE

By V. V. TONPE

Tho' all day long I trample on her bosom with my feet
At night I lie in close communion with the mother earth:
The twinkling stars do send to me their message and do greet,
But I refuse to have their company ever since my birth.

The ocean sings to me the songs of aeons in her womb,
But I pretend to be absorbed in the play of endless life.
And when the fire surrounds me with its tongues of fateful doom,
I lie serene as if my heart did never know a strife.

"QUIT ENGLISH?"

The Place of English in Free India

By PROF. KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A.

WITH the independence of India she is facing a new problem, *viz.*, a linguistic problem, a problem that bears several facets. Apart from the question of a State language for Free India, there is the all-important question of the place of English in Free India, which forms the theme of the present disquisition.

English language, being the language of our erstwhile rulers, is now naturally under a cloud. It is even threatened to be placed under a permanent ban, for the demand is now more and more clamant for the total withdrawal of this last vestige of the past age of bondage, of this last symbol, though cultural, of that age. After "Quit India" the next cry naturally is "Quit English." The problem is therefore to be calmly tackled and closely analysed. On analysis we find it posing the following different questions:

(i) Should English retain the pride of place as it used to have formerly? *i.e.*, should English continue to be the State and Court language as before and should it also remain the medium of instruction in the higher stages of education?

(ii) Should English continue to be the medium of communication amongst the educated classes in Free India?

(iii) Is it possible for English to become the *lingua franca* amongst the masses in Free India?

(iv) Should English be retained as an *optional* second language only, in schools and universities?

(v) Should English continue to be a *compulsory* subject of study from the lowest form up to the University stages? and lastly,

(vi) What should be the position of English amongst communities having English as their mother-tongue?

Let me hasten to add here that the present article is concerned with the position of English amongst those with whom it is *not the mother-tongue*. And so (vi) does not come within the purview of the present study. Only this much may be added here that amongst communities having English as their mother-tongue, English should be given all the privileges inherent to a mother-tongue.

As regards the first question the verdict has already been given by the Parliament of Free India, *viz.*, that in Free India English, a foreign tongue, cannot continue to be the State language. Naturally, it cannot flourish as the language of law courts either. So this point is already settled for good and need not be re-opened here. And then, as regards the "medium of instruction," instruction being always best conveyed through the mother-tongue, the claim of English, a foreign language, to be the medium of instruction, is automatically ruled out, at least in the earlier stages. But as regards the University stages, whether the medium of instruction is to be the mother tongue or the regional language or the State language is not quite germane to the subject of the present study.

So, if English be not the State language and the language of the law courts and if English ceases to be

the medium of instruction, the postulate that follows is that there is no chance for it to become the *lingua franca* even amongst the educated classes of Free India, let alone the masses. At least from a long-range view we can visualize a stage when the English language, gradually ousted from post to post, will cease to be the medium of communication in Free India and will have to remain confined within the scholar's study only.

The next questions that immediately and naturally arise are: Should English language in the case of such an inevitable eventuality be allowed at all to flourish in the scholar's study even? Should we allow our time and energy to be spent (wasted?) over the study of the language of our erstwhile rulers, a language which will no longer be required in our parliaments, in our law courts and offices, and in our bazaars? In other words, what on earth is the necessity of keeping this language "alive" in schools and colleges alone?

These questions are such as naturally arouse strong feelings in the present psychology of India. Sober consideration is therefore all the more necessary. Let us not be swayed by passion, let us calmly and coolly weigh these questions in the balance. We shall have then to come to the conclusion that English language may be dethroned in our parliaments, in our law courts and offices, in our bazaars, but it cannot, it must not be a taboo in our educational institutions; we must not forget that the language of our erstwhile rulers is also the language in which Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw wrote and it would therefore be no waste of our time and energy to study the language. In other words, English should continue to have a place in the curriculum of our schools, colleges and universities, with this modification only that it need not be the medium of instruction at any stage, lowest or highest, but should be cultivated simply as a language; should, in other words, be given its due recognition as a language only, *shorn of all the weightage that its former association with the rulers of the land once gave it*. Alas! this very association which once gave English language all its "weightage" has proved to be its undoing—the "weightage" has now turned out to be a veritable "handicap." We must therefore study this problem dispassionately, apart from this association.

This conclusion naturally leads to the topic of the importance of the English language. We do not know whether there is any need to dilate on this topic, it is so patent to everybody. But sufficient it is to note here that English is no longer the language of a group of small islands in the far-off Atlantic Ocean, whence hailed our erstwhile rulers; that it is also the language of America, the language in which Abraham Lincoln spoke and Whitman sang, that it is now the medium of expression of world's greatest scientists and thinkers

in every line and that today on account of diverse causes English language has step by step come to occupy the position of almost the *lingua franca* of the modern world.

✓ Today "English is the most widely spoken language in the world; tomorrow it will be the official international language as it now is unofficially."—*English*, Vol. III, No. 45.

Now let us ask ourselves: Should we cut off all connexion with this language thereby isolating ourselves from the world-current? Should we voluntarily throw away the little mastery that we have come to acquire of this great language, thereby causing a huge intellectual wastage? ✓ Free India cannot afford to banish the English language from her shores, it may do so only at the peril of her future welfare. ✓ Mere "richness" of literature however is not the only consideration here, although the wealth of English literature has been certainly one of the leavening factors in moulding modern India. The richness of other literatures may be on par with that of English literature—that may not be the only justification for a foreign language to be incorporated in the educational curriculum of a country. It is the peculiar position of the English language in the present world set-up, about which mention has already been made in the last paragraph, that is our chief consideration. It can safely be hazarded therefore that without a knowledge and with it the mastery also, of the English language, India will be intellectually isolated from the rest of the world, and as a result will ultimately drift back to the backwaters.

The next argument of the reactionary school will be that *translations* from foreign languages will be able to neutralize the effects of the abandonment of the English language. A life-long champion of "the cult of translation" though I am, I am quite alive to its limitations, into which subject let me now digress a little to show the futility of "translation" in the field of science specially. First, translations here can never be up-to-date, for they can never be expected to keep pace with the ever-increasing volume of scientific and technical literature. Translation bureaux therefore formed to replace the original foreign works will ultimately prove useless and will but saddle the State with costly departments, which will serve no useful purpose. ✓ Next, there is the difficult problem of coining terminologies, for the new expressions are not likely to be very happy and will more often than not turn out to be almost Greek to those for whom they are meant, and the new scientific literature mostly out-of-date of course that will be turned out by the translation bureaux will be clothed in unfelicitous terminologies, which will fail to produce any impression on the minds of the readers. Other difficulties attending all works of translation are left aside here. But the two main difficulties, just mentioned, that stand in the way of translations from scientific literature,

alone render all such attempts unfruitful. A huge experiment in this line was undertaken in the past by one University in India and naturally not much success was attained on account of these inherent limitations of "translations," although laudable pioneering work was done. This example should serve as a very good eye-opener to all supporters of the "cult of translation." Now that India is free, the demand will naturally go forth for the study of science through the medium of the native languages, and Universities in India may have to undertake translations of scientific literature on a huge scale. It will be fitting therefore to consider thoroughly the problem of "translation" and beware of its limitations. So let me add "translation" by all means, but let the translations, in the case of science, be confined to foreign "classics" only, enough unexplored field lies here, the harvest of which might profitably be purveyed to the masses by the formation of translation bureaux. But for all types of higher scientific and technical study and research we need not waste our resources and energy on "translations," for they can never be up-to-date. At the present stage it will therefore be a sort of intellectual suicide for Free India to abjure the English language, which to the majority of educated Indians today, is the only key to the world of higher science.

(We have therefore to come back to the conclusion that a knowledge of English is almost essential even for Free India. The corollary therefore is that instead of neglecting the study of English in Free India, we should rather intensify its study on a more scientific line entailing a minimum of intellectual wastage.) We need not feel shocked at this conclusion. In the modern world multilingualism should profitably be encouraged and propagated. First, we have our mother tongue; secondly, our regional language; thirdly, our State language; and lastly, one modern foreign language to keep us in touch with the outside world. Over and above these four languages, we have our classical language, which forms the bed-rock of our culture. To many the mother-tongue and regional language are identical, and so a study of at least four languages seems unavoidable. At first sight, the burden might almost seem too much, but in reality it is not such. Introduction to several languages in the earliest stages need not be looked down upon, if only the decks are cleared by the removal of semi-medical and scientific courses, which, through the medium of present-day text-books only, certainly prove much too hard nuts for teenagers, and so lead inevitably to cramming. Initiation in the early stages into semi-medical and scientific courses should be undertaken through latest methods and appliances and not through mere text-books. However, whatever be the syllabus in the earliest forms and whatever be the methods of disseminating scientific knowledge devised by experts,

the study of English in the present set-up should find place as early as possible.

I am afraid I might disturb a hornets' nest by my proposal to introduce English in the earliest possible stage. In reply to the generally accepted proposal of introducing English at a very late stage in the school curriculum, I will only point out the great practical disadvantages that will result from this step. Under this scheme a student beginning the rudiments of English at the later stage will not have sufficient time to attain the necessary proficiency for the Matriculation or any "school-leaving" standard. The time at his disposal will be much too short for him to catch up, it will be almost impossible for the average student to make good the "time lag." The inevitable result will be the lowering of the standard in English, not only at the Matriculation or "school-leaving" stage but as a corollary; at the higher stages also. This will certainly be not a desirable state. Of course, theoretically it is all right to assert that a foreign language should be introduced at a late stage. But this presupposes a more scientific method of teaching and other pre-requisites which are conspicuous by their absence in our present educational set-up. Until and unless such requisite conditions of teaching a foreign language are made easily available to our school students, I am afraid any proposal for putting off the introduction of English to a later stage in our school will not be conducive to the future welfare of the country. Early familiarity will go a long way to make a foreign language easier, and compensate the shortcomings of the present set-up.

The main argument for putting off the introduction of English to a later stage in our schools has been that English is a foreign language. But I am afraid that in the case of English in particular the difficulties have been more imaginary than real. They have been certainly greatly exaggerated and may easily be overcome by any serious student. Admittedly there has been a gradual but very marked deterioration on the part of our students as regards their capacity to master English. This deterioration started about two decades back and has today reached almost the nadir, so to say. The situation now is grave and alarming to a degree, no doubt, on account of the huge percentage of failures in English, year in, year out; and outwardly the "biggest single factor in the large percentage of failures in all our examinations is the poor knowledge of English of the average student."* Let us therefore dispassionately make a study and find out the exact cause or causes leading to this alarming situation. It will be then found out that something deeper than mere linguistic difficulty attending a foreign language is responsible for the present situation. English language, which could be so easily mastered in the past

generation has not, of course, developed new complexities, baffling our students of the present generation. So, to repeat again, the difficulties are more imaginary than real and can be easily overcome by any serious student. It is this lack of seriousness in the modern student, to put it as mildly as possible, that has been responsible for the sorry state of affairs that stares us in the face today. A student who is not serious will not find the study of even his mother-tongue easier. This has been amply demonstrated by the University results, at least of the Calcutta University. So if students are brought into touch with the English language in the early receptive and formative period of their life, the inherent difficulties in acquiring the knowledge of a foreign tongue will be greatly minimised even though the present methods of teaching be defective. Therefore let the right methods of teaching be first determined by a body of experts and let this body of experts also determine the exact period of starting the study of English.† But so long this is not done, let early age be not considered an impediment to the acquisition of the knowledge of English, for it was never an impediment in the past generation. Moreover, there is the factor of heredity to be reckoned: what the immediate forefathers acquired so easily may be acquired with as much ease by their descendants also. Let us therefore be not so misdirected as to banish the study of English, either partially or altogether, or put hurdles on the way simply on the plea that it is a foreign language.

When national interest demands acquaintance with one modern European language, it will be prudent on our part to make our choice of the one European language that has played a vital part in our national life and that is about to become the international *lingua franca*. Whatever actual difficulties there may be in the acquisition of this language it must not deter us from approaching this language with friendly gesture. Of course, there are difficulties, but if these difficulties were easily surmounted in the past, there is no reason why they should not be in the present. We must not again forget another aspect. Acquisition of a foreign language with all its difficulties is a sort of intellectual discipline or training. Incapacity to learn a foreign language after years of study bespeaks a lack of seriousness, a lack of patience and perseverance, of tenacity and grit, that will ultimately tend to our national undoing. We should therefore view the lack of proficiency in English of the modern generation of our students not purely from a linguistic point of view. It is symptomatic of something deeper,

* Sri Narendranath Ray's letter in the *Statesman* of August 21, 1951.

† By the way I have not much faith in the modern craze for teaching English through the medium of mother-tongue, as suggested by Sri Narendranath Ray in his letter in the *Statesman* of August 21, 1951. That may no doubt lead to the easier understanding of the English texts, but will hardly develop the power of expression in English.

of a *malaise* that has got to be removed if we are to progress as an independent nation. It will not do to say that it is a sheer waste of national energy to try to master a foreign language. That will be putting a premium on our weakness. We must have to triumph over them. These difficulties are a direct challenge to our moral and intellectual capacities. Should our young students be found unable to meet this challenge? It would be ominous indeed if they are found so. We have therefore to impress this aspect of the problem on our students, and surely, there will be a good response.

Alas! alas! history has the fatal knack of repeating itself with ruthless regularity! India today is again facing almost the same educational problem which she faced and tackled about a century and a half ago! —it is the problem of the adoption of the English language in our educational curriculum. The problem today is no doubt a little modified, but nevertheless as grave and serious as the problem was in the past. Then it was the problem of the introduction of English or Western education, with the English language as the chief vehicle or medium of instruction, now it is the problem not of the introduction of English education or English language, but of the retention of the English language, not as the chief medium or vehicle of instruction, but merely as a course of study. Thus today after the lapse of a century and a half when English language has to a certain extent been acclimatised on the Indian soil, India is facing the question of the *discontinuance* of this very language as a course of study. Though no doubt we have partially modified the decision of our forefathers by deciding to make the mother-tongue the chief vehicle of our instruction at all stages of our education, we are now being asked to upset completely the decision of our forefathers by banishing English totally from our educational curriculum. Thus time-forces are threatening to take us back to the pre-English education period, and the prospect before us is again naturally a social and educational revolution. So the situation today is again very grave and serious. To add to the seriousness and gravity of the situation, the present age has not the relieving feature which the past had. English language then held forth the message of a new world, a band of ardent enthusiasts including young students, 'who spoke and wrote English, who thought in English and even dreamt in English,' came forward as champions of the English language and English education, and so the introduction of the English language as the vehicle of this new education was facilitated. Today however the picture has undergone a great change—for the youth are now on the revolt, and English to them is but the symbol of the past foreign domination and *ipso facto* a taboo! So gone for ever are the days of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt! Today the psychology of that age is impossible to revive. And hence rises all this talk of the aban-

donment of English. On the top of this a new aspect has emerged—today English has become the greatest stumbling block on the path of the Indian student. Naturally when India has become free, the demand is going forth for the removal of this stumbling block, for the pulling down of this hurdle. Hence this additional ground for the abandonment of English is being now advanced—English, in other words, is to be made a scape-goat, it has to be sacrificed on the plea that it is proving too hard a nut for our young examinees! This aspect of the problem is therefore something new, and I hope experts will sit down and give their best consideration to this aspect of the problem! Let English be by no means converted into an engine of torture for our young examinees, the future citizens and leaders of Free India. Let English be properly taught, and then it is certain to make a fresh appeal to Free India. The 'honey-dew' and 'milk' of English literature will, I am sure, again exercise a tremendous influence and bring about a new renaissance in India. We are now again at the crossing of the roads, we must have to make our decision very carefully. Should we in a huff banish English altogether from our educational halls or should we not follow the example of many free nations, whose mother-tongue is not English, but who still assiduously cultivate the English language?

It has been said that the greatest achievement of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was to find "his mother's place in the step-mother's hall." But the whirligig of time has brought its own revenge, and the step-mother has been found out to be but an interloper in the mother's hall. Now while asking the step-mother to step down from her place of eminence in that hall, should we ask her to "quit" also? If the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's greatest achievement was to accommodate in a critical stage of our national history our mother-tongue in our step-mother's hall, the greatest achievement of the next hero will be to find a *proper* place for the dethroned step-mother, in that very hall, which has now been recognized to belong rightfully to the mother. English language, in other words, will have to be given its *proper* place in our educational curriculum. English language may not be now the language of our parliaments, it may not be now the language of our courts, it may not any longer be the only passport to administrative posts, it may not any longer be even the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges, but it must not nevertheless be ousted altogether from our educational institutions, it must be given its *proper* place in all our educational schemes. It must not be ignored or dismissed outright. To give English language its *proper* place is therefore the immediate problem facing Free India. Let Free India weigh the *pros* and *cons* carefully and arrive at a correct decision. For

"... not by eastern windows only

When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,

But westward, look, the land is bright."

TECHNIQUE OF MORALE BUILDING IN A BRITISH INDUSTRY

By BEPIN BEHARI, M.A.

A high level of morale is difficult to achieve in an industrial organisation. In certain industries however, the problem is very successfully tackled. The workers in such factories are 'proud of themselves,' the labour turnover is 'negligible,' and the factory is considered 'the best in the world' of its kind. Production has exceeded the target, and industrial dispute is absent. Though these objective indicators of morale may not express the *level* of morale, yet they indicate that the firm has achieved the result which every industrialist aims at. This essay attempts to describe the technique by which the goal is achieved in one of such British factories.

The firm which we intend to describe is a precision machine-making organisation. The process of manufacture can be sub-divided under three main sections, *viz.*, (1) Planning, (2) Tooling, (3) Production. The planning department issues operational layouts for different parts needed for the manufacture. Each operation, whether major or minor, is described in the operational layout. The processes such as 'wire,' 'unwire,' 'inspect,' and 'stock' are even described with complete accuracy, so that subsequent operations become fool-proof. The manufacture of these parts requires certain tools. These are either made in the factory's tool room or are sub-contracted outside. Once the tools are ready the Production Control regulates and controls amount of the required articles to be produced. The method of manufacturing the different parts is very repetitive. The workers have very specialised jobs to do. There are many workers whose entire job for the whole day consists of drilling a hole or rivetting a part. When the parts are completely manufactured they are passed to the assembly line, where uniform speed of work is required. Each component of the co-ordinated effort must be completed just so that the next component can come in exactly when it is required for the performance of the task. If it finishes too soon, there will be irritating and disordering gaps. If it finishes too late, there will be interference. Either way there will be clumsiness. The success of the organisation depends on removing this kind of clumsiness both in the manufacturing and in the assembly section.

The company from the very beginning dramatised its inauguration and captured the imagination of the local inhabitants. A good reputation is more valuable than an expensive sign-board. The site of the factory was chosen with such care that the industrial journals reported it as 'surely one of the finest factory sites in the country.' The local papers reported that the

company directors were 'looking for a country setting, trees, gardens, birds, and who were charmed with the scene, and the story goes that pheasants rose at the feet of the visitors and so helped to set the seal on their quest.' The company bought a great bit of the adjoining woodlands to preserve the country setting. The management paid hundreds of pounds to the local corporation so that the facing-bricks of the houses built opposite to the factory are of the same type as that of the factory itself. The factory premises itself is so impressive that H.M.S.O. publications reported that the factory as a 'modern construction and amenities and as a production unit is one of the most notable industrial achievements in this country since the war.'

It is realised that the most difficult task is to deal successfully with the human factor.

"The design of the product, the best method to adopt for its manufacture, the overcoming of technical and practical difficulties, and all other problems in connexion with making things are always easier to solve than the one problem of organizing a team of individuals to work harmoniously and efficiently together."

Even the most humble worker resents being treated with less consideration than the valuable machines which he uses. It is through 'sympathy, tact, firmness and individual treatment' that the antagonism between the machine and the man is removed. Problems arising from (1) geographical and social changes and (2) the adjustment with the new set of machinery require from the workers' viewpoint very sympathetic consideration. Those employees who come from other towns face the problem of housing and transport. The factory has maintained good relations with the local inhabitants who give priority in accommodating the person recommended by the personnel department. In certain cases if the person wants to travel daily from the home town to the factory there is the problem of adjusting the factory time and the long distance bus (or train) timing. The organisation attempts to solve even such difficulties. There is, for example, a girl whose bus passes by the place a few minutes before the closing time of the factory and the next bus is after an hour. The girl is permitted to work an hour daily as extra-time and she is paid cumulatively for the time worked. This arrangement was made to suit the girl (though she was not granted any concession of time).

The company endeavours to impress upon the workers that they are well cared for. The protective clothes are very expensive and even the laundering of these clothes cost more than a shilling. Aprons, overalls, or any other kind of protective clothes needed by the workers in the performance of the job are supplied and laundered by the firm.

Most of the workers during the period of scarcity are unable to get satisfactory meals at their homes. Either the meat is scarce or the vegetables are lacking. These difficulties are obviated by an efficient and cheap canteen. The management of the canteen is under a committee (though the canteen is run by an outside concern). The entire factory for getting into the canteen during the lunch hour is divided among various groups and each group is assigned a place in the queue. This enables the worker to stop his work at the usual time without any commotion to get a place in the canteen. The queue is a rotating one and every group in its turn gets a priority. The canteen in this way, in spite of its having only 250 seats cater for more than 400 workers per day.

The management has a very enlightened approach towards the workers' expenditure over their meals. The management claims that they incur approximately a shilling for each lunch served in the canteen. The factory subsidises meals for younger workers. Any worker less than 18 years of age gets a concession of 33½ per cent. The company provides free tea both in the forenoon and in the afternoon (in clean cups) and this has a distinct influence on the attitude to the work.

The company understands that food is the most delicate issue for every worker. Any complaint about meals must be instantaneously attended to. The unfailing presence of the personnel manager in the canteen during the lunch hour makes the workers feel that they can at any time ventilate their grievances. His presence also suggests that the company is taking active interest in the food provided for the workers. The canteen is one of the main factors which induce the workers to work for over-time.

The organisation of Sports and Social Club is one of the most important functions of the personnel department. The club is very well organised. One out of every two workers is a member of the club. It has 18 sections with a wide variety of appeal (Arts and Crafts, Athletics, Boating, Boxing, Bowling, Chess, Concert Party, Cricket, Drama, Entertainment, Football, Golf, Male Voice Choir, Publicity, Rambling, Scottish Country Dancing, Swimming and Tennis). The big playing fields adjoining the factory provide an opportunity for the workers to organise football, cricket, tennis and other games even during the lunch hours; more than hundred workers are, on a bright day seen playing football. Three or four teams are seen playing the game even when the ground is full

of snow. One of the employees informed me that during his first few days of his work when he knew nobody it was through playing together that he knew some persons and his life could be more enjoyable. It is true that whatever might be the taste of the person, there is some channel for his expression. Even a cartoonist, a story-writer, a photographer or a poet might express his talents through the Factory Post—the factory's monthly journal. By providing opportunity for such a wide choice the company provides pre-occupation for the mind lest it experiences drudgery of the repetitive machine life.

The company on one hand attempts to channelise the energy of its workers towards some creative and co-operative direction, on the other hand, it provides Works' Council to ventilate grievances. Though the Council is purely an advisory committee yet it has secured considerable advantages for the workers. Ventilation, coat hangers, inconsistency in queueing, protective clothes, industrial shoes, transport arrangements and similar items form the agenda of the meeting. The meetings are ordinarily held in the first week of each month during working hours, and the meetings are expected not to exceed one hour in duration as far as the company's time is concerned. The workers do not suggest expensive changes, the management does not accept every suggestion, but the very fact that the management genuinely endeavours to see the workers' viewpoint and try to remove their difficulties as far as possible, has aroused a spirit of co-operation and an understanding among the workers for the employers' viewpoint. It is a popular feeling among the workers that the strength of the Works' Council is declining because there is nothing to complain about. The fact that the workers' representatives and the management's representatives sit around the same table stimulates co-operation.

The recruitment in the firm is judiciously done with the aim of forming a community life. Intelligent workers are individualist by temperament, they desire prospects, security, variety and efficient organization, whereas the other group rates workmates more than long-term prospects.² Moreover too much intelligence may be a handicap for repetitive jobs. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the firm does not recruit critical and intelligent persons. In the whole workshop there would not be even half a dozen properly schooled workers. Even those who have technical qualifications are uncritical in their attitude. The planning engineers who have qualified themselves by serving their period of apprenticeship in a factory and by attending night classes in technical colleges undoubtedly show habits of hard work, thoroughness, and an understanding of the importance of details, but contrasted with the

2. "Incentives and Young Workers" by L. T. Wilkins: (*Occ. Psych.*, October, 1949).

Continental graduate in technology, who is "potentially an administrator"³ the technical experts of the factory show the greatest respect for the routinized job, and the utmost obedience to the authority.

The great bulk of the workers are recruited from (i) the demobilised army, (ii) other industries with inferior working conditions, (iii) grocers' and hair dressers' shops, (iv) domestic services, and (v) some 'migratory birds'—as they are popularly called. The last category, includes the apprentices serving their time or a very limited number of temporary employees. The firm as a rule avoids temporary employments. The social strata from which the workers come from, the nature of education and the level of intelligence considerably determine the behaviour and the attitude of the worker. In the firm persons showing spirit of co-operation and obedience to authority are preferred. The homogeneous group of working population is preferred both for efficiency and co-operation.

Persuasion, encouragement, and threat are employed for "the conquest of the masses."⁴ Through hints, soft, insinuating, subtle, disguised and indirect suggestions the workers are led to believe that the firm is doing the best for them, and they are realising the sense of 'self-fulfilment' by working with the firm. The repeated appreciations stating that 'they have risen, most magnificently by crowding themselves into the space, and by working overtime continuously' satisfy the craving for recognition. It is suggested that the worker can reach the highest ladder of industrial hierarchy provided he has 'energy, interest, and initiative, no matter where he started.' Hard work, obedience to authority and *esprit de corps* are basic requirements for any promotion. The firm emphasises that the individual has a very bright future if he whole-heartedly co-operates with the management. If the worker decides to leave the firm, it is expressed that the worker has lost the vital source or strength—the contact with the mighty organization through which money, power, and satisfaction flowed to him is lost. It is very much emphasised that the organization is much more important than the individual.⁵

The general code of behaviour, the relationship among the workers, the human touch between the managers and the employees have inculcated a spirit of co-operation. It is not unusual for the assistant manager of the firm to give lifts in his car to

workers of his factory. It is quite common to find that when a worker gets married, his seat is decorated and the friends and the company present gifts as a token of comradeship. It is also noticeable that about one-third of the working-population consists of women, and a worker cracking jokes with a woman worker also helps her in difficulties. The habit of calling everybody by his first name—an intimate greeting and a smile on the face—greatly reduces the impersonal relations which characterises the industrial civilisation.

The firm has a very effective method of censorship to achieve its aim. Though the firm encourages critical attitude to the performance of the job yet it does not in the least support critical scrutiny about the policy of the management. If the worker's attitude is critical and if it clashes with the interest of the management, the person is ignored, demoted and sometimes threatened to be dismissed. It is however a policy of the firm not to dismiss such persons ordinarily, because a dismissed person is generally a source of bad propaganda. In certain cases undue pressure on such individuals is indirectly exerted forcing them to resign. The satisfaction in work is widely publicised, but ventilation of grievances if the company cannot redress it is throttled at the very beginning. There is no appeal against the decision of any manager. Individuals have either to accept the decision or to give the firm up. The outside world can contact the firm and know about its operations only through the sieve of the personnel department. Persuasion, encouragement and threat bring solidarity among the rank and file of the workers, whereas the outside world understands that the inner life is full of attractions in spite of its being shown around the factory, the outside world fails to understand the life and conflict of the people within.

SUMMARY

The creation of a team spirit has enabled the management of the firm to set up a high level of morale in the factory. Better working conditions and uncritical working population have established solidarity among the rank and file. A judicious censorship of informations to the outside world presents a colourful picture and maintains attractiveness of the firm.*

21, Westfield Place, Dundee, Scotland.

3. "Industrial Technologists and the Social Sciences" by Professor R. S. Edwards. (*Economica*, November, 1951).

4. F. C. Bartlett: *Political Propaganda*, Chapters III and IV.

5. A. J. Mackenzie: *Propaganda Boom*, Chapter II: Frontiers of Education, and Chapter III: The Seven Secrets of Propaganda.

* This article is an attempt to describe the various methods used by the firm under investigation in order to boost morale in the firm. Recently the recession in British firms is changing the relationship between the labour and the management, but this MS. was prepared under the guidance of Mr. H. H. Ferguson a few months ago. The enquiry was made for more than six months before preparing the paper. Mr. H. H. Ferguson is the Professor of Psychology in the University of St. Andrews.

BATTLE TACTICS ON THE INVISIBLE FRONT

By Miss GITA MITRA, B.A., and CAPTAIN R. D. MITRA

THERE is now an increasing knowledge on subjects like the culinary art, the nutritive value of food and the relation of nutrition to disease. The literature on nutrition and planning of satisfactory diet is replete with much valuable suggestions regarding preparation of food without losing nutritive amino acids, protective vitamins and essential minerals, but guidance is inadequate on subjects like hygiene of food, cleanliness of the place, personal hygiene of employees who serve it, cleanliness of utensils through which it is served and its effect on public health.

There has been, recently, a considerable advance in the development of Public Health conditions in our country but a high incidence of excremental disease still prevails (Public Health Commissioner, India, 1948); endemic centres of cholera exist in the lower Bengal Delta (Hutt, 1927) and the Gangetic valley (Ghost, 1945). A simple reason for this state of affairs is a general ignorance of the hygiene of food. Some guidance is available from the Sanitary Rules for the Cook House (Indian Army Order 1972 of 1945) but as those are not elaborate instructions they fall short of the requirements of anyone faced with a specific problem, demanding quick and correct decision. Besides, those rules are beyond the reach of an average citizen.

Outside the services specific guidance on this subject hardly exists. During the last war best hotels in large cities were placed out of bounds to the forces; hostels catering for the services by civilians were often noted for sub-standard hygiene.

It became vividly clear then that in the absence of simple uniform and detailed instructions on kitchen hygiene it is futile to expect a desirable standard of kitchen hygiene in establishments without technical supervision.

While drafting the rules it was kept in view that only simple, self-evident and practical instructions are voluntarily complied with. Cook-house rules in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Civil Hospitals were perused; opportunities were taken to visit establishments professing to practise a high standard of kitchen hygiene in Poona, Calcutta and Delhi. In these modest practical suggestions room could not be found for seemingly impressive but impracticable ideas e.g., use of novel gadgets and articles or Hexachlorophene (American Medical Association, 1950). Also in some places there is, perhaps, room for orthodox hygiene to hold up hands in holy horror.

THE RULES

A. Cook House and its surroundings :

1. Surroundings of the cook-house will be kept clean and swept daily. Kitchen and dining halls will

be swept every morning before work starts. Door mats will be shaken. Inside the kitchen and dining hall wet instead of dry sweeping and dusting will be done after every meal. Cook-house floor, if cement concrete, will be scrubbed with hot water and soda every night.

2. Smoking, spitting out and nose blowing in or around the cook-house is forbidden.

3. Swill bins will be kept clean.

If the swill bins are not carefully cleaned without spilling the contents, fly breeding might ensue.

B. Cook House employees :

4. No one will be employed in the cook-house before medical examination. The medical officer will scrutinise carefully medical history of new employees.

A rough medical history covering approximately a period of two years prior to employment will be obtained by interrogation. An individual with active venereal disease or diarrhoea, or previous history of typhoid, para-typhoid and dysentery will not be employed.

5. There will be a nominal roll of cook-house employees containing columns for name of the employee, date of employment, date of last medical inspection, the date when medical inspection is due, the dates when vaccination and inoculation are given and are due next; and signature of the medical officer. The dates on which these are due will be written in pencil, to be inked over after actually performed.

This nominal roll will be hung up on the cook-house wall near the entrance. Inoculation and vaccination dates will be arranged so that half the employees are inoculated on a day and the rest a week later. Periodically this nominal roll will be checked and names tallied with those actually working.

6. Duties will be clearly allotted by name, e.g., for cooking preparation of vegetables, boiling or washing of cook-house clothes.

7. Each cook-house employee will be provided with the following garments with suitable laundering arrangements: a set of three caps, aprons, half sleeve shirts and shorts.

The suit will be of white material. It will be worn only in the cook-house.

8. Personnel clothing or belongings of the employees will not be brought in the cook-house. Toilet, wash, washing and drying of personal clothes will not be done there. Personal clothes after changing in the cook-house uniform will be kept in a dressing room or a special place provided for the purpose. Over-alls will be put on.

9. All cook-house employees will take bath daily, keep their hairs short and nails trimmed and wear clean under-garment.

A record will be kept as to which employee has taken bath and at what time of the day. Hot water and a comfortable place for bath will be provided in winter. Toilet paper, 2 ozs. of toilet soap per week, a cake of bath soap per month, two towels and a comb every nine months, will be issued free to each employee. Employees will be taught the use of toilet paper in addition to ablation by water, and washing of hands with toilet soap thoroughly in running water. Shocking unclean habits unfit for print exist amongst some employees, tidy dress and hair do not guarantee clean toilet habits. Hands will be inspected daily before cooking of meals when nail brush will be used. Employees with a boil or ulcer in exposed parts of the body, especially the hands, will not handle food. This will prevent a common source of streptococcal food poisoning.

10. A leave roster of cook-house employees will be maintained. Every employee will have a day and a half day off in a week. This roster will be displayed on the wall. A record of this will be kept.

This is not meant merely to provide relaxation from cook-house work which usually begins very early in the morning but to guard against complaints of overtime work without pay.

C. Equipment and Provision.

11. Foodstuff likely to be used for cooking during the day will be kept in the cook-house. Food, not for immediate use, will be kept protected in food safes or improvised netted frames.

12. Menu of the week will be hung up for inspection.

No alteration unless ordered in writing sufficiently in advance, will be allowed in the menu. Sudden alterations made by the cooks is the starting point of disorder and undesirable practices.

13. Vegetable and fruit meant for eating raw will be washed in the following manner:

(a) Wash thoroughly in running water.

(b) Immerse for five minutes in clean water to which a scoopful* of water-sterling powder† per gallon has been added.

(c) Rinse in clean running water.

This is usually not done, sometimes, due to a misconception that vitamins and minerals are lost in the process. To avoid the possibility of intestinal disease, cholera and typhoid it must be done as a routine daily and not when Cholera or Typhoid is known to exist in the vicinity. For making a habit of washing in the prescribed

* This scoop holds 2 grammes of powder when filled level with the brim.

† A mixture of four-fifth bleaching powder and one-fifth quick lime; it contains at least 25 per cent of available chlorine; under good storage conditions available chlorine should not fall below 22.5 per cent in a year.

manner, very little improvisation is required: On a table near a water tap, a four gallons galvanised drum fitted with a tap at the bottom, a measured scoop and an improvised measure for a gallon of water.

14. All chopping, cutting of meat and pastry will be done on the chopping block, cutting up board or slab provided for the purpose. Cutting and chopping board and slab will be scrubbed with hot water containing washing soda and brush, wiped dry and dusted with finely powered common salt.

15. Aprons and caps will be boiled in water daily.

Cutters' and cooks' napkins, cloth covers for food will be boiled separately in water containing soda. Rags coming into use will be washed in tap water every day and boiled with washing soda once a week on a fixed day. Washed clothes will be hung up to dry over-night. A spare set of napkins will be available for washing and drying dishes and cooking utensils. Rags used for handling sooty vessels will be separate and distinct.

16. All pots and pans will be cleaned (see rule 18) and wiped with dry pieces of cloth; after the last meal these will be stored upside down on shelves in a well-ventilated room or cupboard set aside for the purpose.

Utensils and food-containers will be inspected twice daily, once before use in the morning and again after cleaning in the evening.

17. Cook-house sinks, mincing machine, tables, knives, forks, spoons and utensils will be clean when in use and will be thoroughly cleaned after the last meal.

Mincing machine will be very sparingly used. Sinks and mincing machine will be cleaned with hot water and soda and wiped dry. The rest of the aforementioned articles will be cleaned with soap and hot water. Equipment and utensils not in use will be kept in the allocated place and will be available for inspection.

18. Utensils will be rinsed in hot water, cleaned with soda, ash or burned earth and washed in running water.

Water will be heated preferably, in a large drum, if possible, with a simple device to skim periodically the floating grease. For rinsing small articles an improvised wire mesh provided with a handle will be used to avoid scalding of hands. Then ash will be used for cleaning utensils. Ash will be carefully collected and kept in a marked tin. If oil-cookers are used, clean earth will be charred, powdered and mixed with washing soda in the proportion of nine parts of earth to one part of soda. For chinaware soda will be used. The articles will then be washed in running water.* A simple device to sterilise articles of crockery, cutlery and food containers may be used.†

* Most Indian cook-house employees do not feel clean unless clay instead of soap is used for cleaning hands after ablation.

D. Preventive measures against animal pest and mechanical carriers of disease :

19. Rats, cockroaches, and flies will be kept out of the cook-house.

The cook-house employees, no matter how illiterate, will be educated to recognise the role played by these pests in spreading disease. The following points will be stressed in respect of each pest:

Rats : The rats are not only the principal source of bubonic plague and cause food wastage (one rat consumes 21.7 lbs. of rations in a year), it is a reservoir of typhus and relapsing fever. Rat droppings contain eggs of tape worms (*Hymenolepis nana*). Rat fleas, if drowned in liquid food and infested, release another tape worm. The droppings of rodents contain bacteria (*salmonella*) which cause food poisoning (Parkinson, 1947).

Cockroaches : Cockroaches spoil food. They can act as the intermediate hosts of certain helminths that sometimes occur in man (Smart 1943). It is least known that on account of their habits, cockroaches act as one of the principal mechanical carriers of excremental disease, it is specially so in Bengal (Mitra, 1944). Barber (1914) has indicated that cockroaches may harbour cholera vibrio in the intestine which appear in enormous number in the insect faeces after feeding on infective material. They can pass viable hook-worm eggs after feeding on faeces of an infected person (Roy, 1946). While flies and rats are left behind, cockroaches are carried along during a shift.

Flies : The house fly is the source of typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea; it brings viable eggs of hook-worm, thread-worm, tape and round worm. Frequent and liberal spraying of DDT around the cook-house is not a sure protection against flies as this practice produces DDT resistant strains of house fly (Chatterjee and Mitra, 1951).

E. Disposal of waste material :

20. Food scrapes, vegetable peelings, etc., will be collected in receptacles and deposited in covered refuse bins. This will not be dropped on floor. Separate bins will be provided for wet and dry refuse. The bins will be placed at a suitable spot on a 28

Similarly they do not consider utensils to be clean unless rubbed with ash, clay or even road-dust.

† A lidless tin container with perforated bottom is provided with two holes at the sides near the top for typing a wire handle to lift it. The size of this container should be such as to fit tightly inside a ghee tin, it should be 10 ins. high. It should be filled with articles meant to be sterilized. A ghee tin without top is provided with a tight fitting removeable lid and water about 3 ins. high poured in it; a wooden tripod 4 ins. high is placed inside it. The aforementioned container holding articles for sterilization is placed on this tripod. The tin is then placed on fire after closing it, steam is allowed to generate for 15 minutes to sterilize the articles.

A second container should be kept filled with articles for sterilization and inserted immediately after the first one is taken out. This would save wastage of time and steam.

inches high white-washed plinth 20 feet away from the cook-house.

F. Discipline :

21. The cook-house will be inspected from time to time and not at regular intervals.

The inspecting officer will inspect minutely a few specific points on any one occasion and rest of the cook-house generally.

22. The cook-house rules will be explained to the employees at the time of appointment and on every weekly inspection parade.

Drastic measure against even minor infringement of cook-house rules, results in salutary cook-house discipline.

In these notes, emphasis is laid on simple ideas, e.g., the manner of washing fruits and vegetables meant to be eaten raw, sweeping of cook-house, cleaning of equipment, personal hygiene or leave of employees and vigilance against streptococcal, or pest-borne diseases. The authors wish to point out that in the absence of detailed instructions on these vitally important subjects one is left to learn merely by "trial and error," often paying dearly for an error.

The president of the third World Health Assembly, Dr. K. Evang, has said in his presidential address that the problem of today is not first and foremost lack of knowledge but lack of practical application of this knowledge in the field of health; if one-tenth of the present scientific knowledge of medicine and preventive medicine had been properly imparted to the world at large, the picture of the whole world would have been very different indeed from that which meets the eye to-day.

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Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION (4th Edition) : By *Jadunath Sarkar*. Published by *M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta*. Pp. viii + 256. Price Rs. 5.

This useful book, which had been out of print for some years, has now come out in a new and enlarged edition. The additions are two new chapters on the Administration of Cities and the Army and Navy, besides expansions of the Law and Justice chapter. We here learn on the highest Muslim authority that "Music before Mosques" is not an insult to Islam. An index has made reference easy.

N. B. R.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670—77, New Series, Vol. I (Bombay), Vol. II (East Coast and Bengal) : Edited by *Sir C. Fawcett*. Published by *Oxford Clarendon Press*. 1952. Vol. II. Pp. xxxii + 474 and 5 illustrations. Price 42s.

The Oxford University has laid us in India under a deep debt by continuing Sir W. Foster's series with the same degree of scholarly accuracy and excellent get-up as the earlier volumes. What this means in these days of paper scarcity and high costs may be easily imagined. Foster covered the years 1618—1669 in 13 volumes. When the year 1670 was reached a new series on a new plan was begun on account of the vastly increased mass of records to be handled; printing in extenso was abandoned, and henceforth only summaries and extracts are to be given and East and West Coast factories treated in separate volumes for any given period.

It is a matter of deep regret—and anxious doubt about the future—to us that Sir Charles Fawcett, a retired I.C.S., Judge of the Bombay High Court, and in scholarship and devotion to research no unworthy successor to Foster, should have died as soon as Vol. II was printed. Where can we have again the same combination of learning with personal knowledge of India? The next volumes will have to cover the English naval war with Shivaji for Henry-Kennery and Keigwin's rebellion on the West Coast, and Shaista Khan's second and most eventful vice-royalty of Bengal, and we eagerly look forward to getting the original fresh materials on these highly important and interesting subjects. Will they come?

JADUNATH SARKAR

SOME HISTORICAL JAINA KINGS AND HEROES: By *Kamta Prasad Jain*. Published by the *Jain Mitra Mandal, Delhi*. 1941. Pp. 109. Price Re. 1.

In this short popular monograph the author presents us with biographical sketches of a number of religious teachers as well as kings, ministers and

other folk belonging to the centuries of Ancient Indian history, whom he brackets together under the somewhat unsatisfactory title of *Some Historical Jaina Kings and Heroes*. The moral of these biographies is expressed by the author in his Preface as well as his concluding chapter. "Jain literature," he says (*Preface*), "is full of historical instances of Jain heroism. Jainism, in fact, is a religion of strength and spiritual good and makes a man a true hero." Again he observes (p. 106), "Jainas of every shade of opinion and class and belonging to different periods were a living model of the Jaina heroism of *ahimsa* and *viragata*." The above ideas are expressed still more emphatically, if not aggressively, in the appreciative *Foreward* as well as the "*Last Word*" written by an English lady, Miss Elizabeth Fraser. "*Ahimsa* as taught by the great Jaina teachers," she says (*Foreword*), "is thoroughly practical. They taught that *ahimsa* varied from stage to stage. Thus for the saint is enjoined complete *ahimsa* . . . On him who lives in the world lies the duty of defending it against wanton attack." And again she observes (p. 108), "We see exploded once and for all the legend that the downfall and final slavery of India are due to the Jaina creed of *ahimsa* . . . When through centuries of persecution of the Jainas, the Hindus rose to power, it was only then that the invaders were able to set foot in the land and to remain. It was the strangle-hold of the Hindu caste system that was India's ruination." Such statements would have gained greatly in weight if they had been supported by authoritative citations from the Jaina canonical works regarding the duties of the layman and the equality of all castes, as well as by historical references to the centuries-old persecutions of Jainas by Hindu kings. As it is, it is difficult to withstand the conclusion that the work has been written mainly with a view to religious propaganda. This explains why the author repeatedly claims royal patrons of the faith to have been "followers of Jainism" on no surer evidence than that of late traditions and legends. Even the great Asoka, according to the author, was influenced in his moral teachings "much more" by Jainism than by any other faith. Of the author's historical inaccuracies it will be sufficient to give a few examples. On pp. 9-10, he says that "some five hundred Indo-Greeks" accepted Mahavira's teaching and that "a Persian prince" received ordination as a monk from the same sage (pp. 9-10). Of a piece with the above is the statement (p. 21) that Samprati, "the immediate successor of Asoka," "expanded the Maurya empire beyond the borders of India and established centres of Jaina culture in the countries of Arabia and Persia." On

p. 83 we read that "the Rajput chiefs came into prominence" during the 7th century A.D. It remains to add that the author's list of errata at the beginning of his work is far from being exhaustive, while his transliteration of Sanskrit proper names follows the vernacular system of pronunciation.

U. N. GHOSHAL

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: By Prof. B. N. Banerjee, M.A. Published by A. Mucherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 205. Price Rs. 4.

This monograph purports to be a treatise on the new Constitution of India, but there is very little of exposition of the constitutional provisions in it. Only two chapters,—one (chapter II) headed "Federation in the Indian Constitution" (which title by the way is virtually a misnomer) and the other (chapter III) headed "Features of the Constitution" covering altogether seventy-eight pages are devoted to the Constitution proper, the biggest Constitution in the world. Of these again the major part consists of long quotations extending over twenty pages and the reproduction of a number of articles of the Constitution—with very little discussion or comment. The Chapter on "Features of the Constitution" falls into the following sections—(a) The Union and its territory, (b) Citizenship, (c) Fundamental Rights, (d) the Union Executive, (e) the Union Legislature, (f) the Supreme Court, (g) Government in the States, (h) Services and Service Commissions, (i) Emergency Provisions and (j) Dr. Ambedkar's concluding address. It appears that the author means by the term "features of the Constitution" not its salient characteristics as is usually understood and which are nowhere treated, but the main elements in the Constitution. The virtual omission of the "Directive Principles of State Policy" as one of the outstanding features (in either sense of the term) of the new Constitution except for a passing reference under "Fundamental Rights" and that, also in a quotation from an article by a jurist, is a very glaring one, and it passes one's understanding also how Dr. Ambedkar's concluding address which takes up more than ten pages can be treated as one of the features of the Constitution. Very little is said of the judiciary except a short reference to the Supreme Court. The treatment of the features covered is also extremely scrappy, and at the same time includes many things which are not quite germane. In dealing with the "Union and its Territory" the account of the process of integration of the Indian States (with a long quotation from Sardar Patel's speech in the Constituent Assembly) as also the articles of the Constitution defining the position of Rajpramukhs and a reference to the Reforms in Part C States might very well be omitted. There are some inaccuracies in the list of States of different categories given in p. 87. Travancore and Cochin are shown as separate States whereas they form a single Unit under Part B States. Cooch Behar should have been omitted from the list of Part C States, as it was merged in West Bengal on January 1, 1950, i.e., long before the publication of this book; moreover the merger is referred to only a few pages after in the book itself (Vide para 4, p. 91). The total number of Part C States should thus be ten and not eleven as shown in the list here and also as stated in p. 69 (last line), but again in the Appendix giving the allocation of seats among the various States, the list of Part C States correctly gives ten names omitting Cooch Behar (Vide p. 171 last para). The reader will

naturally get confused. Only three pages are devoted to "Union Executive" consisting of simple reproduction (except for only six or seven lines) of 6 articles of the Constitution without discussion. There is no reference even to the procedure for election of the President or the Vice-President or their powers, terms of office, qualifications, etc. There is no discussion either on the very important subjects of the relation between the President and Council of Ministers, the Constitutional position of the latter, etc. "Government in the States" in all spheres, executive, legislative and judicial is finished in four pages only.

The arrangement of matter in the book is also very faulty. There is some amount of overlapping as between Chapters II and III. In Chapter II headed "Federation in the New Constitution" a very sketchy account of "an outline of the Constitution" is given, which does not quite fit in with the subject of the chapter and should have been relegated to the next chapter in appropriate places. Chapters IV and V giving the recent amendments to the Constitution (actual reproduction of the relevant articles with the amendments) except for first three pages and the electoral arrangements respectively should properly have formed appendices rather than part of the book. The title of the Chapter IV is also misleading. Consisting of only six pages (of which more than two are given to quotation and compilation) it describes very briefly the machinery and procedure employed for holding the elections into which is shoved in the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution giving the allocation of seats in the Council of States. There is again overlapping as between the account of the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Constituent Assembly given under the head "British Period: Transference of Power" in Chapter I and what is narrated under the head "Background" in Chapter II. This part and also the reference to the "Preamble" of the new Constitution in Chapter I (pp. 61-63) should have more appropriately formed introduction to the discussion of the new Constitution in Chapter III.

Chapter I giving the Historical Background of the new Constitution might be compressed into at least one-fourth the size and confined only to the British period since the transfer of administration to the Crown and even in this period the developments up to 1919 might be just skipped over. The space thus released might be more profitably used for discussion of the provisions of the Constitution. The first thirteen pages cover three sections dealing with (A) Ancient India, (B) Mediaeval India and (C) British Period—The East India Company. What justice can be done to this long period within the short span and whether it has any value or relevance to the subject-matter of the book may be left to the judgment of the readers.

The author's attention may also be drawn to some errors and omissions. The most significant feature of the Viceroy's Declaration of August 8, 1940, was the recognition of the claim of Indians to frame their own Constitution, but that is not mentioned as one of its features described in the book (p. 49). In page 50 it is stated that "the British Government took the initiative in resolving the Constitutional deadlock a few months after the cessation of hostilities when they announced that a Mission consisting of 3 members of the Cabinet . . . would come to India, etc." It is common knowledge, however, and only recent history that the initiative in resolving the deadlock prevailing since 1942 and even before was taken,

though without success, by Lord Wavell with the approval of H. M. Government in June 1945 by offering what has come to be known as the Wavell Plan. On page 67, the author makes the astounding statement that the "British Cabinet Mission's Plan of 1946 is the basis of the creation of 2 States . . . of India and Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly which framed India's Constitution and the Indian Independence Act . . ." Each part of this statement is far from being strictly accurate. In the first place it is common knowledge that the Cabinet Mission decided against the partition of India and the basic principle of their proposals of May 16, 1946 was the Constitution of a Union of India though of a very loose type for placating the Muslim League. After considering the *pros and cons* of partition or Union of India in paras 4 to 10 of their Statement of May 16, 1946, the Cabinet Delegation concluded as follows in para 11: "We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate Sovereign States." Next about second part of the Statement. It is true that the Constituent Assembly was set up originally in pursuance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, but it was not that Assembly but one remodelled on the basis of the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947 that framed India's Constitution. Coming to the last part it is not the Cabinet Mission Plan but the Mountbatten Plan that is the basis of the Indian Independence Act 1947.

It is difficult to understand for what class of readers the book is meant. The treatment of the subject is too scrappy to be of much use either to serious

students of the Indian Constitution or to students preparing for University examinations. Nor is the book likely to be very helpful either to the general public within the country or to foreigners whom, as he states in his prefatory note, the author has specially in view. The author will do well to recast the book thoroughly.

G.

INDIA'S EMERGING FOREIGN POLICIES:
By Shantilal Kothari. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Price 2 dollars (12 shillings).

Opinions on India's foreign policy are sharply divided. According to some, it is weak and unrealistic, while in the opinion of others it is just the reverse. Some say that she clings tenaciously to the Right. Many again hold that she has gone dangerously near the Left.

The book under review deals briefly with the Principles of India's Foreign Policy, Republican India's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, Indians Abroad, Partition of India, Communist China and various other topics.

The author believes that a Federated Republic of the United States of India and that alone can solve the post-Partition problems. But will the bleeding and gaping wounds of the Partition be ever healed? He contends further that an Asian Federation free from external influence and from outside interference will be a great factor in the promotion of Asian Security and world peace and we fully agree with him. If we remember aright, it was the

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great Deshabandhu who first spoke of an Asian Federation.

Many, we are afraid, will not accept Mr. Kothari's comments on India's connection with the Commonwealth of Nations, his estimate of the parts played by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in the political evolution of India, of the Gandhian leadership and the like. Opinions on controversial topics should always be well-reasoned. We have more or less dogmatic assertions instead. But even then Mr. Kothari's work is quite a useful introduction to a serious and systematic study of our foreign policy.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

FALL OF MEWAR (An English rendering of D. L. Roy's Bengali drama *Mevar Patan*): By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya and Dilip Kumar Roy. Published by Nalanda Publications, Bombay. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 3-12.

The first translator Harindranath being somewhat ignorant of the niceties of the Bengali idiom, missed the original author's meaning in many places and the subsequent labour of Dilip Kumar has not always been successful in mending them. It would have been better, had the son done the rendering all by himself. Harindranath has, however, given us good poetic English, though not the spirit of the original.

B.

THE EAST BENGAL TRAGEDY: DELHI AND THEREAFTER: Author's name not mentioned. Published by the General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. Pp. 38. Price 8 annas.

The undesired partition of India has created a vigorous and ever-growing literature made up of reason, of sentiment and sentimentalism, of emotion and emotionalism, of truths, half-truths, of falsehoods. This booklet is generally free from the defects, and it reprints pre-partition pledges and assertions that have hardly any validity today. The dice has been cast, and we must cultivate patience to play the game in a world that is ridden by fear. The value of the book could have been enhanced if figures of the value of Hindu property in Pakistan, East and West, had been collected and published.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

ACTS AND ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (Relating to Scheduled Castes and other backward classes and Anglo-Indians): Published by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangha, Kingsway, Delhi 9. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 2.

This is a very useful collection of almost all Acts and Orders, etc., relating to the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes, and Anglo-Indians. The compilation will be of great use to those who want to deal with these classes in public life.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

BHARATMEN GAYEN: (Translated from English *The Cow in India* by Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta): By Sri Ramballabh Chaturvedi. Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 1408 + index 52 pages, and a few pages of errata. In two volumes. Price Rs. 13 for the two volumes.

Sj. Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan never does anything by halves, and when he has set forth a comprehensive treatise on the cows in India, we may rest assured it would combine ancient and modern

knowledge, historical and scientific information, with practical bearings.

The first volume, containing 30 chapters, is split up into four parts dealing with the main varieties of the Indian breed, bovine eugenics, improvement of cow-breeding in different Indian States, ways and means of conserving cattle wealth, the fairs and festivals and the position of the cow there, nourishment for the cow, etc. The second volume, split up into three parts and consisting of 28 chapters, discusses the common ailments and their treatment and cure.

In these days of economic unsettlement and food crisis, this belated notice of the book, reviewed in its (English) original version long ago, will be justified if it arrests the reader's attention even to the Foreword contributed by Gandhiji who had noted with approval that the author had satisfactorily proved the superiority of the Indian cattle (as a means to transport) to the steam engine and in ploughing the earth, and had shown the intimate connection between the various forms of life in Indian environment. We feel sure that this Hindi version will have an India-wide circulation.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

1. **SHIKSHAN ANE SANSKRITI:** By Ravishankar S. Vyas. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 127. Price Re. 1-4.

2. **SHRIMAD BHAGWAT:** By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 423. Price Rs. 3-8.

Both published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad.

The first book is a collection of a number of addresses delivered to students of the Vallabh Vidyalaya, the Bochasan Talim Varga, etc., and comprises every phase of our life and culture: education, economics, labour, industry, co-operation, Ravishankar Maharaj, a keen follower of Mahatma Gandhi, is well-known all over Gujarat as a selfless worker for the uplift of village life, and these thoughtful and suggestive addresses fulfil their purpose: they are couched in such simple language. The second book by Mr. Gopaldas Patel is a translation into Gujarati not literal but such as conveys the sense and substance of the original *chhayavvad* of Shreemad Bhagwat, one of the holiest books of the Hindus. This is its second edition. The long Introduction of nearly thirty pages has viewed this sacred book, from every point of view and is both informative and scholarly. The devotion and deep study of Mr. Patel are praiseworthy, to say the least.

K. M. J.

A CORRECTION

In the last issue of *The Modern Review*, while reviewing Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's work on *Rajadharma*, I wrote (p. 407), "For the division of Smritis under the heading of *drishtartha* and *adrishtartha* (p. 37) it would be more correct to speak of Smriti-texts of the above two types." In a text of *Bhavishtyapurana*, however, which is quoted by Apararka in his commentary on *Yajnavalkya-Smriti* (Anandasrama ed., p. 626) these two types of Smritis are distinguished from each other, and some examples are given of their component parts. In the light of this evidence the remark made above should be deleted.

U. N. GHOSHAL



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Message of Swami Vivekananda

A solution for the pressing problems of our country can be successfully achieved if we live and act up to the Message of Swami Vivekananda. Jayaprakash Narayan writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Swami Vivekananda belongs to the class of great seers of Truth. His intellect was great, but greater still was his heart. He once told his disciples at the Belur Math that if a conflict were to arise between the intellect and the heart they should reject the intellect and follow the heart. Many a Mahatma has appeared in this land, and some of them understood that to meditate on the soul in the caves of the Himalayas was the correct path to follow. Swami Vivekananda's mind also was influenced by this tradition and there arose a conflict in him early in his career; his intellect advocating the traditional absorption in Self-realization and his heart bleeding for the miseries of the people around him. In the end he came to the conclusion that leaving the solitude he would enter into the soul of every being and worship his God by serving them. And what attracts the poor and lowly to him is his compassionate heart which ever bled for them and exhausted itself in their incessant service in thirty-nine brief years. It was in the anguish of that heart that he cried out, in his memorable message at Madras, in 1897 :

"Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it made you almost mad?"

It was this measureless feeling for the spiritual and material poverty and misery of his fellow men, particularly of his fellow countrymen, that drove him round the world like a tornado of moral energy and gave him no rest till the end. His life's campaigns in the East and the West, including the founding of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, were in response to this feeling. His life was all purity and love, his coming to and going from this world was quick, sudden. But in the short period of thirty-nine years he accomplished so much by way of stirring up and infusing new life and new hope into the people that in the history of our great country we do not find a second to stand equal to him in this except perhaps the great Shankaracharya.

Today we are building a new India, in our own way. It is now that we need Swamiji's power and presence. Of course Swamiji is not physically with us; but his words are there; his teachings are there. They are before us. In our country there is

ignorance, there is poverty. Swamiji gave us a *mantra* in keeping with the cultural and spiritual heritage of our nation. He cut a new path, a new *dharma*, a religion of tolerance, universal brotherhood, and equality of mankind. We have experienced various revolutions in our country; but we have always preserved the soul of our culture in the midst of those cataclysmic changes. We cannot go forward, we cannot be a progressive nation by forsaking that soul of our civilization and culture. It may be that a gifted few can walk in the right path all alone, but for the rest it is necessary that they draw their inspiration from our ancient culture. Swamiji tried to do this. There were many weakening influences in our country during Swamiji's time. He wanted these to be removed and replaced by the national dynamic culture.

Swami Vivekananda's message was therefore to make ourselves nurtured and nourished by this culture which would lead the nation to power and strength.

We want to build the nation. How shall we do it is the problem. It is my conviction that we cannot progress unless and until there comes about a Dharmic regeneration in our country; we need the ministrations of a *dharma* which accepts every other *dharma*, and this Vivekananda gave us in the great Vedanta. No doubt, Vedanta is not new to our country. But we had no means to find access to it; we could not make use of it; we could not practise it. We need the love and practicality of Buddha and the philosophy of Vedanta. In one of his Madras lectures, Swamiji said that he would give a message which would be useful not only to his own nation but also to the nations outside. To make his teachings effective and to make them spread among the people, just as Buddha started his organization of monks, so also Swamiji brought into existence the

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great.Ramakrishna Mission. It is a matter of pride, it is a matter of joy, that his aims and objects are being realized and his vision is being fulfilled through the work of the centres of the Mission through all of which the Vedanta reaches to the people in various forms to help the poor, to educate the ignorant, and to lift up the depressed.

The greatest problem in our country is its divergent sects, its divergent castes and creeds. Can we compose these differences? Can we go forward and gather strength? Vivekananda strongly criticized caste distinctions. He said this was the cause for much of our social weakness. Social unity was broken long ago, causing a tragedy of a thousand years! Swamiji spoke scathingly about the prevailing conceptions of religion—of religion entering the kitchen and the cooking-pots, of the religion of 'don't-touchism.' He declared unequivocally that so long as we are caught in this 'dharma,' we shall remain far from the *real dharma* which preaches human unity. People should unite; but there is everything to keep us disunited. A Brahmin is engaged in Brahmapradya. And if his son takes to business or any other activity, he is still reckoned as a Brahmin just because he is born of a Brahmin.


If we want to progress, we should understand the truth of *dharma* and follow it up. Quality should be the criterion of greatness or Brahminhood and not mere birth. The aim of our *dharma* is that even a *mleccha* can be led up to the highest. Based on this fundamental idea of Vedanta, Swamiji discouraged the 'kitchen religion' and proclaimed that there is no difference between man and man. The difference seen is only in manifestation and not in the potential divinity. All could be brought up to the highest, all could become the greatest. Our weakness, our ignorance, can be driven away with this tonic.

Can we build a society, a civilization on this great ideal of Vedanta?

I believe that we shall succeed if we try earnestly. If this ideal is broadcast in our country, which Hindu will refuse to accept it? Which foreigner will fail to respond to this call to his own innate divinity? We should realize that our differences, cultural, social, and political, resulting from this caste and other distinctions, can be composed only by this Vedantic teaching of Swami Vivekananda. By the same teaching we can solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. The question of poverty

can be dealt with on the same footing. When our dream is to build happy society, there should not be a few rich and many poor. Swamiji sought a solution for this economic inequality also fifty years ago. In one of his epistles he writes: 'I am a socialist.' The unity and equality he found in Brahmapradya he wanted to establish in the field of national economy and in the field of society. Today the Rajas, Zamindars, and the rich look down upon the labouring class. This is the opposite of what Swamiji taught. He said, 'They are one with you. The same divinity shines through them and you.' What unity of existence he saw in Advaita Vedanta, what equality he experienced in the human personality, the same he wanted to bring into the fields of economics and society too. He saw the hungry and the naked about him; and he felt that until they were fed and clothed no *dharma* could be preached to them; without the welfare of the masses no *dharma* could be firmly established. So today our hearts bow to Swamiji. I am a student of Swamiji. I am not worthy to talk about him. But this is what I see in him, what I learn from him. He went beyond and wanted to take us also beyond. He sees our weakness not with the eye of contempt, but with that of compassion, with a passion to serve, with a feeling of agony at our fallen condition. In that same epistle he writes about his advocacy of socialism not as a perfect foolproof system but that 'half a loaf is better than none.'

I consider Swami Vivekananda a leader in every respect,—in religion, culture, economics, sociology,—all of which ought to be established on the bedrock of Vedanta, our ancient rational philosophy. If we fail to remember this and to build our nation on the foundations of our historic legacy, then India will not remain India. We shall, through the help of the Ramakrishna Mission and by our own efforts, inspired by the Message of the great Swamiji, have to try earnestly to realize a fuller and a richer life for ourselves individually and for the vast mass of our countrymen. Our progress does not stop with our own realization, but must flow into a struggle to bring the fullness of freedom to others. All of us should understand this aspect of Swami Vivekananda's teachings, and should not exclude from the purview of religion the consideration and solution of the pressing problems of our village, of our country, and of our brothers and sisters.






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Animal Nutrition

Any agricultural policy to be sound and beneficial should also concentrate on the supply of foods, which directly originate in animals. The problem of improving and maintaining the nutritional status of animals is thus of prime importance to man. Dr. Jivraj Mehta writes in *The Indian Review* :

Most of the fundamental researches in human nutrition have largely been the direct results of animal experimentation. For example, avian beri beri has given us a clue in the aetiology of human beri beri. The effects of polished rice on the birds and the curative effect of vitamin B1 have been amply demonstrated by the pioneer workers in this field. Similarly, most of you are familiar with the classical experiments of McCarrison on white rats to demonstrate the nutritive value of the diets consumed in the different parts of the country. Similarly, the production of eye lesions in experimental animals fed on diets deficient in vitamin A or carotene, provided experimental evidence in assigning similar changes in the human beings, to vitamin A deficiency.

While the animals, especially in the laboratory, have been the silent sufferers in the progress of nutrition research, let us now examine what we have done to animal nutrition itself, in general. Time does not permit me to go into the details of all the species of the animals. I shall confine my remarks only to cattle and poultry, which are intimately connected in the production of foods of animal origin.

In the present set-up of Indian Agriculture, animal labour is the sole motive power and animal manure is perhaps the main source to sustain it by maintaining the fertility of the land. The feeding of livestock in this country has been decided by the nature of crop production practised. In the present period of food shortage, the hitherto unknown competition between human beings and animals for certain foods edible for both, appears to be steadily growing. The result has been the deprivation of the animals of their share of the foodstuffs. For example, barley, maize, bran, and gram are consumed to a greater extent by man. Besides, oil cakes—like groundnut cake, and leaves of certain roots and tubers have now been consumed by man also, diminishing their supply to the animals, particularly cattle. Unfortunately, recent tendency appears to be to consider the needs of the human population only without bestowing much attention on the nutritional requirements of the animals. The cattle population have a justifiable demand on a part of our arable acreage. Any plan, therefore, intended for the final solution of the food problem in our country should take into consideration the needs of both the human and animal population, in relation to the capacity of agricultural production. The opening of Animal Nutrition section in an Agricultural Institute, such as the present one is, therefore, very opportune and a move in the right direction.

It is also in the fitness of things that this Institute, which has already successfully tackled certain problems concerning animal nutrition, such as the proper place of cottonseed feeding of animals on the yield of milk and fat content of milk, and the substitution thereof by a mixture of cereals and guvans, the importance of lucerne and other green fodder in the pro-

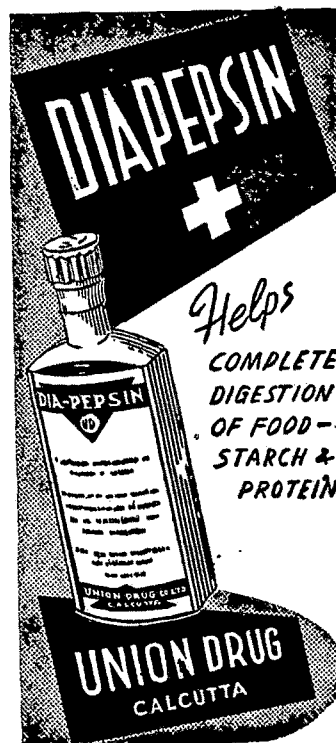
per nutrition of milch cattle, the analysis of articles of food commonly consumed in this part of the country and their digestibility, the loss of vitamin C in the preparation of pickles, jams and jellies of fruit which in its fresh state is abundant in its supply,—to mention some only—should be selected as one of the three or four centres in India for undertaking applied work on animal nutrition. It is absolutely essential that such nutrition centres should be located in different parts of India, when we realise how conditions differ from region to region. The main obstacles in the way of developing our vast potential resources in cattle are shortage of food. Our country is notoriously deficient in cattle feed. It is estimated that the available feeds cannot maintain even half of the existing cattle population. The role of the science of nutrition lies in finding out the best food for producing the desired result, the most economic utilisation of the available feeds, the discovery of new feeds or new sources of foods and the scientific processing of poor foods to improve their feeding quality.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

What then are the steps which we should take in this direction to improve the present state of animal nutrition?

In all progressive countries, adequate attention has been paid to the feeding of livestock, such as the cow, the pig and the poultry from the economic point of view, so that the best use of the animals can be made concurrent with high standard of health in them.

The Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research has recommended a balanced diet for the Indian population, taking into



consideration the current dietary practices. The recommended diet has aimed at maintaining the optimum health of the population and thus it has provided targets for agricultural production in this country. The question was further examined by a Committee of experts of the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. Based on the proper understanding of the problems of human nutrition and animal nutrition, attempts should now be made to integrate our efforts towards meeting the nutrition of both.

Taking cattle for example, we have to provide feeding-stuffs for work producers, milk producers and meat producers.

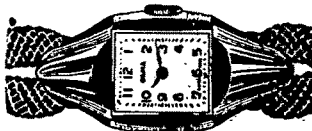
About 56 million working animals have to be fed from food residues and other foods that will have to be specially grown. This is our first concern, as animal labour will perhaps for many years to come, continue to be the main motive power for agricultural operation. The lactational yield of our milch cattle is very poor compared to the yield of milch cattle in other countries. It is of utmost importance to us to increase the productive capacity of our milch cattle, in order to provide, at least the minimum requirements of milk for the Indian population. A good quality roughage like pasture grass or properly selected cultivated fodder is essential for an economical increase in milk production. The choice of the green fodder will have to be decided by the regional character of the land and the climatic environment. This is an aspect which the new animal nutrition section could usefully develop in the immediate future.

The importance of oil cake, as a major item among the concentrate feeds, for practically all classes of stock, needs no emphasis. Unfortunately a good portion of these oil cakes is used as manure in the cultivation of cash crops, thus adversely affecting the maximum potentiality for animal production. There is a big gap between the supply and demand of oil cakes from non-edible seeds and it should be fully exploited.

A word about poultry. Based on a modest estimate, the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research had recommended one egg, per head, per day. In the Indian Union there are hardly about 50 million egg-laying birds and to attain the above target, their number requires to be increased 20 times. Apart from this, the nutritional requirements of the egg-laying birds need also improvement to improve their egg-laying capacity.

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A Glance at Nepal

Keshab Chandra Gupta writes in *The Mahabodhi*:

Nepal lends enchantment to the view, not through its distance, counted in miles, but computed in the scale of obstacles and inaccessibility. The valley cooily snuggles in the lap of the Himalayas. The saddles and tops of hills need hard climbing. The negotiation of the rough passes and ill-kept roadways for descent into Katmandu is not less strenuous. I believed in pictures of the romantic country till aeroplanes were mentioned in connection with the visit of the Holy Relics. I welcomed the chance of joining the company of visitors.

Oriental pomp and grandeur were associated with my concept of oriental royalty. The reception at the airfield at Nepal pleasantly disillusioned me. I confess, that like a simpleton, I inquired about His Majesty The King, while actually shaking hands with him. His benign smile saved the situation and me from misdemeanour and high treason. He was very simply dressed and his open-hearted cordiality breathed charm.

There were further surprises in store for us in the homeland of the fighting Gurkha. Anyone on whom I showered my bad Gurkhalis for information or guidance, glowered and extended to me the courtesies of a kind host. Schoolmasters, lawyers, officials and shepherds vied with one another to make us feel at home during our stay in the valley. Its seclusion has not robbed the classes and the masses of the human touch which makes life smooth and easy in a foreign land.

No one has the right to bring in a verdict on the behaviour of a people after residence of a week. But one must not forget that the people of Nepal are part of the composite pattern that is called India. They have their own politics and trials and tribulations. I was forced to talk about them to the friend of the press when they interviewed me after my return from Nepal. I am glad my reading of the situation was right. No one can be sure of the channel, the flow of politics will take. But I shall fail in my duty of gratitude to my brethren of Nepal if I do not mention that at a time of political excitement, no party failed to overwhelm us with kindness. We had several meetings in the Durbar Hall of the Palace where I was allowed free expression of opinion, and neither the then Home Minister nor His Majesty pooch-pooched anything I said, as the gratuitous nonsense of a busybody. It was an experiment on royal patience and I was extraordinary how I had to scrap my ideas about oriental despotism. English literature is good; but it has to revise its chapters dealing with the people of the East and specially the myths about kings and potentates.

Nepal is the land of beauty. Nature is more lavish in her bounties on Kashmir undoubtedly; but that is a big place and there is ample room for a variety show of her charms. But Nepal with her two rivers, the barrier of mountains and cliffs and the variety of fauna, enchants the dweller of the city. Nature's partiality to Bengal is wellknown. But the last war and its aftermath have destroyed trees and changed some aspects of her loveliness. Taking Eastern Nepal as the top of the picture of a landscape that rolls down to the Bay, the artistic execution of nature is superb.

There are two Khatmandus—the modern and the ancient. In the first part there are metalled and acadamised roads with modern buildings and squares. The Maidan is extensive and well-kept and reflects the military temperament of the Gurkha who needs an extensive plot of land for parades and military exercises.

It is the old town that captivates the idle rover in the plains. I strolled round the different roads, alleyways and was struck by the artistic decorations of the verandas and house-tops. The synthesis of the Indian and the Monogolian style of architecture does credit to the Newar whose preference for art is a matter of pride for the dweller of the northern kingdom. The gabled roof and tiers of sloping tops of verandas, the detailed carvings of posts and arches of houses as well as their general effect on the streets afford delight. The modern world with its pre-occupations might lament the energy wasted on the decorations of balconies and doorsills but even today it is admitted that a thing of beauty is a joy for ever.

How could a people whose homeland is a museum of art treasures gain such renown in the killing art, of use in the field of battle? Fright enters into the notation of the word Gurkha. For a solution of this enigmatic problem, for once the mind praises the up-to-date and much-maligned caste system. The Newar calls himself the Chatri, the member of the higher caste and claims descent from the valorous warriors of the middle ages. The Newar is the artisan. He is an emigrant from the fringes of the land of the Mogols. The two different sects of the people of Nepal held on to two professions, the art of fighting and that of making life sweet through decorations. The pattern of life is composite but each section has its work marvellously well.

When I speak about the claim of origin of the different sections of the people, I do not mean that the original types have been preserved. A very large section of the Newars possess handsome Aryan features but as a large section of those who claim descent from the Aryan, display mixture of blood proclaimed by flat noses and high cheek bones. That is a feature which is abundantly reflected in all the departments of individual and collective lives of Nepal's citizens. The mixture, the compromise, the synthesis and amity characteristics of the people of the valley as one who they characterised their southern neighbours—the Dravids. Well, for the matter of that the poet has truthfully said about India as to how the Aryan, the Dravidian—the Dravida, the Chin as well as the Saka, the Hun, the Pathan and the Mogol got mingled in the body.

As in her people and her art, Nepal shows this tendency for absorption and mingling in her religions. The temples are the pride of this part of Asia.

But the architecture is Indo-Mongolian as the prevailing belief and rituals of the common man is Brahmo-Buddhism. I am constrained to make these sweeping remarks with regard to the ordinary citizen and his religious rites. There is more devotion in Nepal than in the lower provinces. Almost every one goes to a temple before starting the day's work. The Buddha is held in as much veneration by the Hindu as Siva or Srikrishna. It is a part of his cult all over the continent. But the orthodox Buddhist, in other parts of the world, will not be flattered when he sees *Saiva* or *Tantrik* rites entering into the life of his co-religionists. The welcome to the relics was as enthusiastic on the part of the Hindu as of the Buddhist, both in Calcutta and in Nepal. But when one looks at the census figures, the votaries of the two sister creeds are not bracketed together.

There is hardly any space here to deal in details with the structure of the temples of Nepal. Swayambhunath, Pashupatinath, Avalokiteswar and other shrines and temples display a wealth of details of decorations, the description of which needs chapters. The Tantric cult is also very much in vogue; and although in some places puritanic hands have scraped figures which seemed indelicate to those who were not initiated to the mysteries of the Tantras, much remains which a father and his daughter, for instance, should not behold in company. The same may be said about a part of the Puri temple. We need not be rash in our opinions, but at the same time, it is useless to gaze and to guess.

On the whole the visit to Nepal leaves the impression that one has run through a land of romance. Considering her present troubles, one would pray and pray fervently, that peace may be restored in the land, the home of our kiths and kins of whom much is expected in important spheres of life. I have the premonition that peace will soon be restored in Nepal.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Developments in Soil Science

We reproduce below the Fernhurst Lecture by Sir William Ogg, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Director, Rothamsted Experimental Station, delivered by him in the *Royal Society of Arts* on 20th February, 1952, as published in its *Journal*, April 4, 1952:

Mankind has been interested in soils from the beginning of civilization but the knowledge was purely empirical and the application of science to soil problems began little more than a century ago.

The subject may conveniently be considered in two broad divisions. The first deals with rock weathering, soil formation, soil classification and mapping, and the term pedology, (the term pedology also sometimes applied to soil science in general) from a Greek term, ground or earth, is often applied to this branch of work; the second is concerned with soil fertility and deals with drainage, cultivation, manuring and other factors and processes which have bearing on the use of soils for agriculture, horticulture and forestry. In recent years attention has also been given to the soil problems of civil engineering in connection with housing, roads and reservoirs and this aspect is usually referred to as soil mechanics.

Most things connected with agriculture cannot be hurried and from its very nature soil science is not a subject in which spectacular and rapid advances can be expected, for the problems are complex and varied; but steady progress has been made in most branches of the subject. I do not propose to attempt to catalogue all the new discoveries but rather to give an outline of some of the more important trends.

SOIL CLASSIFICATION AND SOIL SURVEYS

From very early times farmers have described their soils in terms of texture and colour but the first attempts at a scientific classification were based on geological origin. Soil maps were made, however, long before geology became a science. The geological system has a definite value over limited areas or for particular purposes but it fails to bring out wider soil relationships. The same rock can give rise to quite dissimilar soils in different parts of the world and different rocks under certain circumstances can produce similar soils.

The first attempt at a genetic classification was made by Russian scientists. They recognized the following soil-forming factors: the nature of the parent material, climate, vegetation, topography, living and dead organisms and the length of time the various processes have been at work. The essence of their teaching was that soil is not merely a mass of rock particles mixed with organic matter or humus but a highly organized body that evolves and changes in the course of time and yet retains its individuality. Perhaps the most important part of the Russian contribution was the discovery of the close association

between soil, climate and vegetation and the recognition of soil zones corresponding in a general way to the zones of climate and vegetation. Where local influences of geology and topography predominate there are, however, types which do not conform to the zonal pattern and which are termed intra-zonal.

These new concepts have provided the key to the interrelationships of soils in different parts of the world and have led to changes in the methods of studying soils in the field. The operation of the soil-forming processes is reflected not only in the surface soil but in the whole soil profile, the vertical section from the parent material to the surface layer, and soil classification and mapping are now done on the profile basis. Soil profiles have been described and investigated in most parts of the world and many attempts made to improve the Russian system of classification.

One of the difficulties in devising a universal system is due to the fact that the dominant soil-forming factor is not everywhere the same. In some regions it is climate that is dominant and in others geological origin; the influence of vegetation is recognized in the use of such names as "forest soils" and "prairie soils," and in some areas topography exerts a profound influence because of its effect on water movement and drainage. Whilst the biological aspects of soil formation have long been recognized increasing attention is now being given to them, and W. Kubiena in Austria has developed a technique for the microscopic examination of soil sections which is of particular value in the study of soil biology and structure.

Although complete agreement about a world system of classification has not yet been reached that does not prevent the carrying out of soil surveys. Soil profiles can be accurately described and their distribution mapped; systems of classification to meet regional needs can be applied and at some future date it will be possible to bring these together in a comprehensive world system.

Soil surveys are now in progress in many parts of the world. In Russia, where the idea of a genetic classification originated and there is a wide range of climatic conditions, particular attention has been given to the mapping of the broad climatic groups, but the Russians have also done a certain amount of detailed mapping. In the United States, the soil survey was at first on the basis of geology, texture and colour, but about 1918 the genetic system of classification was adopted and mapping since then has been done on the soil profile. The greater part of the United States has now been surveyed on the scale of one inch to a mile.

One of the earliest surveys in this country was done in Kent, Surrey and Sussex by A. D. Hall and E. J. Russell, in 1911, on the basis of geology and texture, and work along similar lines was carried out by G. W. Robinson, chiefly in Wales. The writer, after spending a year with the United States Soil

Survey, commenced mapping in Scotland on the profile basis in 1924 and this system was generally adopted in Britain a few years later. When the Macaulay-Institute for Soil Research was established in 1930 the soil survey work for Scotland was centred at that institution; in 1939 the work which had been in progress in various parts of England and Wales was brought under the directorship of G. W. Robinson, and in 1946 the headquarters was transferred to Rothamsted under the direction of A. Muir. At the present time there are eight surveyors in Scotland and fifteen in England and Wales, and the work for the whole country is coordinated by a Soil Survey Research Board under the Agricultural Research Council. The survey in Britain is on a more detailed scale than in the United States and up to the present about one and a quarter million acres have been surveyed on the scale of 6 inches to the mile and one and three quarter million acres on the scale of 2½ inches to the mile. Most of the soils of Britain fall within three of the world climatic groups, podzols, grey-brown podzolic soils and brown earths. There are also intrazonal soils called rendzinas which occur over many of the calcareous rocks, a group named gleys associated with poor drainage, and various types of peat. Within these broad groups further sub-divisions are made chiefly on the basis of geology and drainage.

Soil surveys along similar lines are in progress in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and various other countries, and the results are now finding many practical applications. In agriculture they are particularly useful to the agricultural advisory services in connection with field experiments. They are also of great value in horticultural work, for instance in the selection of suitable sites for orchards, and they will doubtless be increasingly used in forestry. They provide an inventory of our limited and diminishing land resources and are necessary for the intelligent planning of the best use that can be made of them. The progress made in classification and mapping in recent years, as well as being of immediate practical value, has led to advances in many other branches of our knowledge of soils.

THE STUDY OF SOIL CLAY AND HUMUS

The inorganic portion of the soil, consists of material ranging in size from stones and gravel down to clay. The clay is the result of intense weathering and it is not only the most chemically reactive fraction of the soil but also confers on it such properties as plasticity and cohesiveness. Consequently, the study of soil clays is particularly important in relation to soil formation, cultivation and crop nutrition.

Various new techniques have been applied recently to the study of clay minerals and probably X-ray diffraction methods are the most useful, but much assistance can also be obtained from differential thermal analysis, electron microscopy, and electron diffraction.

The clay fraction used to be regarded as an amorphous gel consisting essentially of kaolinite. Recent work, however, has shown that soil clays are generally complex substances varying widely in composition. An outstanding advance was the recognition of the crystalline character of clay minerals and much attention has been given to the study of their structure. The principal minerals recognized are those belonging to the kaolin and montmorillonite groups, illites, vermiculites and chlorites. It is an interesting fact

that all these minerals have layer structures relative to that of mica. These structures, especially in vermiculite and montmorillonite, provide a large internal surface between the individual sheets. Two of the most important properties of clay minerals depend on the extent and nature of their surfaces both external and internal. Thus, clays have a high capacity for absorbing cations, such as calcium and potassium, in an exchangeable form. This phenomenon, first discovered by Thompson and Way in 1850, probably plays a considerable part in the transfer of mineral nutrients from soils to plants. The second important property is the absorption of water molecules, and this affects the mechanical properties of clays and soils such as plasticity.

The surface properties of clay minerals also play a part in the formation of crumb structure in soil. In nature, soil crumbs are in contact with the soil solution, a dilute solution of salts, and the behavior of soils depends both on the concentration of the soil solution and the types of cations present. A certain minimum concentration of salts must be present to prevent deflocculation—the separation of the clay particles from one another—which destroys structure and hinders infiltration of water into the soil and may cause erosion.

These difficulties are apt to arise in the reclamation of soils which have been flooded by sea water. In washing out the sodium chloride the soil may become deflocculated unless there is sufficient calcium present. After the last war the Dutch were able to hasten the process of reclamation of their flooded land by adding gypsum. The same precautions must be taken in the "warplands" in this country. Mud deposited by the rivers may at first contain sodium chloride and, unless sufficient calcium is either present naturally or added, deflocculation and consequent loss of soil structure may occur. Somewhat similar problems often arise in irrigation projects particularly in dealing with alkali soils of arid regions. In this connection mention should be made of the improved methods for determining optimum concentration of salts in irrigation water developed by R. Schofield at Rothamsted. Instead of estimating exchangeable sodium in the soil chemically—from which the salt concentration which will cause deflocculation can be calculated only very approximately—the critical concentration is found by means of a simple visual observation. This critical concentration serves both to characterize the soil and to give directly the minimum conductivity for "safe" irrigation water thus simplifying routine testing.

In addition to the aluminosilicates we have just been considering, the clay fractions of soils also contain crystalline and amorphous sesquioxides, silicic acids, various unstable complexes and humus. The sesquioxide constituents are probably positively charged and in tropical soils, which are high in both constituents, the positively charged sesquioxides may react with the negatively charged aluminosilicates to form aggregates which do not readily break down. This throws light on the fact that the soil group known as Tropical Red Loams is easily cultivated in spite of having a high clay content, whereas the Red Earths, which, though red, have less free oxides, generally cannot be cultivated so easily though they may contain less clay. The difficulties that may arise with the Red Earths were clearly brought out in the Kongwa area of the Tanganyika Groundnut Scheme. In that area

under somewhat unfavourable climatic conditions, these soils compacted and gave rise to cultivation difficulties and poor crop growth. In the southern province of Tanganyika, however, where there is a better rainfall distribution, the same soil type did not give this trouble.

Compared with the advances made in the study of the inorganic portion of the soil, progress in our knowledge of the organic matter has been disappointingly slow. This is not due to any lack of interest or effort: this subject has an enormous literature. Rather has it been due to the complexity of the problem and the difficulty of separating the humus from unhumified remains. Large numbers of organic compounds have been isolated from soils but many of these are present in extremely small amounts and some are degradation products formed during the process of its action and not present as such in the original material.

Part from the difficulty of separating the organic of the inorganic material of the soil, research has been hindered by the lack of suitable methods of communicating the high-molecular colloidal complexes which appear to be characteristic of soil humus. However, in recent years more refined methods of investigating naturally occurring macromolecules have been worked out and some of these will prove extremely useful in research on soil organic matter. For example, H. H. detailed information regarding the protein and carbohydrate materials in soils has already been obtained by application of modern paper-chromatographic methods of analysis.

Such useful information can be obtained by direct methods of approach. It is now recognized that excreta and dead bodies of micro-organisms are important secondary sources of humic substances and valuable information is being obtained by studying the chemical composition of fungi and bacteria, and of the products elaborated by these organisms. It is obvious, however, that conclusions drawn from such investigations must ultimately be confirmed by work on soil itself.

There have been some interesting attempts recently to reproduce the effects of organic materials in maintaining soil structure. J. H. Quastel and D. M. Vebly, working on a Rothamsted soil, found that the addition of the sodium salt of alginic acid, a long-chain compound, improved aeration, waterholding power and crumb stability. The other week a firm of chemical manufacturers announced that they were producing a synthetic water-soluble poly-electrolyte of somewhat similar properties. The mechanism by which such materials stabilize soil crumbs is still obscure and extensive testing in the field is necessary to establish the conditions under which they might be used. They would require to be very resistant to attack by soil micro-organisms, otherwise their effect would be transient. Such materials will probably find their application in glasshouse and garden soils or in other special circumstances where cost of treatment is so important. Assuming that 200 lbs. or more per acre is required they would have to be produced very cheaply if they were to be used in general agriculture.

(To be continued)

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The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement

An Agreement was signed on January 5, 1952, in New Delhi between India and the United States of America under which American financial assistance will be available for speeding up development projects in India, special attention being paid to the encouragement of co-operative endeavour by the people themselves and to community development schemes.

The Agreement was signed on behalf of India by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs. The U. S. Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles, signed on behalf of the Government of U.S.A.

Under the Agreement, the Government of the United States of America have agreed to make a contribution of an amount of 50 million dollars which will be allocated by June 30, 1952 and deposited in a Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund. The Government of India have also agreed to contribute in rupees for the projects to be financed out of this Fund. Thus, it is estimated that the total amount available for the programme will be in excess of 100 million dollars or about Rs. 50 crores.

The projects financed by the Fund will be co-ordinated with the Five-Year Plan of the Government of India and will be administered in close co-operation with the Central and State Governments. Use of the Fund will be largely concentrated on projects which are aimed, primarily, at raising the efficiency of agriculture and increasing the food production in the country. India's present dependence on imported food would be reduced in this manner. Food imports of India which amount, on an average, to five million tons annually cost the country about Rs. 250 crores (or about 500 million dollars) in foreign exchange which, otherwise, could have been used to develop much-needed new industries.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Of the projects to be financed out of this Fund, one of major importance which has been tentatively agreed between the two Governments is a community development programme. This programme contemplates setting up of about 50 rural-urban development areas in different parts of the country, each area consisting of about 200,000 people in about 300 villages. Many of these areas may be selected around the new river valley projects, while the location of some others will be around the new tubewell development projects financed by the Fund and also by the Central and the State Governments in India.

The proposed rural-urban development programme is expected to draw upon the combined experience of the Uttar Pradesh Government at the Etawah Development Scheme and the newly-built townships for displaced persons at Nilokheri and Faridabad. In Etawah, it may be recalled, in three years' time, 79,000 people from 102 villages, covering an area of 103 square miles, have demonstrated how with co-operative and planned endeavour food production can be substantially increased. They have also been successful in eliminating, to a large extent, malaria, rinderpest and other diseases. Considerable improvement in literacy has also been recorded. In Nilokheri and Faridabad again, in less than three years, good

planning and willing help of the people have enabled modern townships, based on the co-operative principle, to be built with up-to-date housing, good schools, improved public health facilities and a wide variety of opportunities for industrial activity.

Many of the development projects will be financed by means of loans made by the Government of India out of grants from the Fund and as repayments are made, the money will be used for new projects. It is also hoped that in future years new funds will be forthcoming, in an increasing measure to expand the work of the Fund.

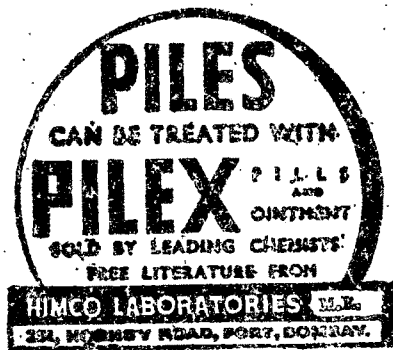
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Agreement provides for the creation of an Indian Central Committee which will determine the policies and provide general supervision of the projects undertaken. Members of the Committee will be appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Clifford Willson, Director of the U.S. Technical Co-operation Administration in India, will be available as Consultant to this Committee. The Committee will be responsible for developing, in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States in India, the programmes of economic development and technical co-operation covered by the Agreement.

The Indo-American Fund in which the American contribution will be deposited will be administered jointly. An officer of the Central Ministry of Finance will be the Government of India's nominee for this purpose, while Mr. Clifford Willson, working under the general supervision of the U.S. Ambassador in India, will be nominee of the U.S. Government. As each project of economic development is approved by the Central Committee, finance will be provided out of this Fund as agreed by the joint administrators.

Quarterly and project reports on the programme will be made by the Central Committee. The quarterly report will be an account of the progress made by the various projects while the project report will be a "Completion Memorandum" containing a record of the work done, the objectives, financial contributions and other related data.

An annual report will be prepared by the Government of India covering the progress of each project, its expected contribution to India's economic well-being and the accruals to and disbursements from the Indo-American Fund.—USIS.



New "Equality" in South Africa

G. Yehudah writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, January, 1952 :

From South Africa it is reported that the Nationalist Party in Transvaal has removed its ban on Jews and will henceforth welcome them into its ranks. The Jewish press in the South African exile (pardon, I mention) has responded to this gesture with unqualified approval. Indeed, why shouldn't Jews cheer? Isn't it good news that their former fears of the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Nationalist Party have proven unfounded? Isn't it a cause for jubilation that they have been officially recognized as equals of the other white citizens of the Union?

Nevertheless there are grounds for questioning the justification of this glee, for the "humanitarian" decision of the Nationalist Party in Transvaal implies that from now on the Jews of that region will be free to join a party that is dedicated to a policy of discrimination against all non-whites. As a matter of fact, the Jews of Transvaal should have been glad that they had so far escaped being caught between the hammer and the anvil of White-Negro relations. But unfortunately there are some Jews who love their masters and are misguided by their own fears. They welcome the lesser evil and their consciences remain untroubled by the company they have to keep in order to win a measure of "equality."

One South African newspaper recently published a letter from a Nationalist informing the public that he would no longer visit the Zoo because, (1) he could not bear to see the suffering of the caged animals, and (2) because Negroes were also permitted to visit the Zoo. South Africa is in fact a country overflowing with hatreds of various degrees. The South African nationalist hates the native Negroes above all. Next in degree of intensity is his hatred for the Indian who have been invited by the white colonists to work in industrial enterprises but have rapidly become competitors of the whites in trade. Then comes the hatred for the mulattos. These should have served as a bridge between the two races, especially since most of them speak the language of the masters of the country (Afrikaans). But they were recently disenfranchised. Next in the line of hatred come the English because of their culture, which is different from that of the white majority, and their liberal tendencies. Somewhere along this ladder of hatreds a special rung is reserved for Jews.

But the main hatred is reserved for the Negroes who for many years have been restricted to special reservations in the countryside and ghettos in the cities as well as being discriminated against economically, socially and culturally. Not content with the heritage of discrimination of the past, the Nationalist Party instituted a planned policy of *Apartheid* (separation) which is as irrational in its application as the racialism on which it is founded. In theory the Nationalist wish to keep the Negroes completely apart from the white population. In practice they cannot operate the mines and factories without the Negroes. Annually, agents of the mining companies go into the interior districts to mobilize hundreds of thousands of Negroes to replace the miners no longer capable of working after 2-3 years. The country needs skilled workers for the development of its industry, but Negroes are forbidden to practice skilled trades. The whites complain about the ignorance of the Negroes, yet deprive them of opportunities to study.

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The consequences of such an irrational policy are bound to be detrimental to the whites. This policy provides a sense of solidarity to the numerous Negro tribes, who are now joined in a common feeling by the Indians and the mulattos who are being forced back into conditions that prevailed a century ago before they enjoyed any civil rights. In the past certain rights were granted to some of the national minorities in an effort to cause a rift between them and their less fortunate countrymen. Today they are all being forced into the framework of a single class of dispossessed.

The Malan government of South Africa disregards also the discontent of liberal and labor circles with the policy of *Apartheid*. Never noted for consistency in their own colonial policies, liberal and labor elements point out that the Malan government is endangering the British Commonwealth of Nations which now includes 75 million whites against 500 million colored people. Spokesmen of India, Ceylon and other areas already ask of what value it is to belong to a Commonwealth in which colored peoples are mistreated.

But the Nationalist *Apartheid* policies are primarily dangerous to the white population of South Africa itself. It is a policy based on fear, and fear leads to a recurring cycle of acts of violence and vengeance. The Negroes are subjected to injustices every day. Their acts of violent retaliation are punished severely whereas similar acts by whites are passed unnoticed. It is therefore reasonable to expect that when the day comes and the Negroes seek to solve their social and political problems, they will not use silk gloves in the process. The specialists and liberal press throughout the world has been warning against this danger, but those who enjoy special privileges are deaf to reason.

The privilege which the Nationalist Party has now granted the Jews of South Africa to become partners in the oppression of the colored peoples is therefore not an occasion for celebration. We may "note with satisfaction" that Malan has now concluded that anti-Semitism is unnecessary, though we can only speculate on what brought about this change of mind. Is it that the Malan government now take a different view of the war against Nazi Germany? (The Nationalist Party was notoriously neutral during the war). Or is it a token of its admiration for the Jewish struggle against Britain prior to the rise of Israel? Or perhaps the Nationalists have a more practical consideration in mind, namely, the desire to assure themselves a more stable majority in the next election?

We are not in a position to advise the government of South Africa about its general policies. But it is our right and moral duty to speak our minds to the Jews of South Africa, one of the few Jewish

communities in the world to have come out of war unharmed. To them we want to say that the history of the white population in South Africa is brief whereas Jewish history is old and laden with sorrow. More than once we have learned on our skins that a policy of discrimination is inadvisable. Sometimes the Jews are the first to suffer, and other peoples are victimized later. On other occasions discrimination begins with the oppressed of nations and ends with violence against Jews. Jewish attempts to come to an understanding with dominant nationalist parties in the hope of winning security in the latter's prosperity have proved false. Even generous contributions by some Jews in self-respect to the coffers of reactionary Semitic parties have failed to avert from the Jews themselves the disaster which descended on Jewish people.

Were Jews to join the South African Nationalist Party, they would bring upon themselves the wrath of the Negroes who outnumber the Jews five to one. As it is, South African Negroes bear great love for the Jews because they never treated them as workers but only as middlemen to whom they hand over their pitiful earnings. They see living in beautiful houses and that their attitude toward the Negroes is in no wise different from that toward the other whites. And it is an historical fact that the oppressed group directs its greatest anger against other victimized groups who join the oppressor.

Jewish history leaves little room for doubt about this score. Should trouble break out in South Africa the Jews will be its first sufferers. The rioting in Durban one year ago is particularly instructive. Negroes wrecked the stores of Indians and caused casualties among them, whereas not a single person was hurt. But in the meantime the Jewish minority has also been relegated to the ranks of the oppressed in South Africa and a bond of solidarity between them and the Negroes will no doubt be strengthened. Were the Jews to become partners to discrimination by joining the Nationalist Party, would not the danger of their position be enhanced? Have we not learned from the tragic experiences of the Jews (1648-9 in the Ukraine) when Jews, voluntarily or under compulsion, became partners with the oppressor against another nation?

The scores of thousands of Jews in South Africa who have not lost their self-respect and humanity, should firmly say to the Nationalist Party: Thanks for this new equality, but we want none. We will not become a party to a policy of racial discrimination, nor do we want to be ground by the millstones of the racial and social conflicts.

Will they say so without delay? The millstones the Gods keep grinding, but not slowly.

